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Number 1

THE BUTLER-OXENDEN CORRESPONDENCE

A hitherto unpublished letter by Samuel Butler has recently come to light. The original was probably destroyed shortly after its receipt, but a copy has been preserved in the letter-books of Sir George Oxenden,¹ Butler's correspondent. This letter would be interesting regardless of any intrinsic value it possessed, for the reason that only two of Butler's letters have previously been known.²

¹ The correspondence presented below is from the *Oxenden Papers*, vol. xi (British Museum Add. MS. 40706), and vol. xvi (Add. MS. 40711). Since the *Oxenden Papers* are as yet uncatalogued, I should never have run across them had it not been for the extreme kindness of Mr. Francis Wormald, Assistant Superintendent of the Manuscript Room in the British Museum, who, learning of my interest in Butler, not only called my attention to the *Papers* but turned over to me his own notes, of invaluable assistance in working out the history of the Oxenden family.

² Both of these are in Add. MS. 32625 in the British Museum. One, from Butler to his sister concerning the education of her son, has been printed by Lamar (Butler's *Satires and Miscellaneous Poetry and Prose*, 399). The other is the following, written to some friend and benefactor (Add. MS. 32625, f. 1 r):

Deare Sr

I am very Sensible of the exceeding great fauour I receiud from you by your lres to Mr Bernard, wherein you are pleased to let me know, I haue the happines to liue in yo^r memorie, then w^{ch} nothinge but (that w^{ch} came wth it) the knowledge of yo^r health & Safety, could haue beene more dearely welcome to mee, But I am further obligd to you for yo^r kinde concernment & care of my good Successe w^{ch} indeed Sr I shall euer belieue I owe rathur to the good wishes of such excellent persons as yo^r selfe then any desert or industrie of mine owne. I beseech you commend my most humble seruice to yo^r noble father, & if you doe not thinke yo^r last fauour wise placed, for bringinge you this trouble, indeed Sr there is no man

Fortunately, the letter is in itself of some importance, especially as the Oxenden letter-books disclose additional material relating to Butler. The result is that a direct if momentary light is cast upon the author of *Hudibras*, and as all who have attempted to penetrate the darkness that has settled over his life will testify, any light however fleeting is welcome here.

The records of the East India Company show that in 1632 there went out to India in attendance on the Reverend Arthur Hatch one George Oxenden, then a boy of twelve.³ In India, in the service of the Company, Oxenden was to spend the greater part of his life. He rose steadily. Thrice he returned to England. Regarding these visits home the Company records are quite definite. On the first occasion Oxenden sailed in 1639, was reengaged by the Company in 1641, and promptly returned to India.⁴ The second time, he made the passage back in the *Smyrna Merchant*, which sailed in January, 1653,⁵ and went out again on the same vessel in 1656.⁶ The third time, he came home in the *King Fernandez*, which sailed from Surat on January 10, 1659;⁷ on October 25, 1661, Oxenden was appointed President of the Company;⁸ on November 24 of the same year he was knighted;⁹ about the end of March, 1662, he sailed for India for the last time, on the *Richard and Martha*, which anchored in Swally Hole September 19, 1662.¹⁰ The new President lived seven years thereafter, dying in India July 14, 1669.¹¹ It was during these last seven years that Sir George received and wrote the letters which now concern us, copies of which were entered by his clerks in his letter-books covering this last period of his life.

Sir George, the third of five sons, came of an old Kentish family, his father being Sir James Oxenden of Dene, Kent. Sir George had at least one sister, Elizabeth, the wife of William

liuinge, to whom the knowledge of yo^r happinesse (when you shall please to thinke me worthy of it) can be more really welcome then to

Yo^r most affectionate
& faythfull seruant

S. Butler

Jun y 28d

³ Sir William Foster, *The English Factories in India*, iv, 326, note.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vii, 23, note.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ix, 142, 149.

⁶ *Ibid.*, x, 203.

⁷ *Ibid.*, x, 203.

⁸ *Ibid.*, xi, 92.

⁹ *Ibid.*, xi, 92.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, xi, 93.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, xiii, 182.

Dallison, and two cousins, Henry Oxenden the poet and the poet's brother, Lieutenant Colonel Richard Oxenden.¹² Particularly lively was the correspondence which Sir George kept up with his sister Elizabeth and his cousin Richard, for both of whom it appears he had deep affection. He writes them of Company matters and family affairs at home; their letters are filled with gossip and the confusing details of family litigation. All of these things, one would have said, are impossibly remote from Samuel Butler. Yet it is into the midst of just these matters that Butler strays.

For Sir George's two faithful correspondents at home, his sister Elizabeth and his cousin Richard, the announcement in London of a sailing for India meant days spent in packing gifts and writing letters. In March, 1663, they had news of such a sailing and they bestirred themselves accordingly. On March 22 Elizabeth writes her brother,¹³ and again on April 1,¹⁴ when she remarks: "I haue sent you a pipe of y^e best Sacke procurable, y^t & a good Spanish Tobacco wth exelent good Virginia & some bookes . . ." On April 3 she writes twice.¹⁵ In still another letter, this of April 6,¹⁶ she refers again to the gifts she is sending: "I haue sent you some Burds & some Sacks & Tobaco & a beaver hatt, & some Bookes for a token of my Loue. . . ."

Now, among these books, twice mentioned, it seems that there was a copy of the first part of *Hudibras*, recently published. This along with other matters, we learn from Richard Oxenden's letter of March 30:¹⁷

. . . Sr amongst some bookes y^t you will receaue from y^r sister Dalyson there is one named Hudibrase w^{ch} is y^e most admired peece of Drollary y^t ever came forth it was made by o^r Old acquaintance Mr Butler whome we did use to meete in Grasenn Walkes hee did use to keepe Compa^y wth Ned Kelke & Collonel Malthuse & Dr Morgin & Mr Willm Morgin I onely write this for feare yo^r multiplicity of Busienesse should cause you to forgett him

¹² On the Oxendens (also spelt Oxinden) cf. "Extracts from a Seventeenth Century Note-Book" in *The Genealogist* (New Series, 111), 38-41; on the Dallisons (also Dalyson) cf. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 5520 (*Genealogy and Pedigrees . . . Kent*), f. 103.

¹³ Add. MS. 40711 (*Oxenden Papers*, xvi), f. 18r.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 38r-41r.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 42v-44r.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 50v-51v.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 34r and v.

& y^e you may y^e Better understand his Booke hee sends you these Inclosed lines wth y^e presentation of his service. . . .

What Richard refers to as "these Inclosed lines" turns out to be the following long letter.¹⁸

S^r

Yor worthy kinsman & my hon^d Freind Collonell Oxinden hath ingaged me to give you this trouble, for he Intending to present you wth a Trifle of mine, a booke lately Printed here, has beene pleasd to desire me to give you a short Acco^t of it, It was written not long before y^e time, when I had first y^e hon^r to be Acquainted wth you, & Hudibras whose name it beares was a West Countrey Kn^t then a Coll. in the Parliament Army & a Com^{te} man, with whome I became Acquainted lodging in y^e same house wth him in Holboune I found his humor soe pleasant y^t I know not how I fell into y^e way of Scribbling w^{ch} I was never Guilty of before noe since, I did my indeav^r to render his Character as like as I could, w^{ch} all y^t know him say is soe right y^t they found him out by it at y^e first view, For his Esq^r Ralpho he was his Clerk & an Independ^t, between whom, & y^e Kn^t, there fell out Such perpetuall disputes about Religion, as you will find up & downe in y^e Booke for as neere as I could I sett downe theire very words, As for y^e Story I had it from y^e Kn^{ts} owne Mouth, & is so farr from being feign'd, y^t it is upon record, for there was a svite of law upon it betweene y^e Kn^t, & y^e Fidler, in w^{ch} y^e Kn^t was overthrowne to his great shame, & discontent, for w^{ch} he left y^e Countrey & came up to Settle at London; The other persons as Orsin a Beareward, Talgot a Butcher, Magnane a Tinker, Cerdon a Cobler, Colon a Clowne &c: are such as Commonly make up Bearebaitings though some curious witts pretend to discover certaine persons of quallity wth whome they say those Characters agree, but since I doe not know who they are I cannot tell you till I see theire commentaries but am content (since I cannot helpe it) y^t everyman should make what applications he pleases of it, either to himselfe or others, Butt I Assure you my cheife designe was onely to give y^e world a Just Acco^t of y^e Ridiculous folly & Knavery of y^e Presbiterian & Independent Factions then in power & whether I have performed it well or noe I cannot tell, onely I have had y^e good fortune to have it Genly esteemd soe especially by y^e King & y^e best of his Subjects, it had y^e Ill fortune to be printed when I was Absent from this Towne whereby many Mistakes were committed, but I have corrected this booke w^{ch} you will receive my Selfe, wth w^{ch} S^r I send you y^e best wishes and Reall Affections of

Yor Humble & Faithfull

Serv^t Sam: Butler

London March y^e 19th

1662

3

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 13v-14r.

At this point in the surviving correspondence Butler leaves as abruptly as he entered. Two years pass. Then, under date of March 6, 1665, we find two letters of Sir George's in which Butler again appears. The first of these,¹⁹ addressed to Richard, "my most deare & Loueing Cosine," contains the following passage.

I am obliged to those many freinds whose goodness retained the memory of mee, I hope y^t God will bless mee yet once againe to see my native Country when I shall repay them all in their owne quoine & giue Mun: Altum a flower for his flower, & for M^r Butler— I am beholding to him for y^e 2: parte of Hudibrass, I haue in ciuillity answerd his Lre but mentioned noethinge to bee sent him, therefore anything of Aggott haftes, Cornelian ringes or what elce would bee acceptable to him, you would doe mee a fauour to desire my sister to furnish you wth what pleases yo^r fancy & present them in my name, & for excuse y^t I did not thinke them worthy y^e mentioning in his Lre.

Sir George's second letter of March 6, 1665, I give in full.²⁰

Sam^{ll} Butler

I esteemed it a great Favour reced at y^r hands to have th honour of hearing from you now these two yeares successiuelly, y^t the passed years I replyed to in a few lines, rest onely this by M^r Tho^s Rolt who presented mee with y^r kind token of the second parte of that pleasant history of y^e Famous enterprise of y^t valliant Knigt S^r Hudibrass w^{ch} is noe less delightfull then y^e first, my thinkes when I consid^r the barreness of y^e Theame it ressembles y^e story of y^e Cooke, pardon the homely Comparison, y^t drest his masters boots and made good meate of them soe an Ingeniouss parson of a Fluent Fancy is able to doe any thinge.

S^r I should haue bine glade of the opportunity to express my obligacons to you in any cuell respects to M^r Rolt, but hee is intended home in these returning shipps upon some differences y^t have arrisen between y^e late Presid^t & y^e East India Compa wherein M^r Rolt is something concearned: which hee is of oppinion cann bett^r cleare Verbally than at this distance with his penn, soe y^t all y^e seruice I cann doe you & him is to giue him a fauourable recommendation to y^e Compa w^{ch} shall bee enlarged y^e party himselfe being a sober discreete parson, & one y^t deserues very well. I haue not farth^r to trouble you with soe take leaue to subscribe.

Yor uery Faithfull serut to commd:

Geo: Oxinden

Surratt y^e 6 March 1664

5

The most obvious question raised by the Butler-Oxenden letters

¹⁹ Add. MS. 40706 (*Oxenden Papers*, XI), 110v-111r.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 116v.

is whether they fix the date of the composition of *Hudibras*, Part I. Though they suggest certain possibilities concerning this date, unfortunately they do not fix it with anything like finality. Butler writes to Sir George that *H.*, I, was written "not long before y^e time when I had first y^e hon^r to be Acquainted wth you." Since Oxenden was in England during three periods, 1639-1641, 1653-1656, 1659-1662, Butler and Oxenden met first either in 1653-1656 or 1659-1662. The Butler-Oxenden letters strongly imply the latter period. Here Richard's letter of March 30, 1663, is the important one: "[*Hudibras*] was made by o^r Old acquaintance M^r Butler whom wee did use to meete in Grasenn Walkes hee did use to keepe Comp^a wth Ned Kelke & Collonel Malthuse & D^r Morgin & M^r Will^m Morgin I onely write this for feare yo^r multiplicity of Busienesse should cause you to forgett him. . . ." If, as is here implied, the acquaintance between Butler and Sir George sprang up during Sir George's last visit home, they must have met between June, 1559, before which Sir George could not well have been in London,²¹ and May 14, 1660, by which time Kelke was dead.²² This would place the writing of *H.*, I, not long before the latter half of 1559. But since it is impossible to show that Butler and Oxenden did not meet during Oxenden's earlier visit home in 1653-1656, this conclusion cannot be insisted upon, while it will be rejected by those who accept Professor Craig's arguments that *H.*, I, was written between August 22, 1642, and August 17, 1648.²³ These arguments are that Part I refers to events before the death of the King; that it contains nothing to indicate that it was not written before the death of the King; and, finally, that Butler's own statement on the title page, "Written in the Time of the Late Wars," means written between Aug., 1642, and Aug., 1647.

²¹ When Sir George went out to India for the last time, as stated above, he sailed the end of March, 1662, arriving September 19.

²² Edward Kelke, "son and heir of Edward K., of Sandwich, Kent, gent.," was admitted to Gray's Inn Nov. 2, 1639 (Joseph Foster, *Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889*, 224). On May 14, 1660, Richard Oxenden wrote to his brother Henry: ". . . now for Dick Foggs frendly meeteings with me at London, I doe ashure you I neuer saw his face since my Deare freinde Ned Kelke was buried . . ." (Add. MSS. 28004 (*Family of Oxenden Correspondence*, VI), ff. 121-122).

²³ Hardin Craig, "*Hudibras*, Part I, and the Politics of 1647," in *Manly Anniversary Studies* (Chicago, 1923), 145-155.

While Professor Craig has proved beyond any doubt that Part I refers throughout to the political situation before the King's death, the last two arguments are open to question. That the "Late Wars" was not always strictly interpreted in the 17th century is shown by Milton's explanation that he was recalled home from Italy by "the sad news of Civil War," and by the sub-title of *Behemoth*, "The History of The Causes of The Civil Wars of England, And of the Counsels and Artifices by which they were carried on, from the year 1640, to the year 1660," while the notes in Grey's *Hudibras* indicate a possibility that certain lines in Part I were written after the King's death.²⁴ If Professor Craig's last two arguments fall, the first, that Part I refers throughout to the political situation before the King's death, may stand without rendering 1659 untenable as the date of the composition of Part I.

The statements in the letters point, then, to a time shortly before 1653-1656 or 1659-1662 as the date of *H.*, I, and more strongly to the latter—if, that is, one is willing to accept Butler's statements at their face value. Butler's ingenuousness, though not unquestionable, it seems needless to discuss for this reason: the problem of the date of *H.*, I, cannot be made to depend upon a strict interpretation of Butler's statements. What does "writing" a poem mean? A close study of Butler's miscellaneous verses in Add. MSS. 32625 in the B. M. reveals much about Butler's method of composition. He was not a fluent writer. His wit found release first in the short paragraph of verse. Butler is at his best in the prose character, in the epigram, and in the case of his longer poems in the self-enclosed verse paragraph. The composition of the sustained narrative of *Hudibras* must have strained him to the utmost. Its composition undoubtedly extended over considerable periods. May not Butler have been referring in his letter to Oxenden to a redaction made some time around 1659 when at long last the turn of events was encouraging him to hope for the publication

²⁴ *Hudibras* (ed. Zachary Grey, Cambridge, 1744). Note on I, i, 549: "Walk, Knave, walk" may refer to Edmund Gayton's "Walk, Knaves, Walk; a discourse intended to have been spoken at Court. . . . By Hodge Tuberville, Chaplain to the late Lord Hewson," London, 1659. Note on I, i, 925-6: the reference may be to Richard Cromwell. Note on I, ii, 233-5: a possible reference to Sir Kenelm Digby's *Discourse concerning the cure of Wounds by Sympathy* (a second ed., 1658, is recorded in B. M. catalogue).

of his satire? With speculations of this sort one must be content, for the letters lead to no definite conclusions concerning the date of *H.*, I.

Regarding the original of Sir Hudibras, the Oxenden correspondence leads to a much more positive conclusion. It would appear that the man who served as model was Sir Henry Rosewel of Ford Abbey, Devonshire. Now, it has long been said that Butler had in mind one Sir Samuel Luke of Bedfordshire. Yet the earliest of Butler's biographers, Aubrey and Wood, make no reference to Sir Samuel. Precisely when his name was first associated with Hudibras cannot be determined. The author of the 1704 *Life* of Butler wrote that "our Author liv'd some time also with Sir Samuel Luke, who was of an ancient Family in Bedfordshire; but, to his Dishonour, an eminent Commander under the usurper *Oliver Cromwell*: and then it was, as I am inform'd, he composed this Loyal Poem. . . ." ²⁵ And in *An Alphabetical Key to Hudibras*, ascribed to Sir Roger L'Estrange, which appeared in Butler's *Posthumous Works* (1715), but which may have circulated before this, Hudibras is said to represent Sir Samuel Luke. ²⁶ The article on Butler in the *General Dictionary* (1738), by John Lockman, repeats the story of Butler's residence with Sir Samuel and continues thus: "As Sir Samuel Luke is generally supposed to be shadowed under the character of Hudibras, it is very probable Mr. Butler might have received some disgust in that Knight's family. . . ." ²⁷ In a footnote Lockman suggests the name of Sir Samuel Luke to fill the gap in I, i, 904: ²⁸

'Tis sung there is a valiant Marmaluke,
In foreign land yclep'd—
To whom we have been oft compar'd. . . .

But he adds, "Whilst this sheet was at press, I was assured by Mr. Longueville that Sir Samuel Luke is not the person ridiculed under the name of *Hudibras*." ²⁹ In the preface of his edition of *Hudibras* (1744), Grey discusses the matter at length: "It has

²⁵ "The Author's Life," in *Hudibras* (ed. Grey), p. v.

²⁶ Cf. Craig, *Manly Anniversary Studies*, 145.

²⁷ Article on "Hudibras," in *A General Dictionary, Historical and Critical* (1738), vi, 290-291.

²⁸ So numbered in Grey's ed.

²⁹ *A Gen. Dict.*, vi, 291, note.

been suggested by a reverend and learned Person . . . That notwithstanding Sir *Samuel Luke* of *Wood-End* in the Parish of *Cople*, in *Bedfordshire*, has generally been reputed the Hero of this Poem; yet from the Circumstances of his being compared to Sir *Samuel Luke*, Part I, Canto 1. line 906 & it is scarce probable, that he was intended, it being an uncommon thing to compare a Person to himself: that the Scene of Action was in *Western Clime*; whereas *Bedfordshire* is *North* of *London*; and that he was credibly inform'd by a *Bench*er of *Grays-Inn*, who had it from an Acquaintance of Mr. *Butler's*, that the Person intended, was Sir *Henry Rosewell* of *Ford-Abbey* in *Devonshire*. These indeed would be probable Reasons, to deprive *Bedfordshire* of its *Hero*, did not Mr. Butler in his *Memoirs* of 1649 give the same Description of Sir *Samuel Luke*; and in his *Dunstable Downs* expressly style Sir *Samuel Luke*, Sir *Hudibras*." ³⁰ Since Grey's time the tendency has been to question the identification of *Hudibras* and Sir *Samuel*.³¹

Now, Butler's statement to Oxenden that "*Hudibras* . . . was a West Countrey Kn^t then a Coll: in the Parliament Army & a Com^{te} man" links up with the information coming from the bench^{er} of Gray's Inn to the effect that "the Person intended, was Sir *Henry Rosewell* of *Ford-Abbey* in *Devonshire*." Since Butler's association with Gray's Inn is established by Richard's letter, one believes that the bench^{er} knew whereof he was speaking.

Gray's final argument for Sir *Samuel Luke*, which he bases on the *Memoirs* of 1649 and *Dunstable Downs*, is not sufficiently strong to countervail the combined statements of Butler and the bench^{er} of Gray's Inn. True, the description of Sir *Samuel Luke* in the *Memoirs* of 1649 closely resembles *Hudibras*; but such resemblance does not prove Grey's contention. The case for Sir *Henry Rosewell* is strengthened on further inquiry. *H.*, I, i, 665 ³² fixes the scene: "In *Western Clime* there is a Town. . . ." On *white-pot* (i, 299) the following note is given in Grey: "This Dish is more peculiar to the County of *Devon*, than to any other, and on that account is commonly call'd *Devonshire white-pot*." Butler's own note on the passage in *H.*, II, ii, in which *Hudibras* boasts that he

³⁰ *Hudibras* (ed. Grey), Preface, p. iii.

³¹ Cf. Craig, *Manly Anniversary Studies*, 146.

³² So numbered in Grey's ed.

has "been exchang'd for *Tubs of Ale*," is this: "The *Knight* was Kept prisoner in *Exeter*, and after several exchanges propos'd, but none accepted of, was at last releas'd for a Barrel of Ale, as he often us'd, upon all occasions, to declare."³³ Sir Henry Rosewel was appointed to the Committee for Devon by the Long Parliament October 18, 1644,³⁴ and four times thereafter was a Commissioner for Devon.³⁵

In his letter to Oxenden Butler refers not only to Sir Hudibras but to five of the minor characters in the poem, Orsin, Talgol, Magnano, Cerdon, and Colon. Until recently the identifications of these five characters given in *An Alphabetical Key to Hudibras* and taken over by Grey in his edition have gone unquestioned: Orsin "hints at" one Joshua Goslin, who kept bears "at Paris-Garden on the Southwark side"; Talgol was a butcher in Newgate Market; Magnano was Simeon Waite, a tinker and Independent preacher; Cerdon, one-eyed Hewson, a cobbler; Colon "hints at" Ned Perry, a hostler.³⁶ These identifications have recently been questioned by Professor Craig, whose study of the political events shadowed forth in *H.*, I, has led him to the conclusion that the rabble of bear-baiters is "suggestive of the new model: and its leaders correspond roughly with the leaders of the army after the self-denying ordinance. . . ."³⁷ In place of the old key Professor Craig suggests the following one: Orsin hints at Prince Rupert, Talgol at Fairfax, Magnano at Skippon, Cerdon at Ireton, Colon at Cromwell.³⁸ Butler's own statement is this: "The other persons as Orsin a Beareward, Talgot a Butcher, Magnane a Tinker, Cerdon a Cobler, Colon a Clowne &c: are such as Commonly Make up Bearebaitings though some curious witts pretend to discouer certaine persons of quallity wth whome they say those characters agree, but since I doe not knowe who they are I cannot tell you till I see their commentaries but am content (since I cannot helpe it) y^t everyone should make what applica-

³³ *Hudibras* (ed. A. R. Waller), 189.

³⁴ *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* (Collected and ed. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait), I, 545.

³⁵ Appointed June 23, 1647, Feb. 16, 1648, April 7, 1649, Dec. 7, 1649 (*Acts and Ordinances*, I, 963; I, 1080; II, 32, II, 295).

³⁶ Cf. Craig, *Manly Anniversary Studies*, 145-146.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 152.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 152-153.

cations he pleases of it, either to himself or others . . .” Whether Butler’s disavowal is sincere or not it is impossible to determine, but this much is clear: the “commentators” of 1663, like Professor Craig, had persons of distinction in mind, and not, like the author of the *Alphabetical Key*, butchers, tinkers, and cobblers.

In the way of new biographical data the Butler-Oxenden letters have little to offer. Butler writes that *H.*, I, “had y^e Ill fortune to be printed when [he] was Absent from this Towne whereby many mistakes were committed. . . .” Part I was licensed and entered Nov. 11, 1662, and Pepys purchased a copy Dec. 26.³⁹ We know that from Jan. 1661 to Jan. 1662, Butler was Steward of Ludlow Castle for Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carberry, then Lord President of Wales,⁴⁰ but what was detaining Butler from London late in 1662, it is impossible to tell. Biographically, Richard Oxenden’s letter is the more important, for it definitely associates Butler with Gray’s Inn. In doing so it renders the more probable Aubrey’s statement that Cleveland “and Sam. Butler, &c. of Grayes Inne, had a Clubb every night.”⁴¹ Further, it suggests possible acquaintance between Butler and two satirists of Gray’s Inn not unlike him in temper, John Hall of Durham⁴² and Richard’s brother, the author of *Religionis Fumus et Hypocritae Finis* (1647). Among the varied influences which played on Butler’s mind, not the least, it seems, was that exerted by such wits of Gray’s Inn.

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³⁹ *Hudibras* (ed. A. R. Waller), p. v.

⁴⁰ E. S. De Beer, “The Later Life of Samuel Butler” in *RES.*, IV (1928), 159-166.

⁴¹ Aubrey, *Brief Lives* (ed. Andrew Clark), I, 175.

⁴² Cf. R. Quintana, “John Hall of Durham and Samuel Butler: A Note” in *MLN.*, XLIV (1929), 176-179.

THACKERAY AND FRIEDRICH VON HEYDEN

Miss Shum's Husband, a short story published in *Fraser's Magazine*, 1838, was later incorporated into Thackeray's *Yellowplush Correspondence*, where it is the first of the narratives told by the footman Charles Yellowplush:

Mr. Altamont, his master, has lodgings at Pentonville, in the house of Mr. and Mrs. Shum, whose family consists of twelve girls, namely four Misses Buckmaster, daughters of Mrs. Shum by her first husband; Mary, the daughter of Mr. Shum by his first wife; and seven younger girls, who are left nameless. Mr. Altamont only remains in the dingy and slovenly surroundings because he adores Mary, the Cinderella of the family. As the lodger is the chief source of the Shums' revenues, the Buckmaster girls naturally set their caps for him. Mr. Altamont, however, asks for the hand of Mary Shum, telling her father that he has 400 Pounds a year, and Mary, if she marries him, must share all that he has, without asking questions: only this will he say, that he is an honest man. Upon his marriage, Mr. Altamont takes a comfortable house, with three domestics, of whom Yellowplush is one. Every morning he goes to the City, returning late in the evening. His wife would have been perfectly happy, had not her family continued to urge her to discover her husband's secret. When the insinuation is made that he must be a bigamist, Mary falls into hysterics, just as her husband returns home. Mrs. Shum is ejected from Altamont's house, and forbidden ever to return, but Mr. Shum continues his frequent visits. During a drinking-bout of the two men, Altamont incautiously remarks: "I saw you twice in the City to-day, Mr. Shum." As the latter had been only to the Bank, taking the coach again immediately to return home, the family now has a good clue, and eventually the mother-in-law finds out that Altamont is the old man who sweeps the crossing from the Bank to the other side of Cornhill, receiving the alms of the passers-by for this service. Upon being discovered, Altamont makes arrangements to sell all his belongings, and with the 6000 Pounds thus realized he takes his wife and child permanently to the Continent. Some years later Yellowplush meets them at Baden-Baden, where they are much respected and pass for people of property.

The identical theme is treated in Friederich von Heyden's *Der graue John, Novelle*, first published in the *Berliner Conversations-Blatt für Poesie, Literatur und Kritik*, Vol. 3, July, 1829, Nos. 141, 142, 144-147.¹ In 1841 the *Novelle* was reprinted in von Heyden's *Randzeichnungen. Eine Sammlung von Novellen und Er-*

¹ Diesch, *Bibliographie der germanischen Zeitschriften*, No. 2097. An account of von Heyden's life and works may be found in Goedeke's *Grundriß*, vol. 10, pp. 291-297, our story being treated on pp. 294, 295.

zahlungen, Vol. 1, pp. 387-444, and from here it passed over into Heyse and Kurz' *Deutscher Novellenschatz*, Vol. 13, pp. 177-231, where it is most readily accessible, as the *Conversations-Blatt* and the *Randzeichnungen* are rarely met with. A synopsis of *Der graue John* follows:

At the time of the Continental Blockade (1807) two young Germans one night rescue a tall man attacked by foot-pads in the suburbs of London. The man, whose face they do not get to see clearly, does not tell them anything more about himself except that his name is John; with the remark that they shall see him again, but without recognizing him, he suddenly disappears, leaving with them a valuable ring, as a memento. They notify the police of the occurrence, which is published in the newspapers. Soon after, while walking in a park on a Saturday afternoon, a gentleman greets them, inquiring whether their adventure with Grey John had had any bad results for them. When they inquire about Grey John, he replies that all London knows the repulsive beggar who sweeps the unpaved approach to the Exchange, now and then receiving a penny from a charitable person. The two Germans had often seen this beggar, without knowing his name, and they judge that he must be at least seventy, being at the same time hunch-backed, lame, crippled with rheumatism, and unable to stand without the aid of a crutch and of his broom. The young men continue walking with the gentleman, who introduces himself as John Williams, until they finally reach a village, several hours distant, where he invites them to spend the week-end with him. Until his villa, which he points out to them, is finished, he makes his home at the inn. For several months these week-end visits are repeated, and each time, on Monday morning, Mr. Williams leaves them in the park in which they had first met. Upon completion of his villa, Mr. Williams arranges a festival, at which his engagement to Betty Leads, the innkeeper's daughter, is announced. At the marriage, the villa, together with a considerable sum of money, is settled upon the bride. Williams continues to spend the first part of the week in London, returning to the village on Saturday afternoons. Betty promises never to attempt to discover the reason of his absence. Things continue thus for a year and more, but eventually the young wife, to whom friends insinuate that her husband may be a highwayman, or a pickpocket, is induced to follow him unobserved, and discovers him to be none other than Grey John, the lame and hunchbacked beggar at the Exchange. He makes his escape, and the young wife, vainly hoping that he may some day return, does not betray his secret. A benevolent society, which had been receiving considerable contributions anonymously, is informed by a letter from Grey John that this is to be his last contribution, and that the donor, not permitted to be even a beggar, must now, in obedience to his fate, go to the devil.

The reason for this educated man's life as a beggar is indicated in a story which Mr. Williams tells the two Germans: Robert, a clerk in the

service of a Jamaican planter, is sent to Boston, to collect a bad debt of considerable amount which had practically been charged off as hopeless. He is able to collect almost the entire amount, only to be accused by his employer of having pocketed the rest. In danger of arrest as an embezzler, he retains the collected money and makes his escape to the East Indies, where, in course of time, he becomes fabulously rich. A beggar whom he thrusts from his door reveals himself as his former employer, who demands that he return the stolen money, but dies before Robert can reply. Torn by remorse, he disposes of his fortune and disappears. At the end of the story we are left to infer that Grey John is Robert, trying to atone for his crime.

In an introductory paragraph to *Der graue John*² von Heyden makes this statement concerning his source:

Was in diesen Blättern niedergelegt wird, ist auch die Schilderung eines englischen Sonderlings, und eines solchen, der nicht nur wirklich gelebt hat, sondern auch heute noch leben mag. In einem Romane dürfte eine Begebenheit, wie die folgende, übertrieben und unnatürlich erscheinen, indeß ein sehr zuverlässiger Freund hat ihr als Augenzeuge beigewohnt, und ich darf vertrauensvoll berichten, was er gesehen und zur Stelle vernommen.

In the Introduction to the *Randzeichnungen* (I, p. xvi) this statement is amplified:

Der Verfasser . . . hat oft nur Begebenheiten abgefaßt, die ihm als wirkliche Ergebnisse gelegentlich mitgeteilt worden, und diesen mehr oder weniger vom Seinigen zufügt. Der Inhalt der Novelle: "der graue John" weiset am wenigsten solche Zuthaten auf. Die Geschichte trug sich wirklich zu, wie sie erzählt ist. Ein würdiger Mann, dem die Gabe poetischer Erfindung ganz abgeht, und der heute noch lebt, hat, als unmittelbarer vertrauter Augenzeuge, jenen Begebenheiten beigewohnt. Diese erschienen so sonderbar, daß dem Drange sie niederzuschreiben, nachdem sie vertraulich mitgeteilt worden, nicht zu widerstehen war. Einiges ist freilich idealisirt.

In two places, accordingly, von Heyden asserts that the story was told him by an eyewitness, incapable of telling anything but a plain, unvarnished tale, and he expressly adds that this *Novelle* shows less of his own addition than any of the others contained in the *Randzeichnungen*. The editors of the *Deutscher Novellenschatz* accept his statement, and I know of no reason why we should refuse to do so. It follows, then, that Thackeray, while reproducing

² *Berliner Conversations-Blatt* No. 141, repeated in *Randzeichnungen* I, 390.

the original theme, has chosen to substitute a happy ending, more in consonance with the comic tone that dominates his story. Whether Thackeray got the story from von Heyden, or from another account that might have been the common source of both, is difficult to decide: in the indices of the *London Times* of this period I found no clue. Furthermore, Thackeray was in Germany from the summer of 1830 to the fall of 1831, and it is not at all unlikely that some friend, perceiving that the story in the *Conversations-Blatt* played in London, should call his attention to it.

In conclusion, I may call attention to a third version of this theme, in Johanna Schopenhauer's *Bettler von Sankt Columba*:³

An old beggar who has for years had his station at the door of the Church of St. Columba in Cologne, prevents one of his patrons from committing suicide. It turns out that the young man, Gisbert Neumann by name, has gambled away a considerable sum belonging to his employer, who is about to return to Cologne. The beggar promises aid, and taking Gisbert to his home, shows him a hoard of gold, much more than sufficient to pay the young man's debt; he offers to give him this money on condition that Gisbert marry the beggar's daughter, who, as it turns out, is a beautiful and unspoiled young girl. In order that the identity of the girl may remain a secret, the marriage takes place in another town, with the beggar present, but not seen. The latter continues to solicit alms at the church, and has no communication with the young couple. It is the time of the French Revolution, and Gisbert eventually goes to Paris, amasses a fortune, and returns to Cologne with his wife: he has meanwhile changed his name, calling himself M. de Boisvert. The beggar had left Cologne immediately after the departure of his daughter and her husband, and she has had no news of her father for many years. Upon her return to Cologne, she tries to find out from the other beggars at St. Columba what has become of the old man, but without avail. One day, when she and her husband are on their way to a festival, she sees her father, who had been run down by a passing vehicle. She jumps out of the carriage, embraces her father, loudly calling his name, whilst her husband asks her not to make a scene by proclaiming the fact that the old beggar is her father. The latter dies in her arms. From documents found at his abode it appears that he had made a vow of some sort, to live and die a beggar.

While there is here a variation in the story, in that not the beggar, but his daughter is married, the fundamental theme re-

³ Cf. Goedeke's *Grundriß*, 10, 295. The story appeared in Theodor Hell's *Penelope, Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1832*, and could therefore have been inspired by von Heyden, as far as time is concerned.

mains, as also the unhappy ending. Furthermore, here, as in von Heyden's story, the beggar had taken up this profession in consequence of a vow.

W. KURRELMEYER

BROWNING'S *THE RING AND THE BOOK* AND
WASSERMANN'S *DER FALL MAURIZIUS*

It may be of interest to know that the technic used by Browning in his famous "murder case" has deeply influenced Jacob Wassermann in one of his best books, the *Fall Maurizius*. Like the Franceschini case, the Maurizius case is a case of the past which at the time of the opening of the book has been settled and forgotten. Both authors reopen the old case, Browning by using himself and Wassermann through one of his characters (Etsel). In the *Ring and the Book* Browning chances to find the *Old Yellow Book*, becomes interested and brings the Franceschini case to life again; in the *Fall Maurizius* Etsel Andergast chances to meet "the man with the seaman's cap," becomes interested and brings the Maurizius case to life again. Both find their first information in old documents, Browning in the *Old Yellow Book* and Etsel in the *Petitions for Pardon*. It is in the latter that we first become acquainted with the main circumstances of the case in a way not very different from the method used in the First Book of Browning's work. Like the First Book it appears in the first part of the story, gives us an idea of what the story is about and points out the fact that there are differences of opinions to which it briefly introduces us. In his *Petitions for Pardon* (including the newspapers and other written documents) Wassermann presents the dead skeleton of the case in much the same way as Browning does in his First Book. And by first presenting us with this lifeless skeleton of facts, Wassermann is following Browning's first step—he is giving us that part of his story which might well compare to the latter's "pure crude facts."

However, Wassermann like Browning does not leave us with only a knowledge of these. Like Browning he proceeds to breathe life into this skeleton by "mingling the soft gold with gold's alloy"—his imagination. This is done by giving us glimpses of

the soul, that entity which is absent from the cold facts as it is from the dead skeleton. For that reason Wassermann, like Browning, lets "the warm sun of fancy" play upon his characters and thereby brings them to life.

By bringing their characters to life, both authors let us look into these characters and let us see in them that which our particular vision allows us to see. In other words, neither Browning nor Wassermann has alloyed his imagination with the facts for the purpose of convincing us of one point of view. We are forced to draw our own conclusions. As in the *Ring and the Book*, the characters of the *Fall Maurizius* tell their own story in their own way and interpretation, and after each has told his tale, Wassermann steps back and leaves the final decision to rest with the reader. As "the acid slowly burns out the alloy," what is left is not the author's nor any one speaker's point of view but the reader's decision which is influenced by, and therefore based on, the sum total of all arguments and opinions given. To be sure, Wassermann has not confined each speaker to a separate division of his book as Browning does. There is no special "Book" in which one particular speaker says all that he has to say. Instead, there is a gradual unfolding of the plot through a great deal of interwinding. We hear a little of one part of the story from Maurizius and then a little of another part of the story from Andergast and then perhaps a different version of the whole affair from Waremmé. Nevertheless, as interwoven as these characters and arguments are, the threads need but be unwound, and we find the same definite divisions as we have in the *Ring and the Book*.

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GOETHE AND HEINRICH VON KLEIST. A MISREPRESENTATION

The unfortunate relations between Goethe and Heinrich von Kleist have been discussed frequently by literary critics. Goethe's unfavorable comments on Kleist's *Amphitryon*, *Penthesilea* and *Der zerbrochene Krug*, as well as the circumstances attendant upon the Weimar production of the last named of these dramas, are too

well known to need repetition here. The same is true of the bitter epigrams which Kleist subsequently directed at Goethe in the *Phöbus*. But a recent biography¹ of Kleist does such violence to facts and to the character of Goethe as to demand refutation.

If merely the authentically documented data regarding Heinrich von Kleist's life were published, biographies of the great Prussian dramatist would be brief. Yet his enigmatic character and startling, tragic end have stimulated writers to give credence to much idle gossip and to unfounded rumors, which have been repeated without careful scrutiny. It is not surprising that authors of fanciful pseudo-biography should seize with avidity upon the life of an ill-starred, mysterious personage like Kleist. But it is unfortunate that thereby myths should be perpetuated, widely circulated, and grossly exaggerated. Granted that a biography in the form of a novel need not be expected to conform strictly to detailed facts, it is nevertheless deplorable to distort and disparage the character of a truly great man who failed to understand Kleist's personality and art. The authors of *La Vie de Henri de Kleist* have done a grave injustice to the memory of Goethe by attributing to him a malevolent desire to undermine the career of a contemporary poet.

In this biography Kleist's persistent misfortune and failure to win recognition are accounted for in large measure by the following diatribe:

Le crime de Kleist fut sans doute d'avoir déplu à l'illustriissime, au tout-puissant qui régnait alors, du haut de son Olympe, sur les lettres du monde: Goethe.

Du jour où ces deux demi-dieux s'affronteront, ce sera la lutte sans merci. Le plus faible y laissera ses os (p. 67).

The nature of this war without quarter is set forth rancorously in the account of the Weimar presentation of Kleist's comedy *Der zerbrochene Krug*. Goethe is represented as filled with heightened animosity toward Kleist because the latter had become the protégé of Wieland. The authors of the biography invent a fanciful legend to the effect that Duke Karl August of Weimar had, at the instigation of Wieland, Rühle von Lilienstern and Ernst von Pfuel, expressed a desire to see the comedy staged. Goethe's reaction to this alleged proposal is couched in these words:

¹ *La Vie de Henri de Kleist*. Par Émilie et Georges Romieu. 8th ed. Paris, Gallimard, 1931.

Le premier mouvement de Goethe avait été de rendre son sceptre; mais à la réflexion, sans doute se dit-il qu'il pouvait beaucoup mieux faire. On voulait qu'il fit représenter la pièce de ce bête insolent: il allait d'abord la mettre au point, lui, Goethe; il allait "collaborer" avec Kleist (pp. 149 f.).

Goethe's unfortunate division of the comedy into three acts, and other changes are alleged to have been prompted by a vengeful desire to sabotage a play of merit. Moreover, the unsubstantiated gossip, that Goethe approved of the functionary who expressed his dislike of the comedy by whistling, is published as a valid fact (p. 151).

Of Goethe's comment on *Penthesilea*, a copy of which he had received from Kleist, the authors publish but a part, namely, that which is most critical. The opening and closing sentences, which soften the criticism somewhat, do not appear here (pp. 150 f.). Goethe is portrayed as "empourpré de colère" as he begins the reading of the tragedy (p. 150). No attempt is made to set forth the difference in Goethe's and Kleist's views on art, which gave rise to the former's shrinking from so vehement a portrayal of outraged sensibilities and of savage cruelty as is found in *Penthesilea*. Obviously enough, Goethe's chastened sense of beauty was rudely jolted by the excesses of unbridled passion in *Penthesilea*; such extremes must have seemed to transgress the boundaries of art and to lead back to the chaos from which German literature had but recently extricated itself.

Iffland's refusal to stage *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn* in Berlin is claimed to have been inspired by Goethe (p. 171). The fact is that Iffland had been ruffled by attacks directed at him by Adam Müller, Kleist's fellow-editor of the *Berliner Abendblätter*.

The biography ends with the lament of Kleist's sister Ulrike, who accuses herself and Goethe of having killed Kleist. Never can she pardon him who has ruined her brother's literary career (p. 232). This accusation of Goethe by Ulrike is entirely unsubstantiated.

Passages, such as those cited above, do not represent a mere excursion into the realm of the fanciful, which may be condoned in the novel of biography; these distortions of facts result in vilification.

It is not surprising that Goethe should have failed to appreciate Kleist, who was misunderstood and neglected not merely during

his lifetime, but for decades after his death. By nature and by their views on art the two men were destined to remain apart. Had Kleist's *Die Familie Schroffenstein* and *Penthesilea* appeared during the early years of Goethe's Storm and Stress enthusiasm, they might have had a very different reception. But the Goethe of the first decade of the nineteenth century, whose views on esthetics had undergone so profound a change in the eighties of the preceding century, must have been as offended in his artistic sensibilities by these dramas as he was by the belated Storm and Stress products of Schiller. And literary history has convincingly recorded how difficult it was to effect a rapprochement between Goethe and Schiller even through personal contacts which were lacking in the case of Goethe and Kleist. In the young Prussian dramatist Goethe doubtless sensed a morbidity and lack of poise which were painful reminders of his own early experiences.

The truth of the matter is not that Goethe wilfully undermined Kleist, but rather that encouragement from the older poet might have sustained and comforted the unhappy dramatist when all the odds appeared to be against him. This view gains support from the solace and inspiration which Kleist drew from Wieland's praise of his *Robert Guiskard*. For in hours of discouragement and despair he read and re-read his benevolent old friend's words of commendation which spurred him on to renewed effort.

Sympathetic understanding and aid from Goethe would very probably have paved the way for recognition, and might have averted the crisis which resulted in Kleist's suicide. But to attribute Kleist's lack of outward success and his tragic death to malevolence on the part of Goethe is nothing short of calumny.

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GOETHE AND SCHNITZLER

We know that Arthur Schnitzler read certain writers; he said so. It is impossible for one poet to read another without being influenced. Very little has been done thus far by way of getting at Schnitzler's sources. We have been minded to feel that he was wholly Viennese and to assume that that settled the matter. This

is far too narrow. I have at present no thought of launching out into an investigation of this subject. It would be however a fruitful one; and Schnitzler, as the author of *Anatol* and *Reigen*, needs and deserves a Lessing-like "Rettung." Here I wish merely to emphasize the relation of *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* to Schnitzler.

In Schnitzler's story *Die dreifache Warnung*, the spirit had said to the youth: "Geh nicht durch diesen Wald, Jüngling, es sei denn, du wolltest einen Mord begehen." He goes through the woods and feels that he has conquered because he has not committed murder. But the spirit says to him later: "Dein achtloser Schritt hat einen Wurm zertreten." Some readers object to the argument.

There is a parallel to this in *Werther*, the style of which is not at all unlike that of Schnitzler's story. It is the famous letter of August 18, where Goethe makes the point that the earth from pole to pole is inhabited with living creatures—and we read: "Der harmloseste Spaziergang kostet tausend armen Würmchen das Leben, es zerrüttet ein Fusstritt die mühseligen Gebäude der Ameisen, und stampft eine kleine Welt in ein schmähliches Grab." The entire letter is relevant to Schnitzler but too long for quotation; and it is, or should be, one of the most familiar passages from Goethe.

Moreover, when *Werther* has finally made up his mind to take his life, he calls in his servant and gives him orders as to how his affairs are to be adjusted. Among these orders is this one: "Und einigen Armen, denen er wöchentlich etwas zu geben gewohnt war, ihr Zugeteiltes auf zwei Monate voraus zu bezahlen." This theme, with such modifications as epic strategy and economy demanded, re-occurs in Schnitzler's story entitled *Blumen*.

But all of this is relatively unimportant in comparison with the strangest parallel, possibly, in German literature: that between *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* and Schnitzler's *Leutnant Gustl*. At first, and without further consideration, a comparison of these two one-man tales would seem like a comparison of Thomas Mann with Wilhelm Busch, of Hegel with Jack London. There is no thought of working out the parallel here.

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GOETHE'S TASSO, L. 2152: *VIELLEICHT, VIELLEICHT
AUCH NICHT.*

Isabella d'Este, the "First Lady of the Renaissance," great-aunt of Goethe's Duke Alphons, married into the Gonzaga family at Mantua. The family-device, *Forse che sì, forse che no*, occurs everywhere in her palace there, and was used by d'Annunzio as the title of his novel concerning her. Goethe must have studied the brilliant career of this most typical woman of the Ferrara house. May not the phrase be a faint reflection of "local color"?

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TWO UNPUBLISHED NOTES BY S. T. COLERIDGE

As all students of Coleridge know, the books that contain his marginalia are most numerous, and new ones frequently come to light. Since Haney's Bibliography of Coleridge was published, which contains a list of such volumes, there have been many discoveries in that phase of his writings. It would be a considerable task to compile a thoroughly up-to-date catalogue of his marginalia, but such a work would have no small value.

Some time ago I found an entirely unrecorded Coleridge association book whose owner has very kindly permitted me to publish the manuscript notes. It is the one volume edition of Cowley's works, published in 1681. According to a note inserted by Edward Dowden, the book was bought by him at the sale of Wordsworth's library (the poet's signature is on the title page) at Rydal Mount in 1859.

In Cowley's Preface to the Miscellanies there are two notes by Coleridge. Cowley remarks¹ disparagingly on some of his youthful poems. But Coleridge evidently understood him to mean that he lightly regarded all of his Miscellany, for Coleridge wrote in the margin:

Strange that a respect for the subject of two of these poems viz—that on his Friend Harvey & the other on the Poet Crashaw, both funereal

¹ P. C2.

Poems, should not have preserved him from speaking in this manner. But there is here a deal of affection.

After he had read the Miscellany, however, he came to the following conclusion:

I have fallen into a mistake in the above. The contemptuous tone in which he spoke is not the one to apply to the whole *Miscellany* but only to the juvenile part of it. It gives me pleasure to have observed this & to correct the mistake in this manner rather than erase the Note.²

Through the courtesy of its owner, I am able to publish for the first time Coleridge's note in his copy of Mandeville's "Fable of the Bees" (1772). Haney cites in his Bibliography another edition dated 1724, in which, he states, Coleridge has a note on the first fly-leaf, the same location of the one in the 1772 edition. As a 1724 edition was issued, he could have had both; but I am inclined to believe that there is an error in Haney's reference, and that the one before me is the only one possessed by Coleridge. The note is as follows:

If I could ever believe that Mandeville really meant anything more by his Fable of the Bees etc (than) a *bonne bouche* of solemn raillery I'd like to ask those man shaped apes *who've* taken up his suggestions in earnest and seriously maintained them as a basis for a *rational* act of man and the world how they explain the existence of those cheats, those superior charlatans the legislators & philosophers who have known how to play to(o) well upon the Peacock like Vanity & Follies of their fellow mortals.

S. T. Coleridge (Signed)

Columbia University

WARREN E. GIBBS

CARDINAL NEWMAN'S LITERARY PREFERENCES

It is extremely difficult to find any direct mention of Cardinal Newman's favorite authors in anything that has been published of his. Newman's personal library at the Birmingham Oratory, where he passed the last thirty years of his life, was well-stocked with the early Church Fathers and with little else—no index certainly to his favorite English authors. But a letter to Thomas

² The last line of the pencilled note is so badly rubbed that it cannot be read. (Ed.)

Arnold, which reflects to some extent his favorite English classics, has escaped publication to this time.¹

Thomas Arnold, to whom this letter was addressed, son of the Head Master of Rugby and brother of Matthew, had known Newman at Oxford, had listened, in company with his brother, to the stream of calm eloquence that rolled from the lips of Newman preaching at St. Mary's and had fallen under his spell. So it was natural that he should turn to Newman for direction when in 1856 he became a Catholic. Arnold had to leave a position in New Zealand as a result of this change in religion, and sailed for England with his family, writing to Newman, in the meantime, about the future. Inasmuch as Arnold had published some critical work and was planning his "Survey of English Literature," Newman directly offered him a professorship of English literature in the Catholic University at Dublin, which at that time he was forming. The welcome offer was accepted, and Arnold started to plan a survey course for his classes. In regard to a syllabus which Arnold had submitted to him, Newman wrote:

The Oratory, Hagley Road
Birmingham

Dec^r 24, 1856

My dear Arnold

I hope you won't follow what I say *because* I say it. This means, don't take Addison without conviction. My reasons are such as the following.

1. Periodical literature, and conversational essays are one great portion of English literature down to this day—and he is its patriarch in England. He has founded a *school*, as much as any English author, but Pope.

2. He has had as much to do in forming our language, as Pope (?) I think so. And he has humanized the public, or created a literary taste more than *anyone* else.

3. His *style* has very great beauties. e. g. Vision of Mirza. Perhaps Thackeray's "Esmond" is not a fair specimen of it—but *that* is to my mind *most* beautiful.

4. He is a chief classic, for he is so considered *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*.

5. I have been very much struck with the way Thackeray takes him up in his History of English Wits. He is a sort of witness of a day so different from Addison's own—unless you think it a theory of Thackeray's.

6. I can't help recollecting, what till Th's book, I had forgotten, that

¹ This letter was presented to the Pierpont Morgan Library by Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Arnold's daughter. It is published by the kind permission of The Oratory and of the Morgan Library.

he was an author, on whom I doted at 15. I only say this, to show his power still of affecting untaught minds.

I like your introduction of Chaucer, Spencer & the Ballads.

I am not satisfied at the omission of Milton. Yet he is of no School. I am puzzled here.

As to Clarendon, he too represents no school—and what is worse, Charles the 1st is unpopular in Ireland on account of Strafford. Your idea of shortening and mapping is good—but if you go into an *English subject matter*, in opposition to *literature*, the Irish will think it hard that the English rebellion or civil war has the precedence of the raid of Fergus Mac Diormad into Munster in revenge for the dun cow which was stolen from the pastures of his great uncle Thrady in the second century before the Christian era.

I have some compunction in leaving out the novelists, yet who can get boys seriously to read them? Perhaps two or three lectures on them without a text book would be best.

And I have a great difficulty about Gibbon. No one has had a greater effect on the historical style, even when his followers cannot be called Gibbonian. I trace his influence on nearly every writer.

And now a further difficulty as the subject opens is to adapt it to a two year course. Must not you confine the two years to three to six chief classics? If so, they must be Shakespeare, (Milton?) Pope, Clarendon(?) Addison, Johnson. Or who?—Then for the next two years you might take Spenser—Bacon—Milton—the Novelists, . . .

I don't think you need mind chronology in your course, for your main point is to put the students on a level with others in knowledge. E. g. to start at Woolwich it would be respectable to be acquainted with Shakespeare, Pope, Addison, & Johnson, and to *know about* (i. e. by means of professorial lectures) Spenser, Bacon Dryden, Milton, Fielding . . .

This is what strikes me at the moment—take it quantum valeat.

Yours most sincerely,

John H. Newman
of the Oratory

T. Arnold Esq.

The best wishes of the season to you and yours.

This letter is the more important in that it shows, in an orderly, explicit fashion, Newman's range and taste among the English classics in a plan that is neither to be found or suggested in any of his works or other letters. However, in the lectures that Newman delivered as a prelude to his induction as Rector of the Catholic University in 1852, he mentioned some of his favorites to exemplify points that he was making. In the lecture on "Literature," for instance, Newman stated what he meant by a classic: "By the Classics of a national Literature I mean those authors who have

the foremost place in exemplifying the powers and conducting the development of its language."² Several times in these lectures he adverts to Addison, the writer for whom he made such a strong plea to Arnold:

. . . If there be any of our classical authors, who might at first sight have been pronounced a University man, with the exception of Johnson, Addison is he; yet even Addison, . . . must be something more, in order to take his place among the Classics of the language, and owed the variety of his matter to his experience of life, and to the call made on his resources by the exigencies of his day. . . .³

But Addison was a master-stylist, and Newman attributed this quality not so much to his training as to an inborn faculty:

. . . "Poeta nascitur, non fit," says the proverb; and this is in numerous instances true of his poems, as well as of himself. They are born, not framed; they are a strain rather than a composition; and their perfection is the monument, not so much of his skill as of his power. And this is true of prose as well as of verse in its degree: who will not recognize in the vision of Mirza a delicacy and beauty of style which is very difficult to describe, but which is felt to be in exact correspondence to the ideas of which it is the expression? ⁴

Might not Newman have written these words of himself as well? Not that he was a careless composer: his "only master of style" was Cicero, to whom, as he wrote the Reverend John Hayes, "I think I owe a great deal . . . and as far as I know to no one else."⁵ His letters show the marks of careful attention. At the Oratory in Birmingham thousands of rough drafts of his letters are preserved as he saved them. But the evidence all seems to point to the conclusion that Newman was a prose stylist born, not made by imitation of English models.

Even this letter presents no complete chart to Newman's favorites in English literature. It must be remembered that he was helping to plan a course for college use, and certain compromises have to be made with personal preferences. It is not known whether Arnold used this revision of Newman's, or even if he included Addison for whom Newman had made such a strong case. He did hold

² *The Idea of a University*. London (1910), 321.

³ *Ibid.* 312.

⁴ *Ibid.* 279.

⁵ April 13, 1869. *Letters*, London (1891), II, 477.

the chair of English Literature at the University until 1862, when he joined Newman at the Oratory School in Birmingham.

Newman left the Catholic University some time before Arnold, after a trying and unsuccessful attempt as administrator. It is only in the lectures that he delivered before the inauguration outlining his ideals of education, and in this particular letter that he has shown his tastes in literature.

J. CONNOP THIRLWALL

Long Island University

FIRST DRAFTS OF LANIER'S VERSE

In the Lanier Alcove of the Johns Hopkins Library there are two documents which permit us to learn something of Sidney Lanier's method of poetic composition and of his revision of his own verse. One of these is his copy of the Bohn Library translation of the *Discourses of Epictetus* by George Long and the other the corrected proof of his "Ode to The Johns Hopkins University." On blank spaces at the beginning and the end of the *Epictetus* Lanier has made penciled notes of great interest to students of his verse.

On a partly blank advertising page are scribbled memoranda reading

Hymns of the Marshes
Hymns of the Fields
Hymns of the Mountains

This is probably the very first record of the poet's determination to write three series of nature poems, of which only one group was actually written. Above this is the single word *Swashbuckler*, which apparently he did not use, and below it the phrase *The Shambling Sea*, which grew into a poem. The four hymns of the marshes were arranged by Mrs. Lanier in her edition of the poems in the reverse of the order of composition. In chronological order they are

The Marshes of Glynn
Individuality
Marsh Song—At Sunset
Sunrise

The rough notes in the *Epictetus* grew into the second and third of these poems. These notes—with the stanzas as they appear in the published poems reprinted in the right-hand column—are as follows:

Come on

Sail on, sail on, fair Cousin Cloud

Come on

Come brood upon the marsh with me

Still—

Grey—

Dream-eyed and shadow browed

Mist—

Film—

Above the humped and fishy sea

Over

Slow think thyself along

Above the growling Caliban sea

White Ariel, dream thyself along.

Above the

Quite

And unafraid above the fearsome
sea

And heartseas'd still for straining
mast

Heartseas'd all for yon straining
mast

Heartseas'd for all yon straining
sail

And laboring smoke that not for
thee

Bear ventures o'er the Treacherous
vast

Of risk and tease and bottomry

Bear ventures while thy soul is pale
With teasing risk and bottomry

Pass kinsman cloud now fair and
mild

Go work the will that's not thine
own

Fulfill the will that's not thine own

I work in freedom wild
But work as plays a little child

"Individuality," I

Sail on, sail on, fair cousin Cloud:
Oh loiter hither from the sea.

Still-eyed and shadow-brow'd
Steal off from yon far-drifting
crowd,

And come and brood upon the marsh
with me.

Stanza I of Marsh Song—At Sunset

Over the monstrous shambling sea,

Over the Caliban sea,

Bright Ariel Cloud, thou lingerest

Oh wait, Oh wait, in the warm red

West,—

Thy Prospero I'll be.

"Individuality," II

Yon laboring low horizon-smoke,
Yon stringent sail, toil not for thee
Nor me; did Heaven's stroke
The whole deep with drown'd com-
merce choke

No pitiless tease of risk or bot-
tomry.

"Individuality," XVII

Pass kinsman Cloud, now fair and
mild:

Discharge the will that's not thine
own.

I work in freedom wild,
But work, as plays a little child,

Sure of my Father and myself alone
 Sure of my Lord, my self, our Love.
 alone

The Lord of Self and
 me of Love alone

Sure of the Father, Self, and Love
 alone.

"Individuality," XIII

The maker's greater than his
 The maker's
 The Lord—too much to covet one
 The Lord of all's too rich to covet
 one

My Lord is large, my Lord is
 strong:
 Giving, He gave: my me is mine.
 How poor, how strange, how wrong,
 To dream He wrote the little song
 I made to him with love's unforced
 design.

Or why not plunge thy blades about
 Yon

Some maggot politician throng
 Swarming to parcel out
 The body of a land, and rout
 The maw-conventicle and ungorge
 Wrong.

"Individuality," X

Or why not plunge thy blades about
 Some maggot politician throng
 Swarming to parcel out
 The body of a land, and rout
 The maw-conventicle, and ungorge-
 Wrong?

What the cloud doeth
 The Lord knoweth
 The cloud knoweth not
 What the artist doeth
 The Lord knoweth
 Knoweth the artist not?

[Printed without change as an
 interlude in "Individuality."]

The maker's Lord's over
 too great
 and strong
 To covet goods of one that He him-
 self
 Hath made his neighbor.
 For if O Lord, they rob me of my
 songs
 What can I give thee? Piteous pivot
 farce
 To think thee giving to Thyself
 through me.

"Individuality," XIII

My Lord is large, my Lord is
 strong:
 Giving, He gave: my me is mine.
 How poor, how strange, how wrong,
 To dream He wrote the little song
 I made to him with love's unforced
 design.

Also in the *Epictetus* are the lines which apparently grew into
 verses not included in Lanier's *Poems*, though later printed among
 his *Poem Outlines*.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | I had a dog |
| | And his name was not <i>Fido</i> but |
| | <i>Credo</i> . |
| | (In America they shorten his name |
| | to "Creed.") |
| | My child fell into the water: |
| | Then in plunged Credo and brought |
| | me out my child |
| | My beloved One |
| | Brought him out truly, |
| | But lo, in my child's throat and in |
| | his limbs |
| | In the throat and the limbs of the |
| | child of man, |
| | Credo's teeth had bitten deep |
| | (A good dog but a stern one was |
| | Credo) |
| | And my child though sound |
| | Was scarred in his beautiful face |
| | And was maimed in his manful |
| | limbs |
| | For life, alas, for life. |
| | Thus Credo saved and scarred and |
| | maimed |
| | The Son of Man, my Child. |
| Credo, thou'rt a domestic dog | |
| Stay at home and tend the women | |
| and children | |
| Come Fido, Here, we'll fare into the | |
| fields | |
| Here Fido, dog, we'll fare into the | |
| fields. | |

On February 22, 1880 Lanier read at the Commemoration Day exercises of the University an original poem entitled "Ode to The Johns Hopkins University." Of this occasional poem the manuscript and a first and second proof have been preserved in the University Library. A few of his revisions are reproduced below.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| In four brief cycles round the | In four brief cycles round the punc- |
| punctual sun | tual sun |
| Has she, old learnings latest laugh- | Has she, old learning's latest daugh- |
| ter, won | ter, won |
| Such grace, such stature, and such | This grace, this stature, and this |
| faithful fame | fruitful fame. |
| Thus sped with gifts of Love and | Thus sped helps gifts of love and |
| toil and thought | toil and thought |
| And hope and faith by guardian | Thus forwarded of faith, with hope |
| spirits brought | thus fraught. |
| Complete as Pallas to begin her way | Complete as Pallas she began her |
| | way |
| And here O later Pallas long remain | And here O finer Pallas long remain |

| | |
|---|--|
| Through larger cycles round a richer sun | Through nobler cycles round a richer sun |
| O blest Minerva of these milder days | O blest Minerva of these larger days |
| The freedom of the city grant | Till thou the freedom of the city grant |
| Let every player that doth mimic us | Let every player that shall mimic us |
| Bring large Lucretius with restored mind | Bring large Lucretius with un- maniac mind |
| Bring faith that sees with sure and level eyes | Bring faith that sees with undis- sembling eyes |
| And many peoples call from shore to shore | And many peoples call from shore to shore |
| See how this Pallas blest has Balti- more | The world has bloomed again at Baltimore. |

What intermediate versions there may have been between the pencilings in the *Epictetus* and the finished poems it is impossible to say. The Johns Hopkins *Ode* was pretty certainly something of an impromptu, and in the manuscript and the two proofs we probably have the whole story. The record is at least sufficient to give a hint as to Lanier's method of composition and to show that he revised assiduously, making changes that notably improved both the meaning and the melody of his verse.

JOHN C. FRENCH

The Johns Hopkins University

THE NECK OF CHAUCER'S FRIAR

In Chaucer's description of the Friar occurs the following line:

His nekke whyt was as the flour-de-llys; . . .¹

I have been unable to find an explanation or interpretation of it. As Chaucer was not accustomed to saying things without a purpose, we may be sure that this line whose meaning is apparently unintelligible has a significance, if we but knew the key. This key, it seems to me, may be found by following the theory that Chaucer employed rather freely the science of physiognomy in his delineation of character.² From a study of this in relation to the Friar

¹ W. W. Skeat, *The Oxford Chaucer*, C. T., A. 1. 238.

² See W. C. Curry, *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences*, New York, 1927,

we may glean, if not a complete solution, at least a suggestion of such. John Metham, a late exponent of the science, has this to say about necks.

A nek the qwyche ys rowgh off schap sygnyfyith an ontawgh(t) parsonne, and a wylde, chargyng off ryght nowght. . . . Sum-tyme yt happyth that scolerys the qwyche stody in vnyuersyteys at her frendys fyndyng, qwan thei perseyue that of ese her nekkys be pleyn and ful off qwyete and off rest, and that this tokyn ys opyn and vycyus, be craft thei make her nekkys stabyl and rugh, that ys to sey, ful off schrynkys; but her craft holdyth noght, for-a(s)-myche as thei hyde in that parte, the werkynge of nature schewyth on odyr partys.³

This is but faintly suggestive. Chaucer plainly says that the Friar's neck is white and indicates no less plainly that the Friar is a wandering vagabond and no university scholar. Nevertheless the inference is that a smooth, soft neck was a disgraceful possession, else these scholars would not have gone to the pains of somehow disguising or roughening theirs. From two other sources of earlier date than Metham, and in whose tradition he writes, we have more definite reference to color.

. . . Man which is / feble of Colour
ffor thyn awayl / looke that thou flee,
ffor he is pleynly / tak heed vnto me,
To lecchery dispoosed / be nature and kynde,
And othir evelys / many as I ffynde.⁴

Signa luxuriosi: qui est albi coloris et pilosus, rectis capillis et grossis et nigris, et tempora pilosa, oculus pinguis et insanus.⁵

While we cannot absolutely unite these authorities into one argument, we can at least hazard a guess that some odium attached to a "pleyn" neck and a "feble" color. Porta, a physiognomist after Poleman, Admantius, Aristotle, and other ancient masters of the science, states more definitely what Metham and Lydgate and Burgh only hint at.

or *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum*, ed. Robt. Steele, EETS. E. S. No. 74, 1898, or T. B. Clark, "Forehead of Chaucer's Prioress," *PQ.*, ix (July, 1930).

³ *The Works of John Metham*, ed. Hardin Craig, EETS. No. 132, 1916, pp. 135-136.

⁴ Lydgate and Burgh, *Secrees of Old Philisoffres*, ed. Robt. Steele, EETS. E. S. No. 66, 1894, ll. 2530-2534.

⁵ Bartholomaei de Messana (*Aristotelus*) *Phusiognomonika* in R. Foerster's *Scriptores Physiognomonici*, I, Lipsiae (Teubner), 1893, p. 39.

Collum valde fractum.

Vtriusque textus mancus est, Polemonis & Adamantij,⁶ & obscurus; conabimur tamen pro virili restituere. Qui vero artificio quodam valde effractum collum habere se simulant, eo ipso se cinaedos ostendunt, dum enim hoc modo se emendare cupiunt, nihil aliud quaerunt, quam vt impudicitiam & impudentiam suam abscondant. Idem in figura effeminati ei collum fractum adscribunt, & est contrarium praedicti signi, nam si durum collum, & firmum, pertinaces & duros ostendit; fractum molliusculos & effeminatos demonstrare par est. Albertus hic satis importune cum ceruice multa cinaedi signa adducit, inquiens. Cum videris ceruicis fluxum, & labiorum quandam contractionem risui quodammodo similem, & inordinatam oculorum conuersionem, inconstantiam in sedendo & stando, & vocem tremulam, constanter affirma talem esse effeminatum. Fabius: Caput, vel ceruix humilis, humilitatem demonstrat. Plutarchus narrat, quod Alcibiades quodammodo ceruicem frangebatur.⁷

Mutilum collum.

Quibus collum mutilum, audaces verbis, re timidos ostendit, Adamantius. Albertus: Breue collum, cum temeritate audacem notat.⁸

"Cinaedos" then, a soft neck, is an indication of perversion, and university scholars and other celibates either altered their necks or tried to excuse themselves on the ground of their cloistered habits. While the two adjectives "white" and "soft" do not occur in apposition either in the physiognomists or in Chaucer it seems reasonable that they do imply the same cervical condition.

If we are to suppose then that the Friar is one of these "cinaedi," we have several other characteristics of depravity mentioned by Porta which we can compare with Chaucer's description of the Friar to further substantiate this theory. Metham says that "the werkyng of nature schewyth on odyr partys," and Porta goes further to describe these other manifestations of nature above as contraction of the mouth somewhat like a smile, inordinate rolling of the eyes, shiftiness in sitting and standing, and a trembling voice.

⁶ For verification of this compare Polemonis *Physiognomon*, in *Scriptores physiognomoniae veteres*, ed I. G. F. Franzius, 1780 or Polemonis *de Physiognomania Liber Arabice et Latine*, ed. Georgius Hoffmann in R. Foerster's *op. cit.*, p. 218, or Admantii Sophistae *Physiognomicon*, trans. Franzius, *loc. cit.*, or Admantii *Physiognomonica*, ed. Foerster, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Johannis Baptiste Portae *De Humana Physiognomonica*, Rothomagi, 1650, lib. II, p. 207.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

None of these items fits exactly the Friar, but their combined import is parallel to Chaucer's description:

Somewhat he lipped, for his wantownesse,
To make his English swete up-on his tonge.
His eyen twinkled in his heed aright,
As doon the sterres in the frosty night.
And rage he coude, as it were right a whelpe.

For twinkling eyes Metham has a bad word.

Eyn the qwyche twynkyl and in maner lawgh with the chere, yff the eye off the self be drye, thei sygnyffye gret malyce^o

The aggregate of these arguments seems to point to a character of licentiousness and depravity of some sort in the Friar. Chaucer says that he was familiar with worthy women of the town, with the taverns, the tapsters, the sellers of victual, and that he was a smooth talker. As his neck is white, he is probably one of these "cinaedi" who is so bold and shameless in his infamy that he does not trouble himself with a disguise.

OZE E. HORTON

Nashville, Tenn.

CHAUCER'S prioress AGAIN: AN INTERPRETIVE NOTE

The charming prioress who graces Chaucer's prologue, touching the hearts of the most worldly and hardened pilgrims with her pathetic tale and holding her own in this motley company because her heart, like Sir Galahad's, is pure, has long been, despite her demureness, a very conspicuous lady. Ever since she sprang in her modish costume from her creator's fertile brain she has aroused controversy; many scholars and commentators have jousting in her behalf, but fortunately in this contest only opinions have been unseated and nothing but ink spilled. And yet a gulf yawns between some of these opinions, for certain older critics by an exegesis of the text that would probably have astonished Chaucer inferred that she was a disreputable woman; on the other hand, Sister Madeleva in an interesting essay so spiritualized the nun

^o Metham, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

that she lost all contact with humanity and was prematurely canonized. Both views are, I believe, extreme, and the truth lies in the golden mean.

Professor Lowes, in his acute interpretation of this character in his article entitled "The Prioress's Oath," has shed more light on this matter than any one else; however, he states: "I have no attention of pushing to its limits the curious analogy between the Prioress herself and the special saint whose name, to her mind, carried greatest weight."¹ But since tyros rush in where experts hesitate to tread, I shall attempt to do what Professor Lowes left undone.

Mr. Lowes asserts that St. Eligius (St. Loy) was the prioress's favorite saint because "he was at once, in a word, an artist and a courtier and a saint, a man of great physical beauty and a lover, in his earlier days, of personal adornment."² In another assertion in the same article, moreover, the author has seized upon the crux of the problem: "The brooch on the rosary sums up in a master-stroke the subtle analysis of the Prioress's character—the delicately suggested clash between her worldly and her religious aspirations."³

In her aforementioned essay Sister Madeleva has attacked this interpretation with some asperity in these words: "The suggestion that even Chaucer had in mind an ambiguous meaning for the motto 'Amor vincit omnia' or any eye to its cheaper journalistic value seems to me unworthy and inconsistent with his attitude of pronounced respect towards the Prioress."⁴ Undoubtedly Chaucer meant no disrespect, but why does the Sister use such singular epithets? I fail to see in what way the characterization is cheap except on the hypothesis that human nature or the life-force is cheap, which would be a rather pessimistic and cynical tenet. And as to the journalistic quality of Professor Lowes' portrait, is this phrase necessarily so damning? The difficulty is that the yellow journals have so boisterously advertised themselves that they have shouted down their more dignified and substantial brethren with

¹ "The Prioress's Oath," by Professor John L. Lowes, in the *Romanic Review*, Vol. v, p. 375.

² *Ibid.*, p. 369.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

⁴ *Chaucer's Nuns and Other Essays*, by Sister Mary Madeleva, p. 18.

the result that "journalistic" has become synonymous with "meretricious." But Chaucer, like Addison, Steele, De Quincey, and Hazlitt centuries later, was in a sense a journalist, for he closely observed and vividly reported the doings and sayings of the travelers in his famous cavalcade. A little thought clears Mr. Lowes of a questionable idea.

It is Sister Madeleva's opinion that "Nothing but a very urgent spiritual quest could have induced them [the nuns] to leave their cloister and join so worldly and public an excursion."⁵ Nothing? It is at least equally probable that the nun was obeying a natural impulse to catch once more a glimpse of the world that she had renounced. It is clear that she was not averse to violating rules, for she owned "smale houndes." The obvious motive of this unconventional behavior was her desire to emulate the ladies of the court. If she could yield to the almost universal feminine impulse to be fashionable, she might easily have succumbed to another worldly allurements, though she doubtless persuaded herself that she was solely actuated by a thirst for spiritual perfection on this immortal pilgrimage.

I wish not to be misunderstood. I am not for a moment hinting that the prioress had a tarnished character. Though this interpretation has been advanced, I consider it untenable, as I have stated above, for nothing in the prologue, the links, or the prioress's tale would warrant such an opinion. I do feel, however, that her motives, like those of the rest of us, were mixed and that she succeeded in hiding the less lofty ones from herself. But Chaucer, who like all great creative artists had a penetrating insight into unconscious motives, dexterously suggested the very human yearnings hidden in the heart of Madame Eglentyne.

I believe, then, that Professor Lowes's statement of the "curious analogy" between the prioress and St. Loy is not exactly the point. My interpretation is that unwittingly the nun admired the superb physique and handsome face of this versatile and attractive saint. (Professor Lowes quotes in his article a passage from St. Ouen, the friend and biographer of St. Loy, clearly revealing his fellow-worker's intellectual and physical appeal.) To put it succinctly, I believe that unconsciously she had a very human affection for the artist-saint. What could be more normal than that a woman bound

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

to celibacy by the rules of her order should derive in the recesses of her mind much satisfaction from wearing a brooch adorned with the inscription "Amor vincit omnia?" If queried in this matter, she would undoubtedly have sincerely insisted that celestial love was alluded to, but it is quite natural that a woman who had long dwelt in the odor of sanctity should have desired another sort of fragrance.

To clinch my argument, I wish to cite and comment on the following footnote in Professor Lowes's article to which I have so frequently referred: "St. Loy is still invoked among the 'petites ouvrières de Paris' when they wish to see in a dream the young man whom they are to marry."⁶ This is a significant fact. The fascinating saint appealed to them as he did to the prioress, and they certainly would not have been averse to the appearance in their dreams of a young man embodying the personal attractions of their patron.

It is evident that this conception by no means belittles the prioress but, on the contrary, by humanizing her it makes her dedication to the religious life more significant and perhaps more heroic.

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THE CHAUCERIAN-AMERICAN "I GUESS"

Of *I gesse*, as used by Chaucer, the writers of *The King's English*¹ assert that "the sense he sometimes gives it is very finely distinguished from the regular Yankee use." The expression is accordingly to be condemned for modern British use as an American innovation, not a genuine Chaucerian survival: "If we use the phrase—parenthetically, that is, like Chaucer and the Yankees—we have it not from Chaucer, but from the Yankees, and with their, not his, exact shade of meaning." This is very explicit—if not particularly urbane—and it represents an impression shared by other Englishmen than the brothers Fowler. I shall not discuss the standard of judgment that leads these critics to condemn any word that is in American but not in British use, no matter what the intrinsic value of the word, and no matter what its former

⁶Lowes, *op. cit.*, footnote 51, p. 384.

¹3rd edition (1930), p. 33.

status; they outlaw *fall*, for example, which they fully admit to be "better on the merits than *autumn*, in every way," but the use of which they must nevertheless forego because it is now purely Yankee. Apart from this, is there any reason to feel that what they assert about *I guess* is correct? Are the Chaucerian and the "Yankee" uses, in fact, either "very finely" or in any way differentiated?

That *I gesse* is a favorite Chaucerian expression, as the Fowlers indicate, is of course very well known. *Gesse* occurs, according to the Chaucer *Concordance*, no less than seventy-seven times, while *gesse* occurs only once, and *gessynge* but four times. Of the occurrences of *gesse* (to omit any dubious cases), fifty-six are immediately preceded by the first personal pronoun and are clearly parenthetical. There is no doubt, then, that the *I gesse* is a frequent qualifying phrase of Chaucer's, and that the use of *gesse* in this locution is by all odds the commonest employment of the word in his works. One may fairly inquire, therefore, whether the sense that he gives it is different from that of the corresponding Americanism.

That the parenthetical phrase frequently is *as I gesse* rather than simply *I gesse* does not, I think, alter the question. The idiom, in other words, may sometimes be slightly different from the modern one—as it is also in phrases like "so as it semed me" and "as it thinketh me"—but the *meaning* of the phrase may still be identical. What, then, does *I gesse* or *as I gesse* mean in Chaucer?

Professor Manly does not think it necessary to include *gesse* in the glossary of his edition of the *Canterbury Tales*. The omission may presumably be taken as silent evidence of his belief that the Chaucerian use and that familiar to American readers are one and the same. Skeat's glossary was primarily prepared, it may be presumed, for the British reader; here the meanings given for *gesse* are 'suppose, imagine.' These, surely, are also the correct equivalents of the phrase as used today in American conversation and occasionally in American writing, sometimes even that of a formal or literary character.²

Examination of the Chaucerian lines in which *I gesse* or *as I gesse* is used in a parenthetical construction bears out the conclusion that the American use is *not* subtly or otherwise differentiated

² H. B. Hinckley, it may be noted, has pointed out that the maligned "Yankeeism" has, in point of fact, been used, though rarely, in standard

from the Chaucerian. Here are the first four instances of its use in the *Canterbury Tales*:

Of twenty yeer of age he was, I gesse, (Prol, 82)
 A forster was he soothly, as I gesse, (Prol., 117)
 Bihynde hir bak, a yerde long, I gesse. (Kts. Tale, 1050)
 But Venus is it soothly, as I gesse. (Kts. Tale, 1102)

As further testimony the first two occurrences of the phrase in *Troilus and Criseyde* may be appended:

Ye saw the lettre that she wrot, I gesse? (I, 656)
 If she be fair, thou wost thyself, I gesse! (I, 882)

Will any American maintain that the sense of the phrase in any one of these six lines is at all different from that which he hears habitually given to *I guess* in everyday conversation? These lines, it may be added, would seem to be thoroughly representative of the general Chaucerian use.

The British belief that the Chaucerian and the American meanings of *I guess* are to be differentiated is therefore quite groundless. At the same time, an American is conscious that he does not, in any formal sort of speaking or writing, make the same free use of the phrase that Chaucer does. While the *meaning* of the phrase is the same, one must confess that it has nevertheless come very generally to be regarded as a colloquialism (if not a vulgarism) that should be eliminated, except perhaps from familiar conversation. It is a pity that it should be so. Chaucer did not hesitate to admit colloquialisms into his poetry; they are an important element, indeed, in giving his writing that racy, insouciant air

British poetry of much later date than Chaucer. The passages he cites (*Notes on Chaucer*, 8; and "Chauceriana," *MP.*, xiv, 317) are these:

And to our wish I see one hither speeding,
 An Ebrew, as I guess, and of our tribe.
 (Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, 1539-40)

. . . he, as I guess
 Had gazed on Nature's naked loveliness,
 (Shelley, *Adonais*, 274-5)

And another, a lord of all things, praying
 To his own great self, as I guess;
 (Tennyson, *Maud*, Part II, 5, 3)

It is interesting that in all three instances the idiom is *as I guess* rather than *I guess*.

that is one of its principal charms. One may perhaps voice the hope that the American will, in spite of the not too subtle British scorn, continue to preserve the Chaucerian phrase and that the phrase will not be restricted to colloquial use. In point of fact, it is not always so restricted. Miss Millay is to be applauded for her use of *I guess* is a distinctly elevated setting:

Their difference now above the board, I guess,
Discharges what beneath the board is due.

(*Fatal Interview*, Sonnet XXIII)

Temple University

STUART ROBERTSON

WHITMAN INTERVIEWS BARNUM

On April 28, 1846, the steamer *Great Western* arrived off Sandy Hook after a passage of seventeen days and six hours. Chief among its passengers was P. T. Barnum who with Tom Thumb had invaded and conquered Europe and now was anxious to attract greater attention in America. To further such a purpose this great showman had brought with him "Mlle. Jane, the only living Orang Outang in either England or America,"¹ another drawing card for the American Museum.

It may be surmised that few were more interested in the European experiences of Barnum than the young editor of *The Brooklyn Eagle*. It was not, however, until May 23, 1846, that these two met. Whitman notes what Barnum said in this uncollected item:

BARNUM ON EUROPE.—We saw Mr. Barnum, of [sic] Tom Thumb notoriety, manager of the Museum, &c., in New York, day before yesterday. He told us about his tour through all the capitals of Europe, and his intercourse with the kings, queens, and the big bugs. We asked him if anything he saw there made him love Yankeedom less. His gray eyes flashed: "My God!" said he, "no! not a bit of it! Why, sir, you can't imagine the difference.—There everything is frozen—kings and things—formal, but absolutely *frozen*: here it is *life*. Here it is freedom, and here are *men*." A whole book might be written on that little speech of Barnum's. (*The Brooklyn Eagle*, Monday, May 25, 1846, p. 2, column 3.)

THEODORE A. ZUNDER

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¹ *New-York Daily Tribune*, April 29, 1846, p. 4, column 1; p. 3, column 6.

REVIEWS

Ludwig Tieck and England. By EDWIN H. ZEYDEL. Princeton: Princeton University Press, for the University of Cincinnati, 1931. Pp. 264. \$2.75.

Professor Zeydel, whose scholarly interest in Tieck has been attested by various articles in *Modern Language Notes* and elsewhere, has produced in *Ludwig Tieck and England* a valuable study of one important aspect of Tieck's life and work. Certain phases of the subject had already received competent consideration, notably in the work of Lûdeke von Mollendorff on Tieck's relations to Shakespeare and the older English drama. The outstanding merit of the present study lies in the effort to cover the theme in its entirety. Abundant use has been made of unpublished material, not only of the relatively familiar *Nachlass* in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, but of widely scattered correspondence. A considerable amount of new material has been brought to light, and earlier errors have been corrected.

Perhaps the most definitive chapter in the volume is *Tieck in England*. Taking Burgsdorff's diary as published by Cohn for a foundation, with various secondary sources, Professor Zeydel adds, corrects, and pieces together, until we gain a record of Tieck's stay in England almost day by day. Further research might establish some of the missing dates when Tieck saw plays in the London theatres, but the chapter presents probably as nearly a complete account of Tieck's visit as we shall ever get.¹ In the chapter on Tieck's great library, its development and dispersion, Professor Zeydel combines the results of research, his own and others, into a comprehensive record not to be found elsewhere; emphasis is naturally laid on English books and Tieck's comments upon them. The survey of Tieck's acquaintance with English literature is especially thorough; his participation in the Shakespeare translation is given a new and searching analysis, though samples of Tieck's emendations in the Schlegel text would have been welcome. Another chapter treats exhaustively of Tieck's connections with individual Englishmen, Coleridge, Crabb Robinson, and others.

¹ Doubtless for lack of space reasons are not always given for the rejection of Burgsdorff's dates, which in many cases Cohn had already corrected. Zeydel gives May 3 for the departure from Berlin, Burgsdorff May 4. The latter date has the support of a letter from Oelsner to Rahel, dated May 6, 1817: "Vorgestern ist Tieck mit Herrn von Burgsdorff nach England aufgebrochen." (*Briefwechsel zwischen Varnhagen und Oelsner* hrsg. von L. Assing, Stuttgart, 1865, I. 103). Presumably the day of the week (Saturday) determined the date.

Research in English books and periodicals enables the author to present a substantial account of English acquaintance with Tieck's work and English critical opinion from 1813 (the English publication of Mme de Staël's *De l'Allemagne*² taken as a starting point) to Tieck's death, with a few subsequent items. The author records no English reference to Tieck before 1813, and assumes that he was hardly known. This is doubtless the case. There is, indeed, mention of Tieck's work, his name misspelled, as early as 1800 in the *Monthly Magazine* (IX. 685, and X. 622); it is a mere word but favorable. The reason why interest in Tieck did not develop is probably owing in part to the reputation for unorthodoxy and immorality that the new German literary movement gained in England; evidence might be found in the violent diatribe in the *Monthly Magazine* for December 1802 (XIV. 616-48). Though some English periodicals of significance are not drawn upon, the general picture is without doubt accurate and the conclusions substantiated. In a separate chapter Professor Zeydel subjects the translations of Tieck's works to a brief but adequate test of their merits, illustrating his criticism by specimen passages. It may be added that C. T. Brooks's translation *Spring*, an original for which Professor Zeydel was unable to find among Tieck's lyrics, is a rendering of two stanzas of Golo's address to Genoveva at the end of the scene *Saal auf dem Schloss*. Further, *Glycine's* song in Coleridge's *Zapolya* is a free adaptation of Tieck's *Herbslied*, as seems proved by an inspection of Coleridge's unrhymed version.³ Only a hasty glance is granted to Tieck's possible influence on English writers; it is a theme for a separate monograph, but, in view of earlier discussion of Tieck's relationship to Scott, the possible indebtedness of Scott to Tieck, as noted by Stokoe,⁴ could have been of interest in Professor Zeydel's brief list.

The topical arrangement of the material leads to frequent repetitions; indeed, the promise of a translation of *Sternbald* is noted twice in the same chapter (p. 145, 150). According to the preface and repeatedly noted in the text, one aim of the work is to point out "a surprising discrepancy between the conscious objectivity of his (Tieck's) imaginative writings and the subjectivism of his critical work." It lies, unquestionably, in the nature of the present study that the evidence tends to prove the second part of this contrast and to leave the objectivity of Tieck's imaginative writings

² In the survey of reviews of *De l'Allemagne* it might have been well to include those of William Taylor of Norwich in the *Monthly Review* (LXXII. 273; LXXIII. 63, 352; LXXIV. 268) where attention is directed to *Der gestiefelte Kater* as "the boldest and most singular comedy of the Germans", and *Sternbald* is classified among the "second rate novels".

³ Cf. Stokoe, *German Influence in the English Romantic Period*, Cambridge 1926, pp. 123-27.

⁴ Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

largely a matter of assertion. In speaking of Tieck's imaginative work, the author seems to conceive of subjectivity in the narrower sense,—“a reflex of external events in his own life” (p. 92), but it is difficult to see how the subjectivity of the critical writings can be reduced to this limited conception.⁵ Two of Tieck's *Novellen* are, indeed, cited as reflecting his visit to Stratford, and the chief basis of *Dichterleben* is, it is stated, “his own intuition as a poet.”

Criticism of details must be limited to a few points. It is implied (p. 2) that Young's *Conjectures* (1759), as well as the *Night Thoughts*, was well known in Germany by 1750. The author (p. 151) says Novalis when he means Wackenroder. “S. W. S.,” author of the introduction to the translation, *The Midsummer Night, or, Shakespeare and the Fairies*, may well have been S. W. Singer, who wrote prefaces of this sort and published editions of Shakespeare and other earlier authors (p. 177). Bisset Hawkins's Germany is mentioned only in connection with some quotations from it in the preface to Baskerville's *Beauties of German Literature* (1847). Hawkins's book appeared in 1838 and contained a long and, in general, well informed account of Tieck, which might have been considered in chronological order along with the work of Strang. The date (second edition 1839) shows that the “romantic city” was Dresden and not Berlin (Zeydel, p. 175). The article in the *Monthly Review*, to which reference is made (p. 147) was by William Taylor of Norwich.⁶ Tieck's readings in Dresden were not “public” in the usual sense of the word (p. 30). *Abendzeitung* not *Dresdener Abendzeitung* is the correct title of the paper (p. 30). Because he was by profession a “waterman,” John Taylor called himself the “Water Poet”; Tieck's story *Der Wassermensch* is one of his attacks on Young Germany; the title is derived from the extended discussion of Schiller's ballad *Der Taucher*, and a relationship to Taylor's dull verses seems highly improbable. The possible dependence of Tieck's *Der fünfzehnte November* on Chaucer's *Müller's Tale* deserved to be elaborated beyond the mere statement. A discussion of Tieck's indebtedness in *Vittoria Accorombona* to the French Romanticists (p. 46), for example, to Victor Hugo, whom he criticized severely,—only one of Hugo's major novels was published at the time—would lead beyond the limits of the present review.

HARVEY W. HEWETT-THAYER

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⁵ Reference is made to H. Gumbel, *Ludwig Tiecks dichterischer Weg in Romantik-Forschungen*, Halle, 1929, although it would not seem that Gumbel limits Tieck's subjectivity in this way.

⁶ Cf. J. W. Robberds, *Memoirs of William Taylor of Norwich*, London, 1843, II, p. 522.

Emmanuel Kant in England: 1793-1838. By RENE WELLEK.
Princeton: University Press, 1931. Pp. ix + 317.

Bertrand Russell has said that Emmanuel Kant was a philosophical catastrophe. A sympathizer with Russell's opinion and radical temperament could find support in Rene Wellek's excellent study of Kant's introduction into England during the years 1793 to 1838. The effect of the dissemination of the Kantian philosophy was not to break the shackles of conventional piety, but to reënforce the spirit of credulity and compromise. Kant in this early period primarily appealed to what William James has called the "tender-minded" thinker, the man with a bias toward rationalism, idealism, optimism, monism, free-will, and religious orthodoxy.

It is doubtless true that Kant cleared the path for modern positivism and agnosticism, even though his purpose was mainly constructive. But the English Kantians utilized the negations of the *Critique of Pure Reason* not to destroy nor to invent anew, but to reestablish a traditional philosophy of comfort, which was frequently stated in dogmatic and highly sentimental terms. If Kant is right, they reasoned, if science and metaphysics apply only to experience and not to the "noumenal" order, then the land of heart's desire may exist in the vast unknown beyond sensible knowledge. What could be more plausible than to suppose that this invisible realm is known to the "heart" but not to the "head"? Kant has justified "faith"; there is no longer anything to hinder belief. Thus did the Romantics prepare the way for the Victorian compromises.

We find nowhere in this period any vigorous utilization of Kant's greatest contribution to philosophy, the proof that form is a part of all experience, that there can be no consciousness at all except organized and unitary consciousness. Kant's argument meant that psychology and epistemology had necessarily to be radically reconstituted, and that the psychological atomism which had been almost universally accredited for the past century had at last received its death blow. The fact that this rallying call to constructive thought fell on practically deaf ears is a striking indication of the decline of speculative virility in England.

In the case of Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* alone did Kant appreciably influence a work of the artistic imagination. But I believe that Wellek has probably underestimated the influence of the Kantianism of Coleridge upon Wordsworth.¹ Coleridge himself was the most prominent and erudite spokesman for Kant in England and therefore deserves special consideration. The reader does

¹ See my recent monograph, *Presiding Ideas in Wordsworth's Poetry*, especially pages 167-169 and 189-193.

not gather from Wellek's account a favorable impression of Coleridge's philosophical capacities. Quite in opposition to J. H. Muirhead's attempt in his book, *Coleridge as Philosopher*, to rehabilitate his reputation as a thinker, Wellek reveals him as a "prophet of the end and failure of Reason," a sentimental uncreative eclectic. He all too readily capitulated to a "mere philosophy of faith." His greatest service was to disseminate ideas widely, not to invent new ones.

In Rene Wellek's study the historian of culture will discover a significant reading of the intellectual pulse of the Romantic Age.

MELVIN M. RADER

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German Romanticism. By OSKAR WALZEL. Authorized Translation from the German by ALMA ELISE LUSKY. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1932. Pp. x + 314. \$3.50.

Walzel's two volumes in Teubner's *Natur und Geisteswelt*, after all still the most comprehensive treatment of German Romanticism, are no easy reading for any one not thoroughly conversant with the language of recent German literary investigation, which is fraught with philosophical and newly coined theoretical terminology. The present translation, therefore, is a most welcome addition to our comparatively small stock of handbooks of German literature in English rendering. As far as I can judge from a rather comprehensive testing of the text itself as well as of the wealth of quotations scattered throughout the book, the task has been exceedingly well done to the very point of interpretative renderings wherever these seemed imperative. Only in a few instances I felt that a less ambiguous expression might have been used:

Page 73: "gallant passions" might have been termed more pithily *gallant amours*; page 106: "its setting" is hardly clear enough for *die falsche Stellung*—"our wrong attitude" or "relation toward it" or "our wrong perspective"; page 107: *unschuldig* referring to the *Dummling* type is "naive" rather than "inoffensive"; the passage above, "master of all masters," is hardly adequate to *Hans aller Hanse*, of which, however, a satisfactory translation is very difficult; the translation on page 123 line 3, foll. does not take into account the intended repetition of *zahlen und nennen* in *zählt und nennt* four lines below; the end of this quotation *die Tonkunst stromt ihn uns selber vor* is excellently done into "in music, however, the stream itself seems to be released," to give at least one example of the author's achievement.

I very much regret that no attempt at a metrical translation of poetry has been made, which seems to me indispensable in almost all of the quoted passages. If the translator did not dare to try her own hand she might have called on Mr. John Rothensteiner, who published that very commendable book of romantic verse, *The Azure Flower*, two years ago (see *MLN.*, XLVII, 3).

Type setting and proof reading have been given great care, and in spite of frequent italics, insertions of numbers, and the regrettable splitting of the *Umlaut* in all German passages the page presents a much quieter and less irritating impression to the eye than the German original.

The photograph of Oskar Walzel faces the title page. I can not help thinking that some reproductions of the work of romantic painters for comparison with the spirit of this literature were called for.

ERNST FEISE

Deutsch-österreichische Literaturgeschichte, ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung in Österreich-Ungarn. Unter Mitwirkung hervorragender Fachgenossen nach dem Tode von Johann Willibald Nagl und Jakob Zeitler herausgegeben von EDUARD CASTLE. Dritter (Schluss-) Band, Abteilung 1-8. 1848-1918. Wien: Verlagsbuchhandlung Carl Fromme 1926- (1931).

Wer sich nicht durch den Umfang und die etwas altmodische Aufmachung dieses Werkes, das durch die lange Ausdehnung seiner Erscheinungszeit benachteiligt wurde, abschrecken lässt, wird in dieser deutsch-österreichischen Literaturgeschichte eine wahre Fundgrube entdecken, die freilich beim Abschluss durch die Springwurzel eines hoffentlich ergiebigen Registers ihre Schätze erst völlig erschliessen wird. Der dritte, hier vorliegende Band, der mit dem Jahre 1926 seine Veröffentlichung beginnt, ist soweit bis zur achten Abteilung gediehen und soll mit dem Jahre 1918 abschließen. Er beginnt mit einer Einführung in die politischen Probleme zwischen 1848 bis 1866 und einer Darlegung der geistigen Signatur der Zeit in Philosophie und Philologie, um über Theater zu Drama und Kritik (Kürnberger) fortzuschreiten. Hamerling erfährt eine ausführliche Darstellung (p. 163-195). Ihm folgen Lyriker und Aphoristiker, die katholische Literaturbewegung und der Zeitroman, dem sich Alpenländische Heimatserzählung und Volkstheater anschliessen. Im weiteren Verlauf werden die Presse und besonders die Literatur der Kronländer behandelt.

Die siebente Abteilung endlich geht ausführlich auf das epische Werk Anzengrubers, Roseggers, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbachs und Ferdinand von Saars ein, denen Jakob Julius David folgt, während in der achten wiederum die literarische Produktion der Länder im Vordergrund steht.

Die Fülle des Materials, die hier geboten wird und auch bis auf Grössen dritten und vierten Ranges sich erstreckt, konnte natürlich von einem Einzelnen nicht bewältigt werden. Zeitweise verliert sich die Darstellung in einfache Aufzählung von Namen und Werken, was indessen in einem so enzyklopadischen Werke kaum zu vermeiden ist, das sich ja auch im Titel als Handbuch ankündigt. Umso mehr ist die Lesbarkeit der zusammenhängenden Partien anzuerkennen und die Einheitlichkeit des Planes, die wohl dem jetzigen Herausgeber Eduard Castle, der nach dem Tode von Johann Willibald Nagl und Jakob Zeitler für das Gesamtwerk als verantwortlich zeichnet, zu verdanken ist.

Die Schwierigkeit der Bewältigung eines auseinanderstrebenden und in En- und Exklaven zerstreuten Materials muss um so mehr anerkannt werden, als in der gegenwärtigen Zeit die Fortführung und Vollendung des Werkes auf grosse Hindernisse hat stossen müssen. Die letzten Kapitel, in denen Österreichs Literatur von besonderer Bedeutung für das Bild der Entwicklung von Lyrik, Roman und Drama im Rahmen des deutschen Schrifttums gewesen ist, stehen noch aus.

ERNST FEISE

Abraham Cowley, sa vie, son œuvre. Par JEAN LOISEAU. Paris: Henri Didier, 1931. Pp. xvii + 715.

Abraham Cowley's Reputation in England. (By) JEAN LOISEAU. Paris: Henri Didier, 1931. Pp. x + 221.

It may or may not be significant that the same year 1931 should have seen the appearance of two important studies of Cowley, that of Professor A. H. Nethercot and now this of Professor Loiseau. The two scholars had been working independently on the same theme, and it is pleasant to read that when they became aware of the fact they exchanged their nearly completed books for each other's information. Each author can therefore quote the other. For example, Loiseau's discovery of a new and curious edition of Cowley's *Discourse by way of Vision* was first announced by Nethercot.

The two books show characteristic differences though each contains much original research and is a valuable contribution to learning. Professor Nethercot treats Cowley's work along with his

life and moves rapidly, sometimes in rather colloquial English. Professor Loiseau follows a type and is much more deliberate and academic. After giving 194 pages to Cowley's life, he devotes 113 to his thought, 174 to his various *genres*, 113 to his technique and 39 to his originality. Ten pages are given to appendices and 33 to bibliography. The history of Cowley's reputation is reserved to be dealt with separately. The criticism has the delicate balance one expects from a French scholar and the style is beyond reproach. But some repetition is unavoidable, and the work has not quite sufficient sparkle to prevent weariness towards the end.

It is satisfactory to find the two biographers in general agreement in regard to the facts—even the new-found facts—of Cowley's life. I think however that neither quite appreciates the importance to an English boy of a school-connexion, especially a connexion with a great school like Westminster. The most brilliant Westminster boy of the decade before Cowley was Thomas Randolph, who passing from school to Trinity College, Cambridge, had there made his mark as a witty poet and writer of comedies. One of his plays had been acted at Trinity before the King and Queen in 1632, two others *Amyntas* and *The Entertainment* (later published as *The Muses' Looking Glass*) had been given at Court or in a London playhouse. He had been adopted as a "Son of Ben." Cowley had not all Randolph's directness, or *verve*, but we can hardly doubt that as a schoolboy, he had aspired to follow in his footsteps—his school play *Love's Riddle* was in imitation of *Amyntas*—and had grieved in 1635 over his early death. If Cowley preferred Trinity to Christ Church, may not Randolph have been in his mind? And later when Dryden or Cowper dealt with Cowley, was it quite without the thought that he was a schoolfellow?

Again Trinity like Westminster was a royal foundation, and as such it was the recognized resort of the Court when it visited Cambridge, and provided the plays demanded on such occasions. Had Randolph or Cowley been at another college, he would never have had a play produced in the presence of his Sovereign or the Prince of Wales. A Westminster boy then who became a fellow of Trinity must always have had the feeling of aristocracy. This is manifest in Randolph, and it must also have existed in Cowley. In England the distinction between social classes was never so marked as on the continent, and this Loiseau seems to forget when he harps on Cowley's being a *bourgeois* (e. g. p. 310). Cowley would have called himself 'a gentleman.'

Loiseau perhaps exaggerates the religious element in Cowley. He says (p. 203): 'L'enseignement religieux intense qu'il y reçoit [i. e. at Westminster] ne peut qu'accroître sa religiosité naturelle.' [Experience shows that this need not be the case.] 'A Cambridge il travaille avec la perspective d'entrer dans les ordres.' But does

he? or did Randolph or Spenser or Gabriel Harvey? There were other careers than the church, and I know of no evidence that Cowley ever had the church in view. So I do not agree that "La Davidéide a été composée par un étudiant en théologie" (p. 337). Cowley had not Crashaw's burning faith nor Izaak Walton's simple-minded reverence for bishops and deans. His after-friendship with Hobbes seems to show that the religious influences of his youth sat lightly on him though no doubt the Church of England was much more congenial to him, as it has always been to English latitudinarians, than the bondage of Rome or Puritan fanaticism. Its Calvinism of those days may have made him a determinist (p. 224). Is not the desire of his last days, "to examine and review the original principles of the primitive church," the sign of a man not completely at ease in Zion, one who would perhaps sympathize with the deistical attitude of Lord Herbert of Cherbury? I find much good sense in Nethercot pp. 258-260. It is certainly dangerous, especially in England, to take outward conformity as proof of a man's religious state.

At Cambridge in Cowley's time Loiseau thinks Laud's influence was dominant: "La majorité est nettement pour lui" (p. 55). Nethercot (p. 41) says that Trinity was in the midst of an open rebellion against Laudian ritualism. I consider this the truer account. I believe that Laud's adherents, such as Crashaw at Peterhouse, were a small minority in the University.

Was Cowley more ardent as a loyalist than as a churchman? When he wrote his Preface of 1656 he clearly felt that the royal cause was lost and the time had come to accept the new régime, however reluctantly. But for Cromwell's sudden death in 1658, should we have heard of any retractation? I think therefore that more staunch Royalists had good grounds for viewing Cowley with suspicion and disfavor, and Loiseau is not entitled to consider this attitude unjust: "Quoi de surprenant qu'il se soit senti meurtri . . . par tant d'injustice et de malveillance?" To us, however, Cowley's readiness to accept the *chose accomplie* is more excusable than his later abject royalism.

Loiseau's book differs from that of Pierre Legouis on Marvell by his admitting into his text English poetry in English and not turning it all into French prose. Probably all his readers, French and English, will approve the change and only regret that it was not carried further. Who wishes to read French versions of English letters and prefaces? Still less of Cowley's touching lines to William Harvey.¹

¹ A few errors in smaller points need correction: p. 15. The royal palace of Whitehall seems to be forgotten; p. 18. Buckingham perished in 1628; p. 282. *New Atlantis* is not told as a dream; p. 317. One would think that Cowley would use George Sandys' translation of the *Metamorphoses*

Professor Loiseau's second book is a very interesting account of the ups and downs of Cowley's reputation in England from the beginning to the present day and is based on a large collection of references to him and his works. It is written in almost faultless English.² The result seems to be that Cowley's fame now rests chiefly on his prose essays, the poems associated with them, and his poetical tributes to W. Harvey and Crashaw. Loiseau quotes however with sympathy a clever plea for *The Mistress* made in 1926 by a then very youthful critic, John Sparrow.

It is rather surprising to hear that the Victorian spirit against which a reaction set in about 1890 was 'at heart scientific, rational, in a word classical' (p. 195). If this was true of the élite of the age of Dickens, was it true of the mass of the people? I should be inclined to substitute 'Puritan, moral, sentimental,' and to consider the reaction rather as anti-Puritan than anti-classical. But when one gets on to 'classical' and 'romantic,' one may talk for ever.

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A Newton Among Poets—Shelley's Use of Science in Prometheus Unbound. By CARL GRABO. University of North Carolina Press, 1930. Pp. xii + 208. \$3.00.

Professor Grabo has done good service in calling attention once again, and more urgently than ever before, to Shelley's interest in the science of his day. No less an authority than Professor Whitehead had already reminded us in glowing terms (*Science and the Modern World*) that this was really "part of the main structure of (the poet's) mind." All his biographers, from Hogg (1833)

(1621-6) rather than A. Golding's (1565-7); p. 370. Lady Devereux should be Lady Penelope Devereux; p. 464. Castelain has shown that Jonson's *Discoveries* are not his original work as seems to be assumed here; p. 505. "Fundamental Laws," a phrase taken from the political controversies of the day and applied humorously. When in 1642 the bishops were unable to attend parliament owing to the dangerous attitude of the populace, they protested against the validity of anything done in their absence. They were then impeached as endeavoring to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom. In *Hudibras* (I, 760) Ralpho complains of royalists: 'They fight for no espoused cause, Frail privilege, fundamental laws. P. 85, l. 1, Query, 'Edmundsbury.' P. 150, bottom, 'colly' = 'Coll[eg]ij.' P. 169, note 72, Query, read 'pererrato,' 'Attigit,' 'Portum,' 'Formam,' 'nobiliorve,' 'sedet,' 'Oxonii.' P. 406, l. 14 from bot. 'of' = 'or.' P. 452, mid. 'considerere' = 'confidere' (twice). P. 459, l. 9 from bot. '1878,' query '1788.' P. 533, l. 9, 'said,' query, 'saw.' P. 646, l. 17, 1660 = 1660-1.

² On p. 7, however, 'discuss upon' should be 'discuss,' on p. 66 'Epicure' should be 'Epicurus,' on p. 111 'accuse with' should be 'accuse of,' and there is ambiguity in the wording on p. 59, 'damning his works as they thought they must be.'

onwards, had had to dwell on his early infatuation with chemistry. Yet the nineteenth century—the age of “positive” science—passed practically indifferent to Shelley’s lasting preoccupation with scientific philosophy. But this aspect of his genius, now that science is again driven to the confines of metaphysics, appears in something like a fresher and fuller light.

Of course many of Shelley’s observations on geological, meteorological or astronomical phenomena have always been clear enough. Any one perusing the notes to *Queen Mab* realizes that a good deal of scientific knowledge of a kind lay at the back of the “imaginings” of that somewhat immature though by no means contemptible piece of Juvenilia. Again no attentive reader really needs the warning of Prof. Grabo (p. 192) that stalactites are meant in the lines of *Prometheus Unbound*, III, iii, 15-17 “From its curved roof the mountain’s frozen tears, etc.”; and few would be as cautious as he is, when he calls (p. 170) “tentative” the identification of the “wide wandering stars” of II, iv, 88 with comets.

Prof. Grabo has much to say that is less obvious. He is, I think, the first critic who has had the patience to examine more than in a cursory way the books of science which Shelley has (or may have) read—the Encyclopedias of the time, Rees’ and Nicholson’s (which surely should have found a place in the index—though it would seem that Prof. Grabo has had access only to a late edition of the former)—the notes to Erasmus Darwin’s poems, a well-known favorite of Shelley at least when he was in his teens—the works of Herschel (quoted in *Queen Mab*) and of Davy (whose *Elements of Chemical Philosophy*—the fact should have been recalled—was in Shelley’s eagerness ordered before publication on July 29, 1812) and of Newton (mentioned, all too vaguely, in a couple of letters).

A series of chapters, not all of which of course can be said to serve Prof. Grabo’s purpose immediately, summarize the main conclusions of the writers (pp. 30-117). The second half of the book then draws upon this to explain passages in *Prometheus Unbound*—and I cannot but think it a pity that Prof. Grabo should thus have restricted his outlook, and written a study which certainly answers the subtitle rather than the ambitious (indeed decidedly showy) title of his volume.

The task is on the face of it a difficult one: we have, for the period when *Prometheus* was in Shelley’s thoughts, abundant letters and copious lists of books read by him or his wife; I wish Prof. Grabo had discussed the point, but I do not remember that science figures then at all prominently in the poet’s avocations. Every one will agree that Shelley’s scientific philosophy—shall we call it, in the words he used as early as 1811 (to Miss Hitchener, Nov. 24) his theory of universal “organized animation”?—remained prac-

tically what his early thought had made it; but when we come to trace in a book published in 1820 very definite notions, such as the reading of technical works or actual laboratory experimentation alone would seem likely to keep quite alive, we feel that we are treading very delicate ground: Prof. Grabo himself speaks in one place (p. 141) of "unconscious reminiscences"; and though any profound literary analysis has to consider the possibility of these, it seems safe not to lay the stress on this sort of commentary, when more tangible explanations are available.

I am afraid that many of the clues most confidently offered by our guide are anything but convincing. I cannot for a moment accept his interpretation of III. iii. 134-135 (p. 190): the spirit of the earth, which formerly was a maddening fume "luring men to hatred and war," now rises, "inspiring calm and happy thoughts," filling "with a serener light and crimson air Intense yet soft the rocks and woods around"; because of that single epithet "crimson," must we remember Priestley, Davy and Darwin, and imagine that the "nitrous gas"—which, it appears, under certain conditions shows some such color—is referred to? That the "laughing gas" or one of its congeners should thus monopolize all the beneficent effects of the atmosphere of the liberated world strikes the ingenuous reader as laughable indeed.

Nor can I believe that there is any connexion (even "unconscious" p. 127) between the "light like a green star" which Shelley sets on the forehead of the aforesaid spirit, and the "virgin light, star of the earth and diamond of the night" which is Darwin's poetical equivalent for—the glowworm. That something in this frontal equipment of the spirit should be due to Shelley's delight in the green spark he had been able more or less successfully to educe from his electrical machine in the old Eton days, is both ingenious and plausible. But to gloss "the spirit of the earth = electricity" is both unscientific and unpoetical. The context will not bear out a generalization—which after all would be a minimization: "electricity" may, in the description of Panthea (III. iv), take us as far as "the spray of the salt sea" (phosphorescence) as far even as "the chariot of the foggy cloud" (sheet-lightning?); but when it takes to "walking through fields or cities while men sleep," even Prof. Grabo has to suspect it of being an *ignis fatuus*; and when it goes the length of "loving our sister Asia and drinking the liquid light out of her eyes," we are sure we have been led astray.

Shelley—let him be praised for it—had been quick at seizing the ultimate inferences which contemporary science could support; but when he was writing *Prometheus*, he was far above dabbling with green sparks and nitrous gas; he was then feeding not on Davy and Darwin, but on Dante and Milton; even if the "rays of

gloom" and the "mighty darkness" of Demogorgon in II. iv. 3-5 owe something to the discovery of the dark heat rays made by Herschel, they must owe much more to the "no light, but rather darkness visible" of *Paradise Lost*; and it is hard on the poet who had become such a passionate lover of Greek to suggest that when he spoke of the "tyrant-quelling myrtle" (IV. 272) he "confused the traditions of the laurel and the myrtle" (p. 149) and wished to allude to the protection which the former was supposed to give against the thunder.

But even though we cannot accept without demur the exegesis of our commentator, we are grateful to him for opening a line of research which may lead to valuable results. The main thesis of Prof. Grabo is sound: among the various echoes which go to make up the music of Shelley's poetry, we must not forget the notes which had been struck by contemporary science; this little book may not establish that Shelley was "a Newton"—it usefully reminds us that not only Newton, but several of the scientists, great and small, of the Romantic Era had paved the way to that animistic monism which is the most original and profound conception of a poet whom I suppose no one to-day would be so blind as to call ineffectual.

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Hartley Coleridge: Poet's Son and Poet. By HERBERT HARTMAN, Oxford University Press, 1931. Pp. 14 + 205.

Hartley Coleridge is now the only minor romantic poet who can boast of two recent biographers. It is especially fitting that Earl Leslie Griggs' *Hartley Coleridge: His Life and Work* (London, 1929) and Dr. Hartman's work should have been published three years before the Samuel Taylor Coleridge centenary.

With an aptness of phrase and a sense of humor which Hartley himself would have appreciated, Dr. Hartman produces a reliable synthesis of the known facts of Hartley Coleridge's life and of the scholarship thus far devoted to him. For the general reader this book may serve as an introduction to some of the most interesting personalities of the Romantic Movement; to the scholar it contributes a discriminating reevaluation of Hartley Coleridge's literary work, along with new facts concerning his posthumous reputation.

Dr. Hartman is delightfully facile in recording the anecdotes that really pertain to the suburbs of human personality and he shows considerable ability in presenting the oddities of a personality strangely akin (as Edmund Blunden said) to Matthew

Arnold's Scholar Gipsy. More attention might, however, have been paid to Hartley's struggle against the nemesis of heredity and to the untoward circumstances which thwarted his creative power. Neither the introductory account of Coleridge and his circle (Ch. I to VI) nor the reiteration of stories arising from Hartley's eccentricities is enough to explain in a psychological way the frustration of genius.

In spite of Dr. Hartman's generous acknowledgment of Professor Griggs' courtesy, his prefatory statement is too general to serve as an accurate guide to the reader in appraising the indebtedness of one scholar to another; nor from the variations in the form of Dr. Hartman's footnotes—"MS. letter (Griggs, 86-91)"; "MS. letter, quoted more fully by Griggs, 106-12"; "MS. note cited by Griggs, 30"—is it possible to determine with any degree of accuracy whether he has actually consulted original manuscripts or merely reproduced material previously quoted by Professor Griggs.¹ There are, moreover, at least two instances in which Dr. Hartman quotes material already published by Professor Griggs, and fails to make any acknowledgment whatsoever. (Cf. Hartman 82 and 182 and Griggs 97 and 156). Inasmuch as Dr. Hartman merely acknowledges the Rev. G. H. B. Coleridge's courtesy in reading proof, is one to assume that he had access to the MSS. in the possession of the Coleridge family or that he has used the term "MS. letter" when his text is drawn either from Professor Griggs' biography or from transcripts to which he was given access by Professor Griggs? It is a curious fact that if Dr. Hartman had access to the same MSS. (as he seems to imply) he should have limited himself with surprisingly few exceptions to the presentation of material already exploited in the earlier biography. Practically all of the quotations purporting to be from MS. letters were previously cited by Professor Griggs. This is also true of the citations from MSS. in the British Museum. Whether the ambiguity of Dr. Hartman is advertent or inadvertent, his technique is not at all points that of the scientific investigator. If he intended to write merely a popular biography, perhaps his obvious dependence on the work of a previous scholar would be a matter of little concern to those interested in scientific research; but inasmuch as his biography has all the pretensions to scientific accuracy, it may give rise to misunderstanding and even to injustice.

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¹ [In a letter to the *TLS* of March 31, 1932, Mr. Hartman acknowledges that his quotations are not from the original manuscripts but are all taken from Mr. Griggs' book—EDITORS.]

The Proverb. By ARCHER TAYLOR. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Pp. xii + 223. \$2.00.

This book, together with Apperson's *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases* (1929) and Bonser's *Proverb Literature* (1930), marks a healthy revival of interest in English proverbs. Until within a few years English proverbs have been neglected, perhaps, among other reasons, because of a lingering prejudice to this form of popular expression inherited from the polite circles of eighteenth-century England. With the assistance of these three volumes an interest in English proverbs may now be developed comparable to that enjoyed for many years by the proverbs of the more important European countries.

Professor Taylor's study of the proverb is not designed to serve merely the interests of students of the proverbs of a single country. It concerns itself with fundamental problems in the study of the proverb, problems which have been neglected—indeed apparently not realized—by many authors less well equipped than the author of this book. Although the emphasis throughout is upon English proverbs, the ordinary European languages are drawn on, especially the Teutonic languages, for illustrative material. In the first three chapters is found a brief and systematic treatment of "the ways in which proverbs arise, the kinds of proverbs, and the details of proverbial style." The fourth chapter deals with proverbial phrases, Wellerisms and proverbial comparisons. The twenty pages given to a discussion of the Wellerisms of many countries is one of the most illuminating sections of the book, although the length of treatment is out of proportion to the space allotted to other equally important divisions of the general subject.

One of the most valuable features of this work is the formulation and clarification of proverb problems that need to be undertaken. In the chapter on "The Origins of the Proverb" alone, we are reminded that "no one has ever undertaken a study" of how "new proverbs have often been made on old models" (p. 18); that "we are not well informed about the process of making fables into proverbs" (p. 27); that "the very curious and interesting relations of certain proverbs to some simple and primitive forms of verse have never been cleared up satisfactorily" (p. 32); that "no one has attempted to define the extent and nature of Latin borrowing of Greek proverbs" (p. 44); that "a particularly interesting question presents itself in connection with certain medieval Latin proverbs associated with vernacular proverbs" (p. 46); and that "the more exact definition of what constitutes the stock of international medieval proverbs is perhaps the most important and extensive task in the whole field" (p. 51). These and other needed studies formulated in this and other chapters of the book bring home to the reader the pioneer character of this survey of

the essential characteristics of the proverb and of the problems connected with its study.

The reader of this book who is acquainted with some of the attempts to define the proverbs will welcome Professor Taylor's pronouncement that, "The definition of a proverb is too difficult to repay the undertaking . . . Let us be content with recognizing that a proverb is a saying current among the folk" (p. 3). He will also approve the author's statement that "It is not proper to make any distinction in the treatment of 'learned' and 'popular' proverbs . . . Obviously the distinction between 'learned' and 'popular' is meaningless and is concerned with the accidents of history" (p. 4). However, in the otherwise useful distinction drawn between a proverb which "does not vary in any regard," and a proverbial phrase which "shifts according to time and person" (p. 184), allowance does not seem to have been made for the variant forms of proverbs, as pointed out on pages 63 and 64 and elsewhere. These and similar clarifying statements will assist the student of proverbs in working through the confused mass of material with which he has to deal.

Although this work is the result of an intensive study of the subject from many sides, it has an intrinsic interest that will make large parts of it enjoyable reading to many who have only a general acquaintance with the subject. Throughout the book the opinion is expressed and upheld, by the citation of current proverbs as yet unrecorded in our collections, that Tyler in *Primitive Culture* was wrong in his notion that "the age of proverb-making is past." Such current sayings, it is rightly contended, as *Let George do it, put up or shut up, Watch your step, Cut your losses and let your profits run, and The only good Indian is a dead Indian* are none the less proverbs, although as yet they are not found in the printed collections. The divisions of the chapter on "The Content of Proverbs" suggests further reasons why this book will appeal to the general reader as well as to the student of proverbs. This chapter is divided into sections on Customs and Superstitions, Historical Proverbs, Legal Proverbs, "Blason Populaire," Weather Proverbs, Medical Proverbs, Conventional Phrases and Proverbial Prophecies.

A general index and a finding-list of the proverbs referred to are wanting. It is to be regretted that the author—or the publisher—has not thought it advisable to give the reader the assistance of at least a finding-list of the many proverbs that are cited, not infrequently in more than one place, in the 223 pages of this book. He has, however, promised "for the scholar's convenience" an index of the English, German and Latin proverbs cited. In it he will give "what seemed to me the most usefull references from works on the comparative study of proverbs." This index, which "will appear in *FF Communications* (Helsinki)," one wishes

might have appeared with the volume. Fortunately selected bibliographical references have been included in footnotes at the beginning of each section of the discussion.

The many foreign proverbs quoted throughout the book from ten or a dozen foreign languages are so consistently translated (as they should be) that one wonders why, on page 73, proverbs in Latin, German and Italian are not translated. On page 37 we are told that, "We are indebted to Francis Bacon for *Knowledge is power*." On page 34, however, we read, "No one disputes Shakespeare's claim to *To be or not to be*, but Sir Francis Bacon has not maintained his hold on *Knowledge is power* with equal success."

In the discussion of "Proverbs and Literature" we read (p. 172), "Writings which make a conspicuous effort at literary style generally avoid them (proverbs) except as details characterizing the folk." Here John Lyly's *Euphues* might well have been mentioned as probably the most conspicuous exception to this statement with its qualifications.¹ Among the several hundred proverbs used by way of illustration, I have noted seven Shakespearean proverbs that should be included in collections of Shakespeare's proverbs. I give them in a foot-note.²

There should be included in the bibliography on Weather Proverbs the series of papers in *The Classical Weekly* on classical weather lore by Dr. Eugene S. McCartney, in which have been

¹ An interesting problem in connection with Lyly's proverbs would be to determine which of his proverb-like sayings, not yet identified as English or foreign proverbs, are translations and which are of his own invention. It is recognized that he was skillful in imitating the form of proverbs, and also that he drew upon foreign collections for a number of his proverbs, but work is still to be done on a considerable body of proverb-like sayings in *Euphues*, to determine whether they are, as assumed, his own, or whether they are translations of little known foreign proverbs.

² (P. 7) "Two are an army against one." Cf. 3 *Henry VI* (II, i, 53): "But Hercules himself must yield to odds." This is a classical proverb found in Erasmus, s. v. *cedendum multitudini*, "Ne Hercules quidem adversus duos." (P. 13) "It's ill halting before a cripple." *Pass. Pilg*, 308, "A cripple soon can find a halt." (P. 26) "Each man for himself." See *Tempest* (V. i, 256), in which we have Stephano's drunken perversion of Heywood's "Shift each one for himself" (Farmer ed., 96). (P. 91) "He that bulls the cow must keep the calf." This proverb is alluded to in *King John* (I, i, 123): "In sooth, good friend, your father might have kept this calf bred from his cow, from all the world." (P. 93) "One man is no man." The more common form of this proverb in English is, "One is no number." It is alluded to in *Romeo and Juliet* (I, ii, 32-3): "Which on more view, of many being one, May stand in number, though in reckoning none." Compare Marlowe, *Hero and Leander*, Sest. I, "One is no number; maids are nothing then, Without the sweet society of man." (P. 18) "To sell the skin before you have caught the bear." Alluded to in *Henry V.* (IV, iii, 93), with the substitution of 'lion' for 'bear.' (P. 26) "Clothes make the man." Erasmus has it, "Vestis virum facit." It is alluded to in *King Lear* (II, ii, 256) in the variant form, "The tailor makes a man." See also *All's Well* (II, v, 16) and *Cymbeline* (IV, ii, 80).

incorporated many Greek and Roman weather signs, sayings, and proverbs.³

Those interested in proverbs are in Professor Taylor's debt for this concise and scholarly study of the proverb. It surveys the field admirably and is especially helpful in its suggestions as to profitable investigations that have yet to be undertaken in the comparative study of proverbs. I know of no other equally stimulating and systematic study of the proverb.

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The Owl and the Nightingale, Sources, Date, Author. By KATHRYN HUGANIR. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931.

Dr. Huganir gives us a very interesting discussion of "the King's peace," the poet's reference to which¹ she thinks can have been written only in the reign of Henry the Second.² She offers interesting remarks on the purpose of the author of the *Owl*, whom she identifies with Nicholas of Guildford, and with a certain Nicholas son of Thorold.³ She points out that some kinds of foxes climb trees,⁴ which, much to my surprise, I find well-attested for the American gray fox. Has this any bearing on the fox hanging "by the bough"?⁵ Dr. Huganir has no mean knowledge of medieval Latin, and illustrates her subject from that source with very considerable success. I cannot, however, accept her assurance that the author of the *Owl* "certainly knew" the work of Marie de France.⁶ She catches me in a curious error concerning a Latin distich which is properly of interest only as expressing an antithesis between owl and nightingale.⁷ Partly as a result of her dissertation, I am inclined to modify or withdraw certain details of my theory concerning the poet's connection with Cardinal Vivian's embassy in Scotland: to withdraw my identification of Nicholas of Guildford with the clerk of the Bishop of Winchester; to leave Peter of St. Agatha out of the discussion; to identify very

³ *The Classical Weekly*, 14, 89-93, 97-100; 16, 3-7; 17, 105-108; 18, 154-157, 163-166; 20, 43-49, 51-54; 22, 25-31, 33-37; 23, 2-8, 11-15; 24, 11-16, 18-24, 25-29.

¹ *Owl*, 1733.

² Huganir, pp. 81-96.

³ Huganir, pp. 140 ff.

⁴ Huganir, pp. 17-18.

⁵ *Owl*, v. 816.

⁶ Huganir, p. 23.

⁷ Huganir, p. 20; *PMLA*, XLIV, p. 344, footnote 42.

tentatively of course, the legate referred to as *sum from Rome*⁸ with Cardinal Paparo, who in 1151 visited Scotland as well as Ireland, or at least Tynemouth which was then subject to the King of Scots.⁹ *Sum from Rome* can hardly mean a legate to Norway.

Dr. Hukanir's dissertation may serve us well in calling attention to the importance of studying the Nightingale's description of Ireland, Scotland, Norway and Galloway;¹⁰ but I am quite unable to accept her contention that the poet is especially interested in Norway, or that he had not visited Ireland and Scotland. Adequate discussion is impossible here, but I will suggest that the sentences cited by Atkins and Dr. Hukanir from Alired's *Orosius* do not describe Norwegians;¹¹ neither is it at all certain that our poet knew Alfred's *Orosius*. On the other hand the remark of Giraldus Cambrensis that there are no nightingales in Ireland does not prove that this was generally known in England or that our poet did not learn about the absence of the nightingale from Ireland and Scotland from actual travel in those countries.¹² I cannot believe that he met his "chattering" Irish priest outside of Ireland; and in *Owl*, 1757-1758 I prefer to take *in to Scotlonde* as meaning "in Scotland" (see N.E.D. under *Into III*, B-T. Suppl. under *in-tō VII*) and not to regard the couplet as "a playful exaggeration."¹³ As at present advised I would date the *Owl* 1177-1178, soon after Cardinal Vivian's recall from Scotland, and not more than five years after England was invaded by Scots and Galwegians in 1173. Dr. Hukanir absolutely fails to show that it was written during or immediately after the sojourn in England from 1181 till 1183 of Archbishop Eystein of Trondhjem.

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The Medieval Sciences in the Works of John Gower. By GEORGE G. Fox. Princeton: University Press, 1931.

One function of scholarly research, we may suppose, is to reintegrate for us the psychological conditions which produced a work of literary art in the past. Situations at variance with those familiar to us and a content often foreign to our experience must

⁸ *Owl*, v. 1016. With *Owl*, vv. 1017-1018 one may perhaps cf. *Four Masters sub anno* 1151.

⁹ Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, II, pp. 212-213 footnote.

¹⁰ *Owl*, 905-1042; Hukanir, 98 ff.

¹¹ Hukanir, p. 108.

¹² Hukanir, p. 99.

¹³ Hukanir, pp. 103 and 149 footnote, follows Hall, *Selections from Early Middle English*, p. 578.

be recreated historically before the work allows itself to be understood and properly criticized. The scholar is justified in examining the nature of the things presented in a piece of literature and in showing their relations to each other and to the historical facts of the age which produced it. Professor Fox's study mentioned above offers an admirable example of this sort of historical research.

This author's main purpose is to make the scientific portions of Gower's writings more intelligible to the modern reader and to ascertain the importance of science in the poet's thought. Since Gower's references to science are often fragmentary, it becomes necessary to reproduce an entire background of scientific principle before they can be understood. Accordingly, the author has given for each of the more important mediaeval sciences a brief, but very respectable, account of the leading doctrines, with which Gower's treatment may be compared. Here are chapters on nature and fortune, the microcosm and the macrocosm, on astrology, dreams, alchemy, and magic. The best chapters are those dealing with alchemy—he who can state clearly any principle of mediaeval alchemy deserves our admiration!—and with correspondences between Gower's writings and various manuscripts of Alchandrus. Here the author has made a real contribution to our knowledge of the mediaeval sciences.

Gower's knowledge of the sciences, one gathers from reading this study, was neither profound nor vital. His mind was almost completely non-speculative; except in the case of alchemy and in his theory of the microcosm, where he is interested to some extent in general principles, he contents himself with recording unrelated and barely understood facts. Gower as a scientist appears to great disadvantage, and as an artist attempting to make use of scientific materials he seems to succeed in rendering himself more boresome than usual.

Still, one cannot help feeling that Professor Fox is inclined to patronize Gower. Such a state of mind occasionally betrays him into convicting Gower of contradictions where possibly none exists. For example, the poet is made to deny Fortune. But here he is only trying in his bungling way to say that Fortune-as-chance does not exist; Fortune is the result of a chain of cause and effect, the first of the series being unknown to us. And in this contention the poet is supported by Boethius, Aquinas, and other mediaeval thinkers. Again, Professor Fox is impatient because Gower, knowing from reading and experience that some dreams have no significance, still tells stories in which a supernatural being shows man the future in dreams. But here is no contradiction. Everybody in Gower's time, so far as I know, admitted that some dreams are divinely sent as harbingers of coming events, but that others are without significance. Gower records both kinds. His predilection is for the *somnium coeleste*, but he nowhere indicates that divinity is the sole and immediate cause of dreams.

On the whole, however, this work is an excellently written and carefully prepared piece of research in a most difficult field. It is entirely worthy of the Princeton stamp on it.

WALTER CLYDE CURRY

Vanderbilt University

The Poems of John Audelay. Edited by ELLA KEATS WHITING.
London: 1931. Pp. xl + 324. (Early English Text Society,
Original Series, 184).

With the appearance of a complete, well-organized, and workmanlike edition of his writings John Audelay of Haghmond Abbey, "first priest" to a fifteenth-century Lord Strange, at last attains the full dignity of a minor poet of a minor period. Since 1844, when Halliwell printed a few of the poems for the Percy Society with the comment that the unique manuscript containing them was "scarcely worthy of being published entire," only partial and inaccurate texts of his work have been available for the student, and what attention it has had has been concentrated on its Shropshire dialect and on the group of carols near the end of the manuscript. It must be admitted that this fuller publication is not likely to lead to any great shift of emphasis. The long didactic poems which make up the bulk of the volume display more of industry and piety than of inspiration or poetic skill, but they leave the reader with a definite admiration for the author's sincere faith and desire for righteousness, while the love of children which appears, a little awkwardly, in the "Cantaleña de puericia" adds a welcome touch to Audelay's self-portrait.

Not all the poems are certainly of Audelay's own composition, as Professor Whiting points out. No. 16 is found in the earlier Vernon Manuscript, and the differences of style, metre, and vocabulary between Nos. 53 and 54, on the Paternoster and the legend of the three dead kings, respectively, and the rest of Audelay's collection are so great as to have justified the editor in a stronger denial of his authorship than she actually makes. Audelay's tendency to abjectness is noticeably absent from both, as are the rather lame parentheses and intensive clichés or tags which are frequent in his verse. There is also reason to doubt whether a number of the carols which appear in other manuscripts are original with Audelay, *e. g.*, Nos. 38, 44, 45, and some pronouncement from the editor on this question would have been welcome.

The text itself is well and, except for a very few slips, accurately edited. The manuscript is not always easy to read and has been much corrected, thereby imposing on a scrupulous editor a consider-

able body of textual notes. Professor Whiting has done good service in correcting the many misreadings of Chambers and Sidgwick in their previous editing of the carols, and of Storck and Jordan in their text of "De tribus regibus mortuis." In two cases, however, No. 37, l. 14, and No. 39, l. 50, careful examination of the manuscript seems to uphold Chambers and Sidgwick's readings, "fel" and "habud," against Professor Whiting's. I have noted a few other places where the editor's eye does not agree with mine, but only in the following is the sense of a passage involved:

No. 44, l. 27 should certainly read "Til kyngys iij," the first word being quite legible.

No. 47, l. 14, I read "Euer fro þe fynd," etc.

No. 51, l. 41, I read "To þi Sun fore me þou pray."

No. 42, heading, I read "In die epephanie."

In No. 50 a space should separate the first two lines, the burden, from the first stanza, as in the other carols. No. 46, l. 22, "þat þou bryng vs into þi bal," seems to demand emendation to "hal," a common expression for heaven. "Bal" in the sense of sphere and so applied is not recorded in the OED.

The notes are generally good and give many compact references to illustrative material in other medieval literature. The comment on Audelay's choice of St. Francis as a subject seems to imply that he was himself an Augustinian, whereas, as Chambers and Sidgwick point out, he may well have been only a secular priest and a boarder in the Abbey infirmary. No. 2, ll. 430-1 show, moreover, that Audelay was not blinded by jealousies to the merits of the founders of the mendicant orders. The note on No. 45, l. 4, "emne" might have taken account of the solution of the difficulty offered by the Balliol 354 text of the carol printed by Dyboski.

The section of the introduction devoted to the language of the poems is sufficiently full for the ordinary reader and is more perspicuously arranged than is always the case with such material. The whole edition is one which ought to gratify the shade of the meticulous Audelay, who in his colophon curses as for sacrilege any who damage his text, but freely offers a copy to any who ask for it properly.

RICHARD L. GREENE

The University of Rochester

Hrafnkels Saga Freysgöða. Edited with Introduction and Glossary by Professor F. STANTON CAWLEY. Cambridge: Harvard Press, 1932. Pp. 1 + 82.

This edition of the *Hrafnkels saga freysgöða* is a welcome addition to the few Old Norse sagas edited in English. The author has well understood the nature of his task; he is everywhere clear and to the point; his discussions are brief but sufficiently comprehensive for the purpose. The reviewer feels this work to be an excellent combination of European scholarship and American practical sense.

The *Introduction* (XIII-L) contains first ("The Story of Hrafnkel Frey's Priest") a brief discussion of the nature of the Old Norse saga and an analysis of the *Hrafnkels saga* as to its contents and literary value. This is done with good taste and appreciation. Then follows a chapter ("Syntactical Observations") devoted to an analysis of syntactical peculiarities of the saga style (with references to the text) based chiefly on the authority of Heusler and Nygaard. This chapter (so far as syntax is concerned) takes the place of footnotes, which are entirely lacking in the text. The reviewer feels that this innovation is a mistake. The time-honored method of footnotes (so successfully pursued by the *Saga-Bibliothek*) enables the student to read the discussion of a passage in direct connection with the passage itself, which cannot be done according to Professor Cawley's method. By omitting footnotes and inserting a syntactical outline the author compels the student to search for a connection between grammar and text and how is the student to know when syntactical peculiarities appear unless a footnote is provided?

The *Glossary* is particularly well done. It is extremely comprehensive; references are made to the passages where the various meanings of the words occur; occasional parallels to Modern German constructions are cited; and the Gothic etymological equivalent of the Old Norse word is given—an excellent innovation. Regarding the Gothic etymological equivalents the author distinguishes between the corresponding Gothic form and a related Gothic form (in which case the text reads "cf. Goth."). There are a few inaccuracies here, e. g.: "fótr (Goth. fōtus)" should read (cf. Goth. fōtus)—ON *fótr* is not an *u*-stem—; "óvarr (cf. Goth.-war)" and "varr (Goth. wars)" are contradictory—since the Gothic form *war* or *wars* (nom. sing. masc.) does not appear, both ON *óvarr* and *varr* could better be referred to (cf. Goth. war-ei).

There are practically no misprints to mar the beautiful appearance of the book. The maps and photostatic reproduction of a part of the text enhance both the usefulness and the attractiveness of the whole work. The reviewer feels that we in America who are

interested in the advancement of the study of Old Norse literature and language owe a real debt to Professor Cawley for this scholarly and painstaking work.

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT

University of Kansas

Scientific Thought in Poetry. By RALPH B. CRUM. Columbia University Press, 1931. Pp. viii + 246. \$3.00.

A painful example of academic book-making—not unusual, alas! The author has written—at the length of 238 pages—on a most provoking subject, without finding anything to say. In an introductory chapter he tells us “many of the Romanticists feel—and surely not without cause—that the analytical method of the scientist tends to destroy beauty of expression, while the procedure of generalizing and abstracting deprives poetry of its concrete and sensuous qualities. This is also the attitude of the philosophers Schopenhauer and Croce” (p. 3). And that “The process of converting a truth into an image is what the poet means by ‘imagination,’” (p. 15) with here a footnote to Dewey. These specimens, I think most teachers will agree, show just that ‘acquaintance with the philosophy of the subject’ which most precludes any more intimate understanding. He then goes on to summarise, with translations, the most ‘scientific’ pages of Lucretius, and comments, “It must be clear from the consideration of these examples, that Lucretius possessed a keen eye for picturesque effect . . . His word pictures are not in any sense hackneyed.” ‘Nice things,’ indeed, to say about a great poet! In chapter III he puts together a little collection of passages from seventeenth-century poets illustrating the fact that they were “not indifferent to the scientific movement.” “Along with the growth of science in the seventeenth century went an increasing tendency to question many values which had been merely accepted before. About the middle of the century Robert Herrick declared:

Putrefaction is the end
Of all that Nature doth entend.” (p. 55)

Startling evidence indeed of novelty introduced by science! Again, “If the spirit of the age tended to make some of the poets more analytical, they desired nevertheless to bring a certain order out of chaos. Note William Walsh’s questioning analysis of love:

Love is a medley of endearments, jars,
Suspicious, quarrels, reconcilements, wars;
Then peace again, Oh would it not be best
To chase the fatal poison from our breast?” (p. 58)

Later chapters deal in a not dissimilar way with science in Voltaire, Chénier, Erasmus Darwin, Goethe, Tennyson, Meredith, Davidson and others. Of Davidson, "Surely the Darwinian theory of natural selection with all its worst ethical implications could go no further than that—none had expressed it so boldly as Davidson, so entirely without flinching; and yet it seems rather significant that with such a philosophy he was a very unhappy man and ended his life by committing suicide" (p. 237).

We may be tempted to think that such naivety and banality are due to insufficient scholarship or experience. But the author has clearly read far more than many young people who can be trusted to detect and avoid it. We can come nearer to the diagnosis by asking "To whom is the book addressed?" The answer is "To examiners!" It seems to be the product of much listening to lectures and a stage on the vicious circle leading to more lectures. The evil effect of this sort of thing on the teaching of literature must be my excuse for treating a not exceptionally unsatisfactory book over-harshly. Critical standards are perhaps at the moment more threatened by Universities than by any other influences.

I. A. RICHARDS

Cambridge University

Studies in English, by MEMBERS OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, TORONTO. Collected by PRINCIPAL MALCOLM W. WALLACE. The University of Toronto Press, 1931. Pp. 254. \$2.50.

These six studies in English, ranging from Swift to Matthew Arnold, are dedicated to Professor W. J. Alexander, who had been in Toronto University from 1889 to 1926 and before that, as this reviewer well and gratefully remembers, in Dalhousie College. The first four studies lead from the complete neo-classicism of Swift's poetry through the pre-romanticism of Collins into the romanticism of Coleridge and Shelley; the last two are on the "Inhibitions of Browning's Poetry" and the "French Reputation of Matthew Arnold." Mr. Herbert Davis traces the development of Swift's poetry from imitation of Cowley through the violent anti-romantic satire of "Strephon and Chloe" to the triumph of the comic spirit in "Judgment Day." In the longest essay in the volume Mr. A. S. P. Woodhouse discusses the meaning and the place of the imagination in the poetry of the eighteenth century with particular reference to the odes of Collins. He demonstrates anew that not all the poetry of this period was the work of reason but that the imagination was a powerful force in all the great poems of the century, whether they were neo-classical or early romantic. Incidentally, it might be remarked that Mr. Woodhouse gives a much

more plausible interpretation of Collins's "Ode to the Poetical Character" than Mr. Garrod does in his treatment of this poem. Mr. J. R. MacGillivray independently confirms and supplements the results of Sister Eugenia's researches (*PMLA.*, XLV, 1069 ff.) concerning the enquiries Coleridge and his fellow pantisocrats made about the possibilities of comfortable settlement on the banks of the Susquehanna, and with her finally puts to rest the old legend that the place was chosen because of its euphonious name. Mr. G. S. Brett's essay on "Shelley's Relation to Berkeley and Drummond" links up Shelley's "immaterial philosophy" with Berkeley's idealistic theories as they came through the "Academical Questions" of Sir William Drummond, and he traces the influence of this book not only in Shelley's ideas but also in his phrases. Browning could not speak out in his own person in matters of religious belief, or if he did, he did so rather feebly, but in his dramatic characters he uttered their convictions with all the power of his genius. So thinks Mr. J. F. MacDonald in his study on the "Inhibitions of Browning's Poetry." The final essay, by Mr. E. K. Brown, would seem to demonstrate that the French reputation of Matthew Arnold was hardly worth investigating.

JAMES W. TUPPER

Lafayette College

BRIEF MENTION

Presiding Ideas in Wordsworth's Poetry. By MELVIN M. RADER. Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1931. (University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, VIII, 2, pp. 121-216). This slender volume is a view of the chief philosophical ingredients of Wordsworth's poetry as seen by a well-trained student of philosophy. Professor Rader is a member of the department of philosophy at the University of Washington and those who have less accurate knowledge of the course of philosophical thought in the eighteenth century and earlier will find his monograph a valuable analysis. Included are discussions of the various stages of the development of Wordsworth's personality, Wordsworth's transcendentalism, the influence of Hartley, of Kant, and of Plato, and Wordsworth's theory of the external world. Of especial interest is the discussion of the poet's animism and its probable sources. Along with other recent writers, Professor Rader is inclined to see the predominance of Coleridge in "shaping the philosophical tenets of his friend. Coleridge with his

wealth of philosophical knowledge and an eager proselytizing spirit" came just at the critical time in the development of Wordsworth's thinking, when he was yearning for new light. As Coleridge's philosophy grew and changed, so did that of his fellow poet. As the author indicates, this growth included the overthrow of necessitarianism, the revision of the views of association, the adoption of a transcendental solution of the problem of knowledge, and the change from pantheism to immanent theism.

JOHN D. REA

Miami University

The Later Genesis (and other Old English and Old Saxon Texts relating to the Fall of Man), edited by FRIEDRICH KLAEBER. [*Englische Textbibliothek*, herausgegeben von Dr. Johannes Hoopes, No. 15] New Edition, with Supplement. Heidelberg: Winter, 1931. Pp. 12 (supplement) + 69. M. 2 (kart).

The reprinting of this well known collection of excerpts on the theme of the Fall reminds us of the availability of this inexpensive but carefully edited series (*Englische Textbibliothek*) for use in the second year of instruction in Old and Middle English. The present number has long been the standard approach to one of the themes of OE literature. The pieces included are the OE *Genesis B*, *Genesis A* 852-964, *Christ and Satan* 410-21, 470-494, *Guthlac* 791-843, 949-69, *Phoenix*, 393-423, 437-42, *Christ* 1379-1418, *Juliana* 494-505; and the OS *Genesis* 1-26, *Heliand* 1030-49, 3588-3609.

In form and appearance, it is an exact replica of the 1913 edition, with the compact but rich Bibliography, Notes, and Glossary that we associate with Mr. Klaeber's method. If it can be said that the apparatus for study is unattractive to the elementary students for whom it is intended, and often condensed to the point of being cryptic, it can also be said that it will serve as a stimulus to the intellectual curiosity of the best ones and as a permanent standard for scholars who deal with these selections.

The Supplement of eight pages, awkwardly placed at the beginning of the book, brings up to date the Bibliography, Notes, and Glossary. But one should not expect here a complete assimilation of the many pertinent items of scholarship that have appeared since 1913. Mr. Klaeber's reaction, for example, on certain points discussed by Gollancz and by Krapp in the introductions and notes to their recent editions of *Junius XI* would be eagerly read; but since only the merest mention is made of them, we are reminded that the work is primarily a textbook for college classes.

G. W. SMALL

University of Maine

La Littérature Anglaise. By PAUL DOTTIN. Paris, Colin, 1931. Pp. 209 (*Collection Armand Colin*, no. 146). Professor Dottin has designed not a history, but a guide for his fellow-countrymen among those British authors whose fame is not bounded by the mere interest and erudition of scholars. Though he begins with what he calls "la nuit anglo-saxonne," half his little book is occupied with the last one hundred and fifty years, a fourth with the last fifty, and eight pages with his idol, Shelley.

It is doubtless salutary for us at times to view English literature through the Gallic eye; to descry new values by its clairvoyance, and also to mark its points of myopia. For example, to Mr. Dottin, as already to Mr. Legouis, English poetry is naught till it enjoys French influence. Old English poems, says Mr. Dottin, "n'ont aucune importance pour l'historien des littératures." Perhaps he speaks only for France when he says that Jane Austen's novels are no longer read, or that Browning is only the hero of a small group, one third intellectuals, two thirds snobs. He states gossip for a fact when he says that Stella was Temple's natural daughter, and that Swift married her. But almost every page releases a just and lively sentence that sets one pondering. "Milton commence à devenir un objet de musée autour duquel se battent des savants." Tom Moore has been unjustly forgotten perhaps because his *Irish Melodies* "sont trop souvent infligées au visiteur par la jeune fille de la maison." After Swinburne, "la poésie s'effaçait derrière le roman, et ne fut plus qu'un luxe destiné aux élites." Of Shaw: "Peut-être y a-t-il un homme qui souffre derrière le masque grimaçant du comédien."

CHARLES G. OSGOOD

Princeton University

The Bowdoin prize essay of Harvard University, "The Broken Column" by Harry Levin, is a clever undergraduate survey of romantic Hellenism through the latter part of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth. It is all very discouraging: Byron is a "weary Titan, chained to his *papier-mâché* Caucasus by shackles of his own forging, with the tragic fire eternally preying on his heart"; "Shelley, to put it baldly, is all fire and air, without much fire"; "Keats is the laureate of bric-à-brac."

JAMES W. TUPPER

Lafayette College

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ENGLISH

[The *English* list includes only books received.]

Bühler, C. F.—The Sources of the Court of Sapience. *Leipzig*: Tauchnitz, 1932. Pp. 96. M. 4. (Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie, XXIII.)

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AN EIGHTFOLD CONFUSION IN AESTHETIC EVALUATIONS

When one has read a certain amount of artistic criticism one cannot avoid being impressed by its futility. A group of writers talking about different things will argue back and forth as if they were talking about the same thing. One critic particularly interested in one phase of a work of art will insist that his approach is the only right approach and found a school whose business it is to lampoon critics who take any other point of view. It is, however, obvious that the assertion of a proposition entails neither the assertion nor denial of any other logically independent proposition and that the importance of a bit of research (in one common sense of the word "importance") is in part relative to the information one is seeking. The vagueness, ambiguity, and downright nonsense of much criticism can only be avoided if one makes a preliminary survey of the subject-matter of aesthetics, postponing the question of what part of that subject-matter is the most important from some point of view familiarly called "higher."

I claim no great originality in presenting the distinctions which follow. Their obviousness is in their favor if anything. But obviousness and lack of originality are evidence of neither triviality nor falsity, as we all know, and every once in a while a reminder that the obvious is being neglected is worth recording.

Though this paper is dealing with distinctions, it admits that the distinctions it makes are logical, not existential. Frequently two things can be separated for purposes of conversation that do not exist in separation. Examples are only too numerous. We distinguish between substance and structure, between form and color, quality and quantity, and discuss one without the other, in spite of the fact the couples always occur together. Not only that,

but in the field of the arts things which are separable in conversation form a whole in which they are reciprocally influential. Thus in a painting one can distinguish between form and color but the form actually helps determine the vividness, for instance, of the color, and the color by its variations throughout the canvas helps determine the form perceived. Or in a line of poetry the rhythm of the verse form and rhythms of verbal accent and meaning are separable in conversation, though they exist together and each influences the other. But distinctions have to be made if we are to talk at all and talking seems to be one of the few values of modern life which are unquestioned.

The first distinction, then, to be made is that between art as a *product* and art as a *producing* or process. People familiar with critical essays know how the confusion between the process of painting and the picture, the singing and the song have obscured aesthetics. There are certain values in the one which are not discoverable in the other and when one is made of primary importance, the other is forced into a position of inferiority. Art schools in this country are divided over the question of whether one should emphasize the finished picture or the activity which terminates in it. Both are called "art," but if we ought to have different terms for different things, this ambiguity ought to be avoided, and artistry distinguished from its products. If artistry and works of art, or art-as-a-producing and art-as-a-product are different, then the characteristics of the one cannot be legitimately transferred to the other. Hence if one says that a picture is good or bad—assuming for the moment that we understand what "good" and "bad" mean—one is saying nothing whatsoever about the goodness or badness of the process of painting which produced it. It is logically proper—and factually necessary sometimes—to admit that a good story was badly told or a bad song well sung.

At the same time it must not be forgotten that processes are often treated by us as if they were products; means, that is, are viewed as ends. We may enjoy or detest hearing a person sing or watching him paint, regardless of what he is singing or painting, just as we enjoy watching steamshovels excavate cellars with no thought of the building which they are making possible. This may be condemned ethically, but it is a fact nevertheless. We may enjoy fishing with no thought of eating or selling the fish we catch or enjoy making money with no thought of how we shall spend it

when made. In the same manner we may treat a product as a means to a further end as when a real-estate agent rubs his hands in ecstasy over the thought of the rent a house will bring or a clergyman gloats over an edifying line from Shakespeare. The house may very well have been built with no idea that it would make money for a real estate agent and the line was certainly written with no thought of edifying the clergyman's parishioners. In all of these cases what some people would call the "natural" status of the processes and products have been forgotten, and nothing is more natural than to forget them. The point is that, whatever moralists may say, students of aesthetics must bear such facts in mind, for it is only by retaining them that the various types of artistic criticism can be understood.

In the second place, writers on aesthetics are quick to forget that in all art there is an artist even when there is no observer. The artist is too often treated as simply another human being standing about. But the psychology of producing works of art happens to be different from that of observing them, and it must not be assumed that the values an artist finds in his artistry and in his products are identical with what an observer finds in them. This is important because artists are continually asking the public to take their point of view and critics seldom hesitate to attribute to an artist their own feelings about his works of art. Thus if a critic feels joyful after hearing a piece of music, he says that the composer was expressing his joy and if a painter finds a portrait an adequate culmination of his impression of the subject, he wonders that the subject's wife finds it insufferable. It is a great temptation to enlarge upon this point, for of all the confusions it is the most frequent and perhaps the most mischievous. The characters read into artists like Shakespeare, Michelangelo, or Beethoven from the impression their works make on professional critics have practically no basis in psychological fact and yet some critics actually expect to write a chapter in history from their aesthetic experiences. Artists similarly expect observers to share their point of view and by a kind of magic sympathy recreate the work of art. This is as impossible as the complementary task.

Accepting the need for a terminological distinction, we shall use the words, "the artistic point of view" to mean the point of view of the artist and "the aesthetic point of view" to mean the point

of view of the observer. This does not conform to common usage in which "artistic" and "aesthetic" are usually synonymous.

The third distinction is the commonplace differentiation between instrumental and terminal (inherent, intrinsic, final) values. Instrumental values are means; terminal values are ends. But, as we have already said, means may have terminal as well as instrumental value—witness the case of a "good" dinner, and ends may have instrumental as well as terminal value. It is possible therefore for a single individual to appreciate the presence of both values in a given process or product, or for an individual to appreciate one without appreciating the other. Thus an artist may derive satisfaction from his artistry and from his works of art; he may derive satisfaction from one but not from the other, using the words "to derive satisfaction" as equivalent to "to find terminal value in." Similarly he may find both his artistry and his works of art useful, or find only one of them useful, while deriving satisfaction from them or not. Similar situations are possible in respect to the observer.

We have then made three pairs of distinctions, one in value, one in the objects of critical interest, one in critical point of view. A critical judgment may then assert or deny any one of the eight propositions which follow.

1) The artist found his artistry adequate for reaching his end. (The instrumental value of the process from the artistic point of view.)

2) The observer found the artistry adequate to what he imagined the artist's end to be. (The same from the aesthetic point of view.)

3) The artist found his product useful, e. g., morally uplifting, economically valuable, intellectually influential, and so on. (The instrumental value of the product from the artistic point of view.)

4) The observer found the artist's product useful. (The same from the aesthetic point of view.)

5) The artist enjoyed producing his work of art. (The terminal value of the process from the artistic point of view.)

6) The spectator enjoyed watching the artist producing his work of art. (The same from the aesthetic point of view.)

7) The artist enjoyed contemplating¹ his finished work of art.

¹ I use the word "contemplating" to cover "hearing," "tasting," "reading" and so on.

(The terminal value of the product from the artistic point of view.)

8) The observer enjoyed contemplating the artist's product.
(The same from the aesthetic point of view.)

I submit, then, to use a concrete example, that when critics have said, "*Paradise Lost* is a great poem" they have meant any one of the following or strange combinations of them.

(1) Milton thought he had succeeded in writing the epic he had planned.

(2) Milton succeeded in writing the epic which I believe him to have planned.

(3) Milton found *Paradise Lost* morally edifying—either to himself or to someone else.

(4) I have been morally edified by *Paradise Lost*.

(5) Milton enjoyed² composing *Paradise Lost*.

(6) His daughters—or someone else—enjoyed watching him compose it.

(7) Milton enjoyed listening to *Paradise Lost* after it was written.

(8) I enjoyed reading *Paradise Lost*.

This paper might very properly come to an end at this point, for if the distinctions are clear no further discussion should be necessary. But it may be interesting to suggest how by emphasizing each of these meanings eight major types of critical theory may be developed. Each of these major types is of course divided into numerous species depending upon the peculiar identification of instrumental or terminal value employed. That is, some critics, like Plato and Tolstoi, seem to think only of moral utility when they discuss instrumental value (though they do not agree upon what moral utility is), whereas a critic like Upton Sinclair is thinking in terms of utility in the struggle between economic classes. Some critics again identify terminal value with a simple feeling of pleasure; others with a specific aesthetic emotion; others with certain more or less clearly defined "formal" characteristics. And finally critics waver between the descriptive and the normative, now indicating facts, now applying standards. We need not encumber this brief paper with these complications.

² A nobler word can be substituted for "enjoyed," if preferred.

The first school of critics asserts that the only proper approach to works of art is through a consideration of the instrumental value of artistry from the artistic point of view. Such critics maintain (1) that technical matters are alone important, discussion of the finished product as an end or a means to further ends being irrelevant and (2) that the artist alone knows when his artistry is adequate, since he alone knows what his end was. Find out what the artist was trying to do and criticise the adequacy of his technique in relation to that end, says such a critic. If his technique has been successful, then no comment is required beyond an indication of that fact. Never raise the question of whether the end was worth achieving. Such discussions as whether a triolet is as great as a sonnet or whether an *Ode to a Grecian Urn* is as worth spending one's time writing as an *Ode on Intimations of Immortality* are absurd. The first problem is to find out what the artist was trying to do, the next to see whether he succeeded in doing it or more strictly whether he thought he succeeded in doing it.

The difficulty of applying this theory is that it is next to impossible to discover what artists are trying to do. In many cases the artist is dead and gone, *spurlos versenkt* except for a name, and in many other cases we have not even a name to guide us. But even when we have a fair idea of the artist's identity we must remember how hopelessly inarticulate artists are when it is a question of their purposes. One has only to read the manifestoes put out by the various schools of painters in the last fifty years to appreciate the fact that what an artist has to say is precisely his work of art and not things about it. If he were the kind of person who could talk about works of art, he would probably be a critic, not an artist.

Consequently the technical critic turns to the second possibility and either decides what the artist ought to have tried to do, or pretends to discover what he actually was trying to do from a study of what he did. I shall not discuss the question of how one knows what artists "ought" to strive for, but continue the question of how one knows what they really were striving for. One way is first to find an end which has been achieved—or to which the artistry is adequate—and second to call that the artist's end. This is usually done only in the case of artists whose reputation is very great, Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe. For Jove must not nod. It is a fashion of justifying everything they do and naturally works out very well. Thus when they have succeeded in writing nonsense,

one concludes that they were intending to write nonsense and had found just the technique fitted to that end. And if they have succeeded in writing something that sounds sublime, one concludes that they meant to be sublime before putting pen to paper. In the case of artists whose reputations are not so overpowering, the critic who adopts this attitude points out an end to which the artistry is not adequate and by identifying that end with the artist's, one easily concludes that the artist has failed. Some end of course has to be assumed if an instrumental evaluation is to be made. One cannot judge the utility of a tool until one knows what it is for.

The instrumental value of artistry can never take the place of the terminal value of the product. Even if one discovered that Shakespeare found the artistry of *Coriolanus* adequate to the end he had in mind and enjoyed the consequent (or attendant) rapture of a feeling of success, that would not mean that we, reading or seeing *Coriolanus*, should feel the same rapture or even be more than bored. Tupper probably felt that his manner of writing *Proverbial Philosophy* was precisely the one manner best fitted to bring home the lessons he had to teach and we may agree with him. Yet reading *Proverbial Philosophy* may be a very painful experience for us and we may wish that he had never written it. One can lay it down as a general principle that a knowledge of the instrumental value of artistry cannot replace our apprehension of the terminal value of its product. In more concrete, but vaguer, terms, to know that an artist thinks he has painted a picture as it should be painted (or that a critic thinks the artist has) is not to feel the greatness of his picture.

There is not only an instrumental value in artistry, there is also one in works of art. The moralizing critics from Plato down have spared no pains to point this out. Such writers make many modern artists and critics very impatient, and they often say that a work of art may be beautiful without being good, or saleable, or even enlightening. This is undoubtedly true; indeed some people seem to feel that if a work of art is good, it must be ugly. If beauty is a name for the terminal value of artistry and works of art, then it is clear that evil, saleability, enlightenment are irrelevant to beauty. But the fact is that works of art actually do have more than terminal value. One may ignore it; the artist may not intend it; but there it is. And many works of art are bound to be judged by their usefulness as well as by their beauty. Of two

intended caricatures, not the more beautiful but the more telling will be preferred and there is no way of avoiding that. There are arts of propaganda in various mediums, both of intentional and unintentional propaganda, and though I am not convinced that the effect of propaganda is brought about as popular psychology declares, when you have propaganda, it is inevitable that it be judged as such. The arts are a part of man's total living and cannot escape being included in it. It is true that many systems of ethics would make many of the arts impossible. That is a weakness of the systems. One of the tasks of ethics is to find room for all of man's capacities and the weakness of certain myopic ethicists is not remedied by setting up a false distinction between art and life. Living, one might suspect, was the genus of which art was the species.

The instrumental value of the product from the artistic point of view is determined by the artist's success in reaching his desired end. We know that some artists intend propaganda, witness pictorial illustrators, writers of patriotic hymns, political and social satirists, inventors of religious ritual. The artist, knowing his purpose, will know when he has realized it. But observers may be in ignorance of it or may choose to ignore it and consider the works of art not as instruments but as ends. In fact this often happens to such works of art by the simple effect of historical change. So obsolete tools—spinning wheels, bed-warmers, and milk-jugs—become, like aged parents, ornaments when their utility is lost. We hear today of "the Bible as literature"; we discuss Giotto and Daumier not as illustrators but as composers; we talk of meals gastronomically, not dietetically. And there are people who condemn this. But such condemnation is absurd. Giotto and Daumier were both great composers and great illustrators, the story of the woman taken in adultery is great literature as well as a great moral lesson, and an omelette by the original Mère Poularde was both of good taste and nourishing. It simply requires a clear head to keep the two values distinct and to remember that the presence or absence of the one entails neither the presence nor absence of the other.

We are not sure whether Giotto was primarily interested in the art of pictorial composition or the art of religious instruction—he was probably interested in both; but we do know that his own interests should not prevent observers from considering his frescoes

under both headings. One may find an instrumental value in a work of art which the artist never intended, as when American women use Chinese Buddhist priest-robcs for table covers or piano scarves, and patriots use lyric poems for national hymns. It is at least plausible to maintain that when Francis Scott Key expressed his joy at seeing the American flag still flying over Fort McHenry the morning after a heavy bombardment, he had no intention of writing a national anthem. Yet he did write the words for one, as things turned out, and their use as such could not be questioned simply on the ground that they were written to fulfil another purpose. An artist can no more foresee all the utility of his products than a chemist can. It may be questionable taste at times to utilize them in unintended ways and it is true that when the taste is questioned the utility may suffer—at least as far as the questioners are concerned. But unless such a reaction occurs the instrumental value of the product from the aesthetic point of view can be treated independently of its other values.

For a critic to confine himself to the utility of works of art to the observer is for him to omit much that is of interest. At the same time the fact must not be overlooked that many works of art are produced for the satisfaction of observers and that for centuries observers have found their satisfaction terminating not in the works of art but in some other end to the attainment of which the works of art were ancillary. Literature has been by most readers valued for the information or edification or inspiration or what not it provides, to the point that even to-day there is no adequate vocabulary for discussing its terminal values. The same reflection may be applied to the other arts with the necessary verbal changes. There is also the fact that the possession of works of art is a means to acquiring a reputation as a Maecenas and in the case of pictures, sculpture, rare editions of books, is furthered as a financial investment. There is no need of piling up examples of the instrumentality of works of art from the aesthetic point of view, for they are only too easily found. They must not be forgotten, however, for by assuming that works of art are cherished only for their terminal values, misleading decisions about the enduring or universal importance of individual works of art are readily made.

We come now to the terminal values, first of the process and second of the product.

That processes—or means—whether natural or artificial are interesting in themselves needs no proof. As we have said above when one observes the growth of plants or the development of a tadpole, when one watches linotypes and locomotives, their “natural” ends are forgotten. Such processes become spectacles, whatever God and man meant them to be.

That there is a terminal value in artistry from the artistic point of view is equally clear. I am not maintaining that tadpoles enjoy turning into frogs, but I do assert that artists often enjoy painting or writing even when the pictures or stories turn out to be tragic failures. One could scarcely believe that human beings could sacrifice as many comforts as they do for the sake of making works of art, even when they are convinced that they will starve to death in the process, unless they found some satisfaction in it. Nor can one say that they are always led on by the will o’ the wisp of financial or even artistic success. Many of us engage in the arts as amateurs, destroying our products when they are finished. The only justification for this that we give is the fun we find in creation. By emphasizing this aspect of art we tend towards that form of romanticism which finds its intellectual expression in Lessing’s famous epigram on the search for truth. The literature of doing for doing’s sake is in fact enormous. And indeed so prevalent is the experience that doctrines describing it sometimes take on an ethical tinge and make something called “activity” a good in itself, if not the highest good.

One could of course develop a system of criticism from this. One could maintain that the “real” value of art is joy of creation and not that of contemplating what is created. I suspect, but I cannot prove this, that much of the plausibility of art-for-art’s sake in the eyes of artists lay right here. It would certainly be more fun to paint, write, or sing without regard for the public or the product than with an eye on them. And to be sure it often happens that products created in this romantic manner turn out to be more attractive than those which were deliberately contrived to attract us. The same is true of social etiquette, as we all know. But in neither case is the linkage inevitable or even logical.

Artistry, as we have said, may also be interesting from the aesthetic point of view, regardless of its terminus. A perfect crime may be revolting but the artistry involved fascinating. We aesthetise (this is again repetition) many processes which have no inher-

ent artistic purpose. Elegant mathematical demonstrations or surgical operations have been indicated by almost all philosophers of art as examples of this and good sportsmen—if there are any—make a virtue of it. Many of us tend to feel that what we do is of no great moment: the way we do it is of the greatest. One may discipline oneself into disapproving this manner of living but one cannot deny the existence of a feeling of admiration for technical skill. It seems perverse, but it is certainly so widespread as to be normal. The error one makes is in identifying it with the terminal value of the product. It is, that is, legitimate to maintain that a poor piece of music—like Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony* or Tosti's *Good-Bye*—was well rendered in a justifiable sense of the adverb "well," just as it is to maintain that a good piece of music—like Bach's *Goldberg Variations*—was poorly rendered. But let it be noted that I am not here defining the terms of evaluation.

Our seventh and eighth confusion are obviously the terminal value of the product from the artistic and the aesthetic points of view. Here I simply invite attention to what would seem to be a fact, *viz.*, that the creator of a work of art may find it beautiful though observers find it hideous. We must avoid discussion of the psychology of appreciation as much as possible, but I doubt whether any artist can ever observe his works (unless they be juvenilia and he an old man) with the detachment of someone else. I am not pleading that he should, nor do I believe that artists create works of art for the sake of observing them. Their problem is to do something in a certain manner and they cannot be asked simply to look at what they have done and forget why and how they did it. At the same time they cannot exact of critics that they substitute for their own enjoyment of the product the artist's consciousness of motive. The observer, after all, has not and cannot share the artist's past life, the peculiar frustrations (or even satisfactions) which eventuate in his products. He may try to study them as a psychologist but he cannot feel them as a subject. There is therefore always bound to be a gap between artist and observer and when the observer is writing criticism he would be much more fruitful as a critic if he confined himself to the work of art and avoided psychoanalysis. Why Shakespeare wrote his sonnets is undoubtedly an interesting problem, but so is the problem of what one will find who reads them. For all I know the dark lady may be his mother for whom he had an incestuous passion or the Church

of Rome or his own subconscious. And what he himself found in the sonnets would certainly depend upon what he thought he was putting into them. But to us reading them, they are works of art and, though seven other subjects of conversation are open to us, we can point out what we find in them.

I have not discussed in the paper the relative importance of the eight ideas which seem to be so often confused. Which idea is the "right" one is not our problem at this time. We have been occupied only with untangling them from one another and showing their logical independence. If the paper has been understood, there may have emerged into consciousness the uselessness of much critical debate. It is profoundly human to argue about the importance of one's opinions rather than about their truth, but even in such arguments it is good to know precisely what one is talking about. This paper merely hints at the complexity of what one can legitimately talk about. It does not pretend to have thoroughly untangled it.

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MONDAY AS A DATE FOR MEDIEVAL TOURNAMENTS

I. A PROPOS DU *Lai de l'Ombre*

Dans le *Lai de l'Ombre*, lorsque Jean Renart fait le portrait de son héros, il énumère les qualités qui font de lui le modèle du parfait chevalier, et il insiste surtout sur son amour des tournois:

86 Bien sot un renc de chief en chief
 Cerchier por une jouste fere.
 A ce ot torné son afere
 Li chevaliers dont je vous di
 Qu'il vousist que chascun lundî
 Qu'il estoit qu'il en fussent deus,
 N'onques chevaliers ne fu teus,
 Si peniu d'armes qu'il estoit.

Voici ce que dit M. Joseph Bédier au sujet des vers 90-91, dans sa seconde édition du *Lai de l'Ombre*:

Nous n'avons à proposer de ces vers aucune interprétation qui nous satisfasse. Les tournois n'avaient pas lieu le lundi plutôt qu'un autre jour. Est-il permis de rappeler des expressions telles que: *il aurait voulu que*

*chaque jour eût quarante huit heures? Lundi serait là pour dire un jour quelconque.*¹

Il me semble que M. Bédier rejette ici la seule explication possible. En effet, si nous parcourons un certain nombre de romans d'aventures, nous y trouvons que les tournois avaient généralement lieu le lundi. Je vais en donner quelques exemples :

- | | | |
|------|--|---------------------------------|
| 1639 | Car de lundi en XV jors Iert li tornois a Sainteron. | <i>Guillaume de Dôle</i> |
| 850 | De cet lundy en quinze dis Lors tenronz le tournoiement. | <i>Glinois</i> |
| 6587 | Si soit li tornoiz commenciez Le lundi emprès les foiriez Et durt trois jorz toz enterins; Devant le quart n'en soit la fins. | <i>Partonopeus de Blois</i> |
| 898 | Pour les estranges festoier Li jours prist jà à aprochier Que la feste venir devoit Le samedi au soir tout droit, Dont la feste estoit le lundi. | <i>Le Chatelain de Couci</i> |
| 6285 | Che fu a une pentecouste, Que on despent et que molt couste, Que cele bataille fu prise. Mains gentils hom de grant emprise Vint au lundi apriés sans faille Pour esgarder cele bataille. | <i>Le Roman de la Violette.</i> |
| 4823 | C'est a Pasques, au novel temps, Que chevaliers est Galerens. A grant joye en Mez la cité. Pour la haulte sollemnité N'ont mie aux armez entendu, Jusqu'a demain ont attendu Galeren et si compaignon, Et cil qui tendent au renon Et au priz, pour eulx mettre avant. | <i>Galeran de Bretagne.</i> |

La raison était d'ailleurs bien simple. Les tournois avaient généralement lieu au printemps, à l'occasion des fêtes de Pâques (*Galeran*, 4823, *Flamenca* 7020-7021¹ = 7023-7024²), ou de la Pentecôte (*Joufrois* 870, *Guillaume le Maréchal* 3681-3683, *Roman de la Violette* 6285). L'Eglise défendait formellement de se battre

¹ *Le Lai de l'Ombre*, édit. Joseph Bédier, Société des Anciens Textes Français, Paris 1913, note p. 54.

les dimanches et les jours de fêtes solennelles; et, bien que cette interdiction ne fût pas observée universellement en ce qui concerne le dimanche, beaucoup de chevaliers avaient fait voeu de ne pas *tornoier* ce jour-là. On attendait donc au lundi suivant pour se battre (*Guillaume de Dôle* 2210-2214, *Galeran* 4826-4828). Il arrivait que les fêtes commençassent dès le samedi, où l'on célébrait l'arrivée des combattants (*Chatelain de Couci* 898). Le dimanche se passait en cérémonies religieuses, en fêtes et en danses (*Guillaume de Dôle* 2037 et suiv.); ce jour-là on adoubait aussi un certain nombre de nouveaux chevaliers (*Galeran* 4662-4753). Le lundi matin, les jouteurs allaient à l'église entendre la messe du Saint Esprit (*Guillaume de Dôle* 2432-2436, *Roman de la Violette* 5869), puis se rendaient aux lices où l'ouverture du tournoi était officiellement annoncée.

Les vers 90-91 du *Lai de l'Ombre* sont donc parfaitement clairs sans qu'il soit besoin de donner au mot *lundi* un sens abstrait.

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II. IN ENGLAND

M. Vigneras in his note on the *Lai de l'ombre* states that tournaments were usually held on Monday and supports his position by quotations from several romances. In the hope that it may illuminate the question as to how accurately the mediaeval romance portrays the customs of the period, I have collected some statistics on the subject. These consist of the dates of sixty tournaments which were proclaimed in England between 1215 and 1250.¹ As a large part of this information was obtained from royal writs of prohibition, in all probability many of these contests never actually took place, but this fact would not seem to lessen the value of the date for which they were planned. A more serious objection to these statistics might be made on the ground that England was

¹ Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum* (ed. H. J. Hewlett, *Rolls Series*), II, 137-8. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora* (ed. H. R. Luard, *Rolls Series*), IV, 136, V, 17, 54. *Patent Rolls 1216-1225* (*Rolls Series*), pp. 116, 174, 194, 198, 295, 388, 405, 517; *ibid.* 1225-1232, pp. 202, 230, 316, 321, 452, 457, 459, 463, 473, 498. *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1232-1247* (*Rolls Series*), pp. 17, 20, 57, 67, 70, 84, 86, 107, 119, 131, 133, 136, 148, 156, 173, 180, 210, 222, 223, 227, 232, 236, 238, 242, 258, 266, 269, 416, 424, 457, 477; *ibid.* 1247-1258, pp. 30, 47, 77.

a country apart, and its customs might differ from those of the continent. In answer to this one can only point out that this was a period of extreme foreign influence in England, that several of these tournaments were contests between native English knights and their unwelcome French guests,² and that Richard, Gilbert and Walter Marshal, earls of Pembroke, were prominent participants.³ No one can really doubt the purity of the chivalric tradition in the hands of the sons of William Marshal.

The statistics based on these sixty tourneys tend to support M. Vignerat's claim that Monday was the most common day for chivalric exercises. The detailed record is as follows: Monday 24, Tuesday 12, Wednesday 10, Thursday 4, Friday 1, Saturday 1, Sunday 1. Thus twenty-four out of sixty tournaments, or 40%, were proclaimed for Monday. In addition four were planned for Monday or Tuesday, two for Tuesday or Wednesday, and one for Wednesday or Thursday.

The explanation advanced by M. Vignerat for this decided preference for Monday is not borne out by this evidence. Including occasions on which the church festival was on the preceding Friday or Saturday, only eight of the twenty-four Monday tournaments follow holy days. No contest was proclaimed for a Monday following either Easter or Pentecost. While certain seasons were slightly favored above others, the dates were well spread out over the entire year. Seven tourneys were announced for the Monday or Tuesday before Ash Wednesday, four for the eighth day after the close of Easter, six for the week or ten days after the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, and ten for the period of the festivals of Epiphany and St. Hilary. The most favored month was January with twelve, followed by September with eight, May with seven, June and July with six, and October and November with five. February had three; March, April, August, and December two apiece.

While these sixty tournaments show that Monday was peculiarly favored for chivalric combats, they fail to supply a reason for that preference. Considering the extreme scantiness of our knowledge of actual chivalry as distinct from the romantic, this subject would seem to merit further study.

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² Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, v, 83, 265.

³ *Ibid.*, iv, 135-6, 157; *Patent Rolls* 1225-1232, p. 498.

AN *INTERLUDIUM* FOR A GILD OF CORPUS CHRISTI

It is a common-place in the dramatic history of England that the gilds of Corpus Christi of various towns, charged with responsibility for the elaborate procession and other devotional observances on the feast of that name, took part only exceptionally in the religious plays associated with the festival.¹ As a rule, these gilds centered their attention upon the liturgy of the day, leaving the dramatic performances to other fraternal organizations, especially the trade gilds.² Exceptional instances of such performances by Corpus Christi gilds are the processional plays at Ipswich, the Creed play performed decennially at York, usually at Lammas-tide (August 1), and the *ludus Filiorum Israelis* at Cambridge.³ Since, however, the number of such exceptions known to historians of the drama is small, one may appropriately bring forward the original record of an additional example. This is the *interludium* mentioned in the following unpublished "certificate," or "return," describing the foundation and customs of the gild of Corpus Christi at Bury St. Edmund's, written in 1389:⁴

¹ The normal activities of the English gilds of Corpus Christi are amply described by H. F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Mediaeval England*, London, 1919, pp. 49-59. See also E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, II, 118-9; M. L. Spencer, *Corpus Christi Pageants in England*, New York, 1911, pp. 10-2, 19-21. Our information is especially full in regard to the gild at York, concerning which see *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York*, ed. R. H. Skaife (*Surtees Society*, LVII) Durham, etc., 1872, and *York Memorandum Book*, ed. Maud Sellers (*Surtees Society*, CXX, CXXV), Durham, etc., 1912, 1915,—especially CXXV, pp. xxxviii-xli.

² The restricted nature of the activities of the Corpus Christi gilds is, of course, well understood by such writers as Lucy T. Smith (*York Plays*, Oxford, 1885, p. xxx), Chambers (II, 118, 341, 353, 404), and Spencer, pp. 11-2, 19-21.

³ See Chambers, II, 118, 119, 120, 344, 371-2, 404-5. The dramatic activities of Corpus Christi gilds and of similar religious organizations are mentioned by Spencer, pp. 19-20.

⁴ London, Public Record Office, Chancery Miscellanea, Bundle 46, no. 401. This brief document is one of the 471 so-called "gild certificates," or "returns of 1389," which are comprehensively characterized by Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, London, 1870, pp. xxiv-xxv, 127-31, and by Westlake, pp. 36 sqq. In Westlake's list of the entire collection of certificates (pp.

Certificacio fundacionis, regiminis, et continuacionis fraternitatis de Corpore Christi in ecclesia sancti Edmundi <de Bury> . . . <certificata> per Johannem . . . aldermannum fraternitatis predictae in vigilia Purificationis Beate Marie anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi duodecimo iuxta formam <proclamacionis> . . . per breue regium inde facte patet in forma subsequente.

Est autem quedam gilda in ecclesia Sancti Edmundi de Bury que a tempore quo non extat⁵ memoria ad . . . et gratiam hominum ville predictae ad honorem Corporis Christi incepta extitit et fundata et adhuc continuatur sub hac forma, videlicet: quod fratres et sorores gilde predictae conuenient in die Corporis Christi, et habebunt Missam de die, et offeret quilibet eorum vnum quadrantem, et inueniunt certos cereos ad honorem Corporis Christi omnibus diebus festiuis per annum in ecclesia predicta ardentes, ac quendam capellanum diuina pro fratribus et sororibus predictis⁶ celebrantem; et habebunt eodem die capicia de vna secta, et quoddam interludium de Corpore Christi, ad quod quidem interludium manutenendum et sustentandum dicti fratres et sorores, quando de nouo fiunt et creantur, astringentur vinculo iuramenti. Et eodem die sumptibus suis propriis ad certum locum in villa predicta adinuicem manducabunt Intererunt insuper dicti fratres et sorores exequiis et alijs solempnitatibus die obitus fratrum et sororum gilde⁷ predictae, et offerent ad Missam vnum quadrantem, et dabunt vnum denarium ad celebrandam Missam eodem die pro anima sua. Et insuper eligent dicto die vnum aldermannum, qui curam et superuisionem gilde predictae habebit pro anno sequente. Et non sunt ibi plura bona vel catalla aut terre tenementa redditus vel possessiones mortificate vel non mortificate ad dictam fraternitatem pertinencia aliter quam superius est expressum.

Unfortunately the statement concerning the *interludium* is not very informing, and the word itself, in its uses elsewhere, "appears to be equally applicable to every kind of drama known to the Middle Ages."⁸ Presumably the nature of the "interlude" mentioned in the document before us is in no way elucidated by the uniform head-dress prescribed for members of the gild on the great feast. It is clear, however, that the dramatic performance was regarded as a particularly serious duty (*ad quod interludium manutenendum et sustentandum dicti fratres et sorores, quando*

137-238), the document before us is entered on p. 225, with a brief summary mentioning the *interludum* (sic). In my text I enclose within pointed brackets the illegible passages of the original that can be restored with reasonable certainty; other such passages are represented by dots.

⁵ extat] Reading doubtful.

⁶ predictis] Inserted by another hand.

⁷ gilde] Beginning with this word, another hand takes up the writing.

⁸ See Chambers, II, 182.

de novo fiunt et creantur, astringentur vinculo iuramenti), and the language of the certificate (*interludum de Corpore Christi*) may possibly indicate that in its subject the play at Bury St. Edmund's was related to the central theme of Corpus Christi day somewhat more directly than were most of the Biblical pieces known to have been performed by the English trade gilds.

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A TRACE OF DANTE IN GOETHE'S *ILMENAU*

It is a well-known fact that Goethe, when writing *Ilmenau* (1783), stood midway between his period of Storm and Stress, and the years of maturity which followed his Italian journey. In the midst of the rhapsody of Weimar, the poet stopped for a moment to pass in review his tempestuous youth, as though feeling that he was nearing the Dantean "mezzo del cammin di nostra vita"; Goethe had just entered upon his thirty-fifth year. The examination of conscience resulted in a *mea culpa*, not devoid of all pride, and worthy of the *Promethide*: "Ich schwanke nicht, indem ich mich verdamme." In pronouncing sentence upon his past, Goethe distinctly felt he was turning a new leaf.—*Ilmenau* as was pointed out by Gundolf,¹ vibrates throughout with the transition to the Goethe of after-Italy.

Gundolf's intuition can be objectivated by a passage of the poem which apparently escaped the attention of a host of exegetes. After the introductory portrayal of the idyllic charm of the landscape, the poet's tone suddenly changes, and the change is not motivated by a preceding passage. Night falls upon the valley,

Im finstern Wald, beim Liebesblick der Sterne,
Wo ist mein Pfad, den sorglos ich verlor?

Is it a mere coincidence that these two lines which marshal in the nocturnal vision of the poet, almost literally agree with the introductory verses of the *Divine Comedy*?

Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita
Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura,
Chè la diritta via era smarrita.

¹ Goethe, Georg Bondi, Berlin, 1922, p. 258.

According to Sulger-Gebing,² until the end of Goethe's first ten-year period in Weimar, no trace of Dante's influence can be found in Goethe's works. Max Koch³ discovered a first but uncertain indication of Dante's shadow in *Zueignung*, written in 1784, one year after *Ilmenau*. The passage in question, however, is an obvious, literal reminiscence. Sufficient internal evidence is offered by the visionary tone of the poem, by Goethe's age at the time when *Ilmenau* was composed, and by the fact that the two lines quoted are immediately followed up by the vision as in the *Divine Comedy* after the repetition of the passage:

Io non so ben ridir com'io v'entrai,
Tant'era pien di sonno a quel punto,
Che la verace via abbandonai.

To be sure, no evidence can be offered after Sulger-Gebing's thorough investigations to prove that Goethe actually read Dante prior to 1783. Still, when judging Goethe's acquaintance with the *Divine Comedy*, it must be borne in mind that he had an excellent Italian master in his childhood.⁴ There can be little doubt that old and learned Giovinazzi, Goethe's Italian teacher at Frankfort, read at least passages of Dante with his gifted pupil, and it is easily possible that Goethe had to memorize at least a few lines of the poem. Whether the passage of *Ilmenau* was a conscious or subconscious reminiscence, the fact remains that the first positive trace of Dantean influence on Goethe is to be dated from 1783, a fact not altogether negligible in view of Arturo Farinelli's harsh opinion as to the relationship of the two poets.⁵

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² *Goethe und Dante*, Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte, Duncker, Berlin (Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte XXXII), 1907, p. 69.

³ *Berichte des freien deutschen Hochstiftes zu Frankfurt a. M.*, N. F. 1895, XI, 288.

⁴ E. Mentzel, *Wolfgang und Cornelia Goethes Lehrer*, R. Voigtländer, Leipzig, n. d. (1909?), p. 56 ss.

⁵ A. Farinelli, *Poesia Germanica*, Ed. "Corbaccio," Milano, 1927, p. 475; cf. also Farinelli, *Dante in Spagna, Francia, Inghilterra, Germania (Dante e Goethe)*, Fratelli Bocca, Torino, 1922, p. 353 ss.

THE SUCCESS OF BRUEYS'S *AVOCAT PATELIN* IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

D.-A. de Brueys composed his comedy, *L'Avocat Patelin*, in 1700, but for reasons which he states in his preface it was not performed until six years later (by the Comédie-Française, June 4, 1706). It was first published in 1715.¹ For his purpose Brueys found it desirable to transform the old one-act farce *Maître Pierre Patelin* into a comedy in three acts and in prose. Upon the original plot he grafted a love theme, which necessitated three new characters and a new dénouement. Further to adapt it to the prevailing taste the author provided it with a prologue and three *intermèdes*. In short, Brueys's play is quite in the tone of contemporary French comedy. It should be added that this play falls far short of the original farce in every respect. Yet in spite of its mediocre quality it enjoyed an immense success upon the stage and made the Patelin theme so familiar to the Frenchmen of the time that Brueys's play came to be confused with the original fifteenth-century farce which is commonly called *L'Avocat Patelin*.²

The extent of this success may be determined accurately from the reliable statistics which Joannidès gives of the number of performances of every play produced each year by the Comédie-Française.³ A calculation based upon the figures given by Joannidès reveals that Brueys's comedy was performed at this theatre 691 times between 1706 and 1799. It was entirely absent from

¹ 12°, without mention of the place. At least six other separate editions of this play were published in Paris in the eighteenth century, viz., 1725, 16°, 1760, 12°, 1773, 12°, 1782, 12°, 1783, 8°, 1786, 12° [in *Petite Bibliothèque des théâtres*]. Another edition was published in London in 1785, 8°. It may also be found in the editions of the collected plays of Brueys [and Palaprat] issued in 1735 and 1755-56, and in the *Choix de pièces de théâtre de Brueys et Palaprat*, London, 1787. A parody of this play, in manuscript form, dated 1732, is listed in the *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de M. de Soleinne*, item 1520. It is not among the Soleinne MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

² For the various eighteenth-century editions of the farce and adaptations of the theme see *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de M. de Soleinne*, items 671, 672; and La Vallière, *Bibliothèque du théâtre français*, I, 57. For earlier editions of *Patelin* see R. T. Holbrook, *Étude sur Patelin*, Paris, 1917, pp. 3-51.

³ A. Joannidès, *La Comédie-Française de 1680 à 1900. Dictionnaire général des pièces et des auteurs*. Paris, 1901.

the repertory in only one year, 1718.⁴ The number of annual performances varied from one (1759) to twenty-two (1742). The play found more favor in some periods than in others, but the average number of yearly performances is almost eight. Only two other comedies were performed more times by the Comédie-Française during that century. They are Molière's *Tartuffe*, 761 times, and his *Médecin malgré lui*, 744 times. Brueys's *L'Avocat Patelin* therefore ranks third among the French comedies most frequently performed in the eighteenth century.⁵

Contemporary dramatic criticism has little or nothing to say of the performances of Brueys's *L'Avocat Patelin*. The play was so well known and so firmly established in the repertory of the Comédie-Française that it required no criticism. It is difficult at the present day to comprehend how a play of seemingly so little merit could have had such a long-continued success, but it quite evidently had certain qualities which made it highly regarded by the audience of the time. This is substantiated by Voltaire's high praise in the following statement:

La petite comédie du *Grondeur*, supérieure à toutes les farces de Molière, et celle de l'*Avocat Pathelin*, ancien monument de la naïveté gauloise, qu'il [Brueys] rajeunit, le feront connaître tant qu'il y aura en France un théâtre.⁶

Charles Collé, a fault-finding critic if there ever was one, likewise gives this comedy his unqualified approval:

Cette pièce est . . . la plus excellente farce que nous ayons; on ne trouve même guère dans les comédies d'un genre plus élevé des situations plus véritablement théâtrales, des caractères plus vrais et des traits de comique plus sublimes.⁷

Brueys's comedy was originally composed for amateur performance.⁸ It is a play that lends itself well to such presentation. In view of the great vogue of amateur theatricals in France in the

⁴ Joannidès gives figures for the years 1794 to 1798, when the troupe of the Comédie-Française was split into two groups and it is difficult to say which, if either, was really the *maison de Molière*.

⁵ There are no definite figures available for Dorvigny's *comédie-proverbe*, *Janot ou les Battus payent l'amende* (Variétés-Amusantes, 1779), an immense popular success. It is said to have been performed five or six hundred times. See Métra, *Correspondance littéraire secrète*, London, 1787-90, XI, 270.

⁶ *Œuvres de Voltaire*, Paris, 1877-82, XIV, 47.

⁷ *Journal et mémoires*, Paris, 1868, III, 58.

⁸ In the apartment of Madame de Maintenon. See author's preface,

eighteenth century it is reasonable to expect *L'Avocat Patelin* to be given at private theatres. Several such performances are known,⁹ and it is probable that there were others of which there is no record. *Patelin* was not on the programme of any of the fairly numerous amateur theatrical performances given at the Court.¹⁰

In connection with the subject of amateur performances, the following anecdote related by Métra may have some special interest for American readers, since attention has not been called to it so far as is known:

Je ne peux m'empêcher de vous raconter une plaisanterie dont une société joyeuse s'est fort amusée dans une petite ville de province. C'était à propos du dîner que le Général Gates donna aux généraux anglais le jour de la capitulation de Burgoyne ("ce dîner fut servi sur deux planches sans nappe, et consistait en un jambon, une oie et un vaste plat de viande bouillie"). On disait qu'après ce très frugal dîner, les généraux donnèrent bal, précédé d'une représentation de *l'Avocat Pathelin*, comédie traduite du français par le Général Burgoyne: chacun, tant d'un parti que de l'autre, voulut y jouer son rôle. Le Général Howe prit celui de M. Guillaume. Celui-ci croyait aller manger l'oie chez l'Avocat, et fut bien duement attrapé. L'Anglais croyait plumer l'oie dans Philadelphie, qu'y trouva-t-il? Arnold fit Agnelet. L'un tuait les moutons de M. Guillaume, pour empêcher qu'ils ne mourussent de la clavelée; l'Américain passa les Anglais au fil d'épée, pour les guérir de la maladie du suicide. Enfin, le rôle de l'Avocat fut donné au brave Washington. Celui-ci, dès le commencement de la guerre, se traça un plan qu'il suit sans qu'on puisse l'en détourner. Patelin, dès la première scène annonce son dessein: la dernière en est l'exécution. Immédiatement après la pièce, le bal commença. *Correspondance littéraire secrète*, VI, 45 (21 February 1778).

The Frenchman of the eighteenth century seldom thought of *Patelin* save in terms of Brueys's comedy. This play was not only performed throughout the century,¹¹ but it is the only *Patelin* that was performed. Cailleau's versified version of Brueys's comedy, published in 1792, never saw the stage.

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⁹ Several performances were given at Bagnolet in the early spring of 1760, in which the duc d'Orléans played the part of Maître Guillaume. See Collé, *Journal et mémoires*, II, 215-16, 223. The play was also performed at the Château de Berny, as it is found among fragments of plays given there preserved in Arsenal manuscript 3113.

¹⁰ See A. Jullien, *La Comédie à la cour*, Paris, n. d.

¹¹ It remained in the repertory of the Comédie-Française until 1859.

SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER: A PARALLEL

The collected plays of Susanna Centlivre appeared in 1761.¹ By 1771, Oliver Goldsmith had completed his first draft of *She Stoops to Conquer*.² From the time of Mrs. Hodson, Goldsmith's sister and the author of his original memoir,³ to that of his most recent biographer, it has always been indicated that the play's main incident was founded on a similar experience in the dramatist's own youth, and the case has been employed as one of several illustrations for the assumption that Goldsmith was inclined to base his fictions on the facts of specific experience. Miss Katherine Balderston has gone far in showing that the "adventure upon Fiddleback" (which supposedly "contains prophetic suggestions of the character of the Man in Black, the adventures of Jack Spindle, and the incident of the oak staff in *The Vicar of Wakefield*"⁴) never occurred at all. To disprove the Arnagh anecdote (which tells that when Goldsmith was fifteen years old he mistook the house of Squire Featherston, one of his father's friends, for an inn) would be more difficult, since "Sir Thomas Featherston, whose grandfather was the supposed landlord, remembered, when questioned, something of the anecdote."⁵ It would be impertinent to question the word of the Reverend Mr. John Graham, who declared in a public address that the story was "confirmed to me by the late Sir Thomas Fetherston, Bart. a short time before his death."⁶ Though we know that Goldsmith suffered from a peculiar kind of sensitivity toward his person and his work which might have made it difficult for him to admit an undiscovered source, though we know, too, that he did sometimes take over the creations of other men for his own embroidery,⁷ and though there

¹ *The Works of the Celebrated Mrs. Centlivre in Three Volumes . . . With a New Account of her Life*, London. Reprinted as *The Dramatic Works*, etc., in 1872. *The Man's Bewitch'd* appears in III, 75-153.

² Balderston, *Collected Letters*, Cambridge, 1928. Letter XXXII, 102-6.

³ Mrs. Hodson's narrative was published for the first time in Balderston's *Letters*, Appendix III, 162-77.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

⁵ Prior, James, *Life of Oliver Goldsmith*, Philadelphia, 1837, p. 39.

⁶ In a speech delivered at Ballymahon and recorded in *The Gent. Mag.*, 1820, xc, pt. II, 620.

⁷ Particularly, the character of Croaker from Johnson's *Suspensum*. Cf. Boswell's *Johnson*, ed. Hill, New York, 1891, I, 247.

is no known record in which Goldsmith himself asserted the truth of the Arnagh incident or even that he had based his comedy on an experience in his own life, it would be dangerous to find in Mrs. Centlivre's *The Man's Bewitch'd; or, The Devil to Do About Her* (1709), before some positive evidence is brought to light, anything more than an unusually interesting parallel to *She Stoops to Conquer*—unusually interesting because the similarity is marked and because the idea of mistaking a private dwelling for an inn is not a common device in the tradition of comedy.

It will be remembered that in *She Stoops*, young Marlow and his friend Hastings mistake Hardcastle's country house for an inn through Tony Lumpkin's jest. They arrive at the house, greet Hardcastle as if he were the landlord, order up drinks, demand to see the menu, and ask that the cook be called. Hastings learns the error they have made but says nothing to Marlow, who continues in the manner of his arrival by taking Mrs. Hardcastle as the landlady and her daughter as the barmaid, and by complaining of the service. After Hardcastle has ordered him out, he discovers his error, and, covered with confusion, apologizes.

In *The Man's Bewitch'd*, the gallant Faithful is in love with Laura, an heiress and ward to the jealous Sir David Watchum, who will allow her no attentions but his own. As a trick to gain entrance into Sir David's house, Faithful pretends to be wounded in a mock duel and implores the passing Sir David to lend him his coach so that he may be taken to his lodgings. Sir David grants the favor and orders his coachman to take the young man home. The coachman, of course, takes Faithful to Sir David's home rather than to his own inn, and thus the lover meets his mistress. But they have hardly entered conversation when Sir David is announced. Faithful tells Laura to pretend surprise at his presence and to beg him to go. Sir David enters and Faithful says that the "landlady" has forgotten that these are his lodgings. He demands that Sir David call the servants, beats them when they enter, orders refreshments, begs Sir David that he make his servants "more tractable," and is ordered out of the house. Faithful pretends then to discover his error, apologizes profusely with skillful deceit, and gets off.

As there is close similarity in situation, there is close similarity in tone and some similarity in phraseology: "Let the cook be called," says Marlow; Faithful cries, "Once more, will you call

your Servants?" Marlow says, "What, my good friend, if you gave us a glass of punch in the mean time; it would help us to carry on the siege with vigour," to which Hardcastle replies, "Punch, sir! (*Aside.*) This is the most unaccountable kind of modesty I ever met with." After he has had his punch, Marlow asks for the menu, as he chooses "to regulate" his "own supper." In the Centlivre comedy, Faithful cries, "What, no Attendance yet? So, ho, Tapster, Chamberlain . . . Fetch us a Bottle of Claret, Sirrah, and bring us Word what we can have to eat—" to which Sir David Watchum retorts, "Bring a Bottle of Claret! bring a Halter— What do you strike my Servants for? ha, Sir." Marlow complains to Kate of the inn's bad service: "One may call in this house, I find, to very little purpose"; likewise, the more spirited Faithful deploras the situation:

Your Servants, Sir! They are my Servants, as long as I pay for what I call for—Ho! I find you are the Lãndlord of this well-govern'd Inn—Make your People more tractable, do you hear, Sir? Or I shall not only beat them, but you too—

When Marlow's drunken servants become too much for Hardcastle's patience, he asks their master to betake himself and them from his house:

Sir, I have submitted to your insolence for more than four hours, and I see no likelihood of its coming to an end. I'm now resolved to be master here, sir; and I desire that you leave my house directly . . . I tell you, sir, I'm serious! and now that my passions are roused, I say this house is mine, and I command you to leave it directly.

Sir David is less polite and less wordy than Mr. Hardcastle: "Get out of my House, Sirrah, or I'll lay you by the Heels; don't put your Shams upon us—Don't bully here." When Marlow finally understands his mistake, he offers his apologies: "I come, sir, once more, to ask pardon for my strange conduct. I can scarce reflect on my insolence without confusion." Faithful says, "Bless me, Sir, I am under the greatest Confusion imaginable; can you forgive me, Sir? Upon my Honour, I thought I had been in my Inn; I ask a thousand Pardons. . . ."

The episode of the mistaken inn occupies less than three small pages in *The Man's Bewitch'd*, for it is only one of many tricks in an elaborately complicated comedy of intrigue. In *She Stoops to Conquer*, Goldsmith embroidered his experience into a frame for

the entire comedy. Because he skillfully sustained a situation that Susanna Centlivre merely introduced for a moment and then dropped, Goldsmith's play might well serve as an example of the wonders an able dramatist can perform on a second-rate source. However, since there is no evidence that Goldsmith was even acquainted with Mrs. Centlivre's work, the similarity in the two plays can only be considered remarkable coincidence.

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AN EXAMPLE OF EARLY SENTIMENTALISM

The Spanish Wives by Mary Griffith Pix, presented at Dorset Garden about September 1696, represents in spite of its date a definite break with the Restoration tradition, a break which in some respects is almost as definite as that of its predecessor of a few months, *Love's Last Shift*. Yet it seems to have been overlooked by most commentators on the sentimental comedy. Allardyce Nicoll, says of it, "*The Spanish Wives* . . . moves in a purely Restoration atmosphere, is set in Barcelona and deals mainly with the Governor, (a merry old Lord), who gives his wife, but not successfully for himself, more liberties than appear to have been usual in contemporary Spain."¹

Like so many other plays of its period, this one deals with the problem of marriage. What is the proper method to control a wife? How can the husband insure himself against becoming a cuckold? There are two treatments of the problem in this play. The first concerns the Governor and his Lady. The Governor sums up his method in one of his many songs:

Give but a Woman her Freedom still,
Then she'll never act what's ill:
'Tis crossing her, makes her have the Will.

Needless to say, the Governor is unsuccessful. He preserves his honor, but discovers the weakness of his wife. Even in this typically Restoration situation there is some evidence of a weakly sentimental treatment; the wife is excused because her lover is a paragon of lovers, the only one of his kind. Once separated from

¹ *Restoration Drama*, p. 212.

him, the wife is sure she will never again overstep the bounds of modesty; the husband believes her, and all is forgiven.

If it were true that the main plot is concerned with the Governor, there would be justification for the statement of Nicoll quoted above; but by page count, the amount of space devoted to the Governor plot and to the linkages between that plot and the other constitutes much less than half the play. The Governor and his Lady form the background against which the more interesting and more dramatic Marquess of Moncada—Elenora—Count Camillus plot is worked out. A noble Roman lady is married to a jealous Spanish lord against her will. She had earlier been betrothed to the Count Camillus, but financial settlements had led her relatives to marry her to the Spaniard. Her only care is to escape from the Spaniard and join her lover, provided of course, that her marriage can be annulled and the Count will maintain his purpose to marry her.

Mrs. Pix makes lengthy preparation for the excusing of Elenora's action. She presents her sad case to the audience in the opening of Act Two:

I am a thing accurs'd by cruel Guardians,
For my Parents dy'd when I was young; they wou'd not else
Sure have forc'd me, condemn'd to an old jealous
Madman. . . . I saw his Follies and his Humors, and I begg'd,
Like a poor Slave, who views the Rack before him, . . .
All in vain; they were inexorable . . . so may just Heaven
Prove to them in their greatest need!

The audience, though knowing the play is not serious, is led to fear with her that she must "remove from *Barcellona* to Wilds and unfrequented Desarts, impenetrable Castles, and all the melancholy Mischiefs spritely Youth can fear." Even before Elenora's speech, Mrs. Pix prepares for the forgiveness of the lovers through one of the Count's speeches. Early in Act One he says:

You know there's Justice in my Cause. . . .
Elenora was, by Contract, mine, at *Rome*;
Before this old Marquess had her. And cou'd I agen
Recover her I don't question but to get Leave of his Holiness
For a Divorce, and marry her my self.

The Count's attitude is not that of the Restoration rake. Mrs. Pix further shows her hero in a new light when she has him reprove the Colonel, the lover of the Governor's wife, for his evil ways:

Cam. Ah Colonel! our Cases are very different, . . . You hunt but for Enjoyment, the huddl'd Raptures of a few tumultuous moments: . . . But I am in quest of Virgin-Beauty, made mine by Holy Vows; constrain'd by Fiends, instead of Friends, to break the sacred Contract, and follow the *Capriccio* of a mad Old Man. . . . Virgin did I call her? . . . By Heaven, I dare believe she is one, at least her Mind is such; . . . and were she in my power, I'd soon convince the World of the Justice of my Cause.

This is not a secret intrigue, something to keep from the eyes of the world, but something of which to be proud.

Even the Friar, aid to Count Camillus, the most thoroughly Restoration character in the play, recognizes that his master is not in the existing tradition:

By St. *Dominick*, well said, old Boy. I'll stick to thee. I hate these whining Romantick Lovers. Nor wou'd I have trudg'd to *Barcellona*, had I thought the Count only fix'd on *Honora*, . . . Psha, I can get it out, Honourable Love.

At the first meeting of Elenora and the Count Camillus, after the abduction, the Count runs to her. She says, "I can say only this: I love ye . . ." to which he replies:

And not descending Angels, with all their Heavenly Tunes, cou'd Charm like that dear sound! . . . safe in a Monastery thou shalt remain, till the Dispute is ended. And then . . . Oh! thou blest Charmer . . . then all my Sufferings shall be liberally paid; and longing Love Revel in Feasts of unutterable Delight.

Later, when the Governor arrives, Camillus again mentions the monastery.

Elenora agrees: "I freely submit, and will retire to what Monastery you appoint. I hope my future Conduct will satisfie the World of my Innocency."

Camillus replies, "And mine, of my Faith and Constancy."

Certainly these are not the sentiments of a Restoration lover. Nor is the Count's speech, "I'm glad on't . . . in your Age you never will repent an uncommitted Sin," spoken to the Colonel, when that character says that he is entirely reformed, Restoration in tone.

Perhaps the atmosphere of the play is Restoration, for the servants are typical, intriguing, Restoration servants, not above serving two masters at the same time; the story of the Governor and his Lady is not sufficiently different to be worthy of note; and the Colonel is a true Restoration rake. But the larger portion of the

play is based upon the Elenora-Camillus plot, and neither of these characters belongs to the time in which they were portrayed.

Bernbaum defines sentimental comedy in part by saying that it shows characters "contending against distresses but finally rewarded by morally deserved happiness."² The Elenora-Camillus plot fulfills at least this much of the definition. Elenora, as presented in her speech at the opening of Act Two, quoted above, is a heroine worthy of Richard Cumberland. Alone, orphaned, in the care of unscrupulous relatives, forced to break her betrothal vows and marry an ogre who is interested only in the marriage settlement, Elenora would have found favor with a Cumberland audience. We are expected to sympathize with her and to rejoice in the eventual overcoming of the obstacles put in her way to happiness.

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THOMAS DRUE'S *DUTCHES OF SUFFOLKE* AND THE SUCCESSION

In her comprehensive *Dramatic Publication in England* Miss Albright remarks on the censorship of Thomas Drue's play, *The Life of the Dutches of Suffolke*:

Antagonism to James was probably the cause of Herbert's objection to a play called *The History of the Duchess of Suffolk*, in 1624, "which being full of dangerous matter was much reformed by me, I had two pounds for my pains; Written by Mr. Drew." It was not until the reign of Charles that Herbert licensed this for the press (November 13, 1629), and it was not printed until 1631. The matter was, no doubt, "dangerous" because of certain historical facts: that the will of Henry VIII had favored the line of his youngest sister Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, skipping over James, the descendant of the eldest sister, Margaret, who married James IV of Scotland.¹

Miss Albright adds the following note:

There was once a play (non-extant) by Haughton, *The English Fugitives*, touching on the Duchess of Suffolk in the time of Mary. It is recorded in *Henslowe's Diary* for 1600. Possibly it was never published. Books on the succession generally proved unlucky for their authors.

¹ Ernest Bernbaum, *The Drama of Sensibility*, p. 10.

² Evelyn M. Albright, *Dramatic Publication*, p. 188.

Miss Albright does not make clear which Duchess she is referring to, nor does she make clear the relation of the plays to each other. If her note is correct,² both plays are probably the dramatization of exactly the same story and *neither of them bears on the succession*. Drue's play is not concerned with the Duchess of Suffolk who came within the provisions of Henry's will, but with another Duchess of Suffolk who was her contemporary. The one favored in Henry's will was Lady Frances Grey, the eldest daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by his third wife, Mary Tudor, Henry's sister.³ The male line of the house of Brandon became extinct in 1551 and Henry Grey, the husband of Lady Frances, was created Duke of Suffolk. In 1554 he was executed for treason and the same year she married her master of horse, Adrian Stokes. Her eldest daughter by the former of these two marriages was Lady Jane Grey.⁴

The *other* Duchess of Suffolk, of whom Drue wrote, was the stepmother of Lady Frances Grey. Mary Tudor died in June, 1533, and in September Charles Brandon married a fourth wife, Lady Catherine, Baroness Willoughby of Eresby. He died in 1545 leaving her the dowager Duchess of Suffolk. In 1552 she married Richard Bertie. During Queen Mary's reign she was forced to flee to the continent for religious reasons. The agents of Gardner and Bonner pursued her, and, after several close escapes, she finally found refuge in Poland. After Elizabeth's accession she returned to England with her husband.⁵

Drue's play deals with Lady Catherine's marriage with Bertie, her flight, and their subsequent vicissitudes on the continent. The characters bear their historical names and the play follows closely the main historical facts. It is difficult to see how the subject of the limitation of the succession by Henry's will could have been fitted into this play; certainly it was not the "dangerous matter" of which the play was "full." It is, in reality, a religious piece,

² The identification of Haughton's lost play with the fugitive Duchess of Suffolk is based on a conjecture by Collier. Greg thinks that it is more likely to have been concerned with the English fugitives on the continent under Elizabeth. See *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Greg, pt. II, 212.

³ The best discussion of this complicated subject is in Alfred Bailey's *History of the Succession to the English Crown*, pp. 129-175.

⁴ Collins's *Peerage*, ed. Brydges, 1812, IX, 443; or *DNB.*, art. "Henry Grey."

⁵ Collins's *Peerage*, II, 3-5; or *DNB.*, art. "Richard Bertie."

with Bertie and Lady Catherine portrayed as martyrs and Bonner and his agents as villanous persecutors. Bertie's own account of their troubles was printed in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*.

Miss Albright has probably been misled by confusing these two widowed Duchesses of Suffolk who, like her of Malfi, married their respective serving men. The similarity of their careers ends there, for while Lady Catherine was a fugitive in foreign lands, Lady Frances was being given precedence at court over the Princess Elizabeth.⁶

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JAMES HILL, PLAYER

An Elizabethan actor overlooked by Chambers¹ and Nungezer² is mentioned in a document³ dated at Nycopen, Sweden, May 4, 1600:

Certificate by John Caunton and John Nicolay, now in Sweden. Leonard Tucker, our countryman, appeared in open court, and charged James Hill with being a "shellom," which in these parts is the greatest name of infamy that can be spoken; also that he ill-used his own boy while on board ship in a voyage to Finland; that he had formerly been a player, and stolen some player's apparel, etc., and came to this country, where he remains in the service of his Excellency; ⁴ that he was a tailor, and had been apprenticed at Ipswich. . . .

The embarrassment these charges of conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman caused Hill, in the really distinguished position he appears to have reached in Sweden, is revealed by his complaint directly to Queen Elizabeth:⁵

From the Court of Swethen, last of April, 1600.—Emboldened by your commandment, laid upon me at my late being with your Majesty about

⁶ Bailey, *Hist. of the Succession*, p. 175.

¹ Chambers, Sir Edmund, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, 295 ff.

² Nungezer, Edwin, *A Dictionary of Actors*, New Haven, 1929. A John Hull or Hill was among the English players in Germany at this time, and had a daughter, Alyce, baptized at St. Saviour's, Southwark, Aug. 13, 1601.

³ *State Papers, Domestic*, 1598-1601, 430.

⁴ Archduke Charles of Sweden.

⁵ *Salisbury MSS.*, x, 130.

my Prince's affairs, I certify you of the estate of Sweden. . . . Vouchsafe to understand of an intolerable injury here lately offered me by one Leonard Tucker, by myself preferred to his Grace's service upon the recommend of Sir Walter Rawleigh, who unjustly procured here the death of a brother of mine, who had been late my lieutenant-general in the field, whose corpse the Duke's Grace and Duchess', with the young princes and Holsten Ambassadors, graciously vouchsafed to accompany to the grave; and has so falsely slandered me that in regard of the speech of the Court and common people, I can no way by law be thereof here disburdened until your Highness' Council vouchsafe to certify to His Excellency of his lewd and inordinate life in England, which is too notorious. In the meantime resting patient, I have left the Court and my places of offices in the field, and neglected the obtaining the assurance of such lands and possessions as his Excellency for my long service graciously offered me. For remedy whereof, and for obtaining the certificate of the Council, I beseech you to grant me your furtherance.

The certificate of character which Hill desired was furnished by a letter from the Council,⁶ sufficiently flattering but couched in very general terms and making no specific disposal of the charge that he had been a player. Her Majesty's Ambassador to Muscovy was to inform the Archduke, Hill's master, that he had in all the courses of his life demeaned himself like a good subject and an honest man.

Hill wrote to thank both Sir Robert Cecil and the Queen. That the Archduke considered his honor cleared is made certain by Sir Richard Lee's note to Cecil from Ditchley, July 18, 1602: "The bearer, Lieutenant Hill, who brought letters from Duke Charles to her Majesty and Cecil, desires to return, and to receive Cecil's commands."⁸

Thus the half-exorcised ghost of a playing past seems to have been only a temporary obstruction to James Hill's adventurous career. Conceivably it may have been he, on that visit to London in 1599, who told in Shakespeare's hearing how the hardy warriors of the Baltic smote the sledged Polacks on the ice; on the later mission, in 1602, one would expect him to have been a little sensitive about associating with theatrical folk.

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⁶ *Ibid.*, xi, 571. Draft, partly in Cecil's hand, 1601.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 202, 204.

⁸ *Ibid.*, xii, 233.

ISIS' ASS AND THE ELIZABETHANS

R. B. Botting, in *MLN.*, XLIV, 106-107 (February, 1929), identifies the ass that carried the goddess, referred to in Robert Herrick's *Epigram upon Spur*, with the Egyptian ass who bore "golden Isis upon his back." The identification is, it seems to me, certainly correct; and to prove the additional fact, perhaps of some interest, that "Isis' ass" was employed somewhat frequently at the time as a simile, I should like to add to the two parallels Mr. Botting mentions (Henry Peacham and Alciatus) another which is far better known.¹ Samuel Daniel, in his best known poem, *Musophilus* (1599), inveighs against men of high position whose honors are undeserved, and who

think, like Isis' ass, all honors are
Given unto them alone, the which are done
Unto the painted idol which they bear,
That only makes them to be gazed on.

Behind these Elizabethans lies, besides Alciatus, Apuleius' *Golden Ass*, which was translated into English by William Adlington in 1566 (see Bk. 8, Chaps. 26-30). If Herrick's knowledge of the simile can be traced to any single source, Daniel's famous poem, which he must have known, seems to me on the whole more likely to be it than either Peacham or Alciatus.

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ALPHONSUS, EMPEROR OF GERMANY, AND THE
UR-HAMLET

Forthcoming researches by Professor Starck and me into questions of the language, the composition, and the date of the Elizabethan play, *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, will endeavor to prove (1) that Weckherlin was certainly not the reviser of the play for a court performance in 1636 before the Elector Palatine, and, indeed, that the play cannot safely be identified with the *Alfonso*

¹ Still another parallel is referred to by A. C. Judson, "Cornelius Agrippa and Henry Vaughan," *MLN.*, XLI, 178 ff.

acted on that occasion; (2) that the play was written by one man in the complete form in which we know it, and has not undergone revision by another dramatist, (3) that the date of composition can be assigned to the years 1594-1599 (and probably to 1597-1599).¹ In my study of the dating of *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, I will indicate its borrowings from *2 Tamburlaine*, *The Spanish Tragedy*, *The Jew of Malta*, *Soliman and Perseda*, *Titus Andronicus*, and *King John*. I purpose to show here that the influence of a Hamlet play must be added.

The general outline of the revenge motif of *Alphonsus* suggests such an influence. Alphonsus is a tyrant and Claudius a usurper whose personal safety is seriously endangered by the growing opposition of their enemies. Each king, by what may be considered an accident, is faced with a hotheaded, bloodthirsty youth seeking revenge for the murder of a father, who in each case has been the counselor of the king. Both Claudius and Alphonsus allay any suspicions that they have been connected with the murder, and, seizing this opportunity for disposing of their foes, direct the young revengers against them.

At first Alexander, the revenger in *Alphonsus*, wishes to run "headlong to bring them [the princes, whom Alphonsus has named as the murderers] to death, then die myself" (II. ii. 208); his rage "admits no counsel but revenge" (II. i. 213), and he declares that he would stab the Pope himself were he guilty (II. ii. 265-269). Alphonsus curbs his unreasoning fury, directing it into subtle and Machiavellian schemes of vengeance. As in the case of Claudius and Laertes, so Alphonsus forms the plans, involving dissimulation and treacherous methods, for Alexander to carry out. Alexander's bloodthirstiness and delight in villany, in combination with his extreme passion for revenge, speedily reduce him to the condition of a criminal maniac, and no Senecan reminiscences of an imagined urging ghost (II. ii. 296-299; v. i. 180-184) can palliate his essential villany.

This relation of villain-king and tool-revenger was almost certainly borrowed from a Hamlet play.² Alexander, then, is an

¹ See Taylor Starck, "The German Dialogue in *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*," and my "Date and Composition of *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, vol. xv (1933).

² There is a natural difference, of course, in detail. Alphonsus has him-

imitation of Laertes in an early *Hamlet*, and the villany of his character may indicate that the early Laertes had not undergone the softening process perceptible in Shakespeare's version.

Minor points of resemblance to *Hamlet* may be traced in the ironical backfiring of revenge in both plays. The Queen dies from drinking the poison intended by the King for Hamlet, while Laertes is destroyed by the rapier prepared for Hamlet's destruction. Similarly, Alphonsus is hoist with his own petard. With his two prisoners, Isabella and Edward, chained to their chairs and sentenced to die after the battle, he sits on the ramparts to await the outcome of the conflict of his army with the rebels headed by Richard. When his dupe, Alexander, rushes in with news of the defeat of his army, Alphonsus is betrayed into confessing that it was he who had killed Alexander's father. Alexander binds him, forces him to renounce all hope of heaven, and then, just before stabbing him, reveals that his army has actually been victorious. Alexander had deceived him merely in order to hasten the execution of Isabella and Edward, the presumed conspirators against his father, according to Alphonsus.³ Very close to *Hamlet* is the fact that the revelations of a defeated revenger precipitate the catastrophe. The dying confession of Laertes reveals the plots of Claudius and spurs Hamlet to his revenge; so, in *Alphonsus*, the hero, caught like Laertes in his own trap, confesses his guilt and is killed by Alexander.

Various closer resemblances may be pointed out. Although Alphonsus opens strongly, like *The Jew of Malta* and *Richard III*, with a soliloquy by the villain, the scene is at night as in *Hamlet*, and in both the cold weather is commented on:

Ham. The air bites shrewdly; it is very cold.

Hor. It is a nipping and an eager air.

(I. iv. 1-2)

self murdered Lorenzo, Alexander's father, and directs Alexander's revenge against innocent persons whose only crime has been that they were trying to unthrone him; while Claudius, innocent of the murder of his adviser, makes use of Laertes's well-founded revenge to thwart Hamlet's blood-revenge against himself. But this variation alters not at all the close resemblance in general situation which, at this date, could have come only from a *Hamlet* play.

³ Such dramatic irony for a catastrophe is also similar to the destruction of Barabas by the trap he had set for his enemies.

Alp. Lie down, Lorenzo, I will sit by thee.
The air is sharp and piercing.

(I. I. 77-78)

More noteworthy is the reminiscence in II. ii, where Alphonsus is telling Alexander of his father's supposed murder by the Electors, of the scene in *Hamlet* (I. v) in which the Ghost recounts his murder by Claudius. Each narrator faces an eager revenger who interrupts and must be silenced, and each is expert at working on the feelings of his young hearer by the adept parceling out of vital information. Both Hamlet and Alexander show that they have already suspected the chief actor in the murder when his identity is revealed:

Ghost. The serpent that did sting thy father's life
Now wears his crown.

Ham. O my prophetic soul!
Mine Uncle! (I v. 39-41)

Alp. Be still and hearken, I will tell thee all.
The Duke of Saxon—

Alex O I thought no less!
(II. ii. 223-224)

This scene of Alphonsus's revelations also bears a certain resemblance to IV. v and vii, of *Hamlet*, in which Claudius tames the murderously revengeful Laertes and makes him his tool. Both Laertes and Alexander utter wild threats against their sovereigns, but capitulate when the kings immediately suggest a device by which revenge may be obtained without danger to themselves from their powerful opponents.

King: I will work him
To an exploit, now ripe in my device,
Under the which he shall not choose but fall;
And for his death no wind of blame shall breathe,
But even his mother shall uncharge the practice
And call it accident.

Laer: My lord, I will be rul'd.
(IV. vii. 64-69)

Alp. Behooveth us to use dexterity,
Lest she do trample us under her feet
And triumph in our honour's overthrow.

Alex. Mad and amaz'd to hear this tragic doom
I do subscribe unto your sound advice.
(II. ii. 243-247)

With Alexander's desperately revengeful speeches, recking neither of heaven nor hell, mentioned previously, compare the following by Laertes:

To hell, allegiance! Vows, to the blackest devil!
 Conscience and grace, to the profoundest pit!
 I dare damnation. To this point I stand
 That both the worlds I give to negligence,
 Let come what comes; only I'll be reveng'd
 Most thoroughly for my father.

(iv. v. 131-136)

A reminiscence appears:

Laer.

To cut his throat i' the church.

(iv. vii. 127)

Alex.

If that the Pope of Rome himself were one
 In this confederacy, undaunted I
 Amidst the college of his cardinals
 Would press and stab him in St. Peter's chair,
 Though clad in all his pontificalibus.

(ii. ii. 265-269)

One other parallel may be traced. Both the King and Queen in *Hamlet* emphasize, in their endeavor to comfort Hamlet, the transitoriness of human life, and the Queen says, "Thou know'st 'tis common, all that lives must die" (i. ii. 72). So Alexander, speaking of his grief for his father, excuses himself, "'Tis not that he is dead, for all must die" (ii. ii. 192).

Of more importance is the occurrence of a scene in *Alphonsus* which may very well be an imitation of a somewhat similar incident in the *Ur-Hamlet*.⁴ This is Richard's escape from the murderers whom Alexander, at the suggestion of Alphonsus, has set upon him, and their consequent destruction (ii. iii). Both Richard and Hamlet are engaged in an official business which has provided the opportunity for their assassination.⁵ As in Shakespeare's

⁴ By "*Ur-Hamlet*" I do not necessarily mean the very first Hamlet play (although I think it likely that this particular scene was present in that drama), but some version of the play, whether touched by Shakespeare or not, which existed prior to 1600 and to the versions that we now know as Shakespeare's.

⁵ It seems clear that Alphonsus, like Claudius, has proposed the business for just this purpose.

Hamlet, so in *Alphonsus*, the proposed victims discover by means of incriminating letters (which in each case are directions to do the killing) that their death is planned, and so are enabled to devise schemes to forestall it.⁶ The resemblance is thereupon transferred to the scene of the banditti in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* (IV. i). The two banditti in the play, like the two boors in *Alphonsus*, are men of mean condition who undertake their deed for profit. The most startling resemblance, however, occurs in the way in which the intended victim escapes by a trick and in the manner in which his assailants are killed.

In *Der Bestrafte Brudermord*, Hamlet, forewarned, contrives so to arrange the details of his intended assassination that the two bandits shoot each other in their attempt to kill him. Richard, in *Alphonsus*, employs a somewhat different device. After he has defended himself for a time, he pretends that he has been killed, and the two boors quarrel over the distribution of their loot until one kills the other. Then Richard rises and knocks down the survivor. As Hamlet in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* stabs the mortally wounded bandits to assure himself that they are dead, so Richard in *Alphonsus* stabs the wounded boor to dispatch him. In both plays the failure of the assassination has an important influence on the plot, since it informs the intended victim of the designs of the villain, and prompts him to attempt the villain's overthrow. Hamlet on his return to the court is finally resolved on his revenge. Richard immediately starts assembling an army which, albeit indirectly, brings about the destruction of *Alphonsus*.

The coincidence in the proposed victims' trickery of their would-be assassins into assaulting each other,⁷ the part played in each incident by a letter, the low social status and the number of intended murderers, form a series of parallels too striking, I think, to be accidental. The inference is plausible, therefore, that a scene

⁶ A slight change occurs when Richard overhears the two boors reading the letter, while Hamlet discovers the letter when the agents are asleep.

⁷ A somewhat similar scene is that in *The Jew of Malta*, in which Barabas incites Lodowick and Mathias to their mutual destruction, although—owing to the entirely different circumstances and characters—there is small likelihood of any influence on *Alphonsus*. Moreover, there seems to be no connection between the scene in *The Jew* and that in the early Hamlet play, since Barabas's device is no more than a dramatization of a Machiavellian maxim, and so is far removed from the incidents in the early *Hamlet* and *Alphonsus*.

somewhat resembling the boors' attack on Richard in *Alphonsus* and that of the banditti on Hamlet in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* was to be found in the *Ur-Hamlet*.⁸ No great changes in our conjectural reconstruction of this early *Hamlet* are involved by the ascription. The chief resemblances of *Alphonsus* (with the exception of this scene) are to the ghost-scenes which critics have almost unanimously accepted as being closer to the *Ur-Hamlet* than any other portion of Shakespeare's play, and to the scenes of Claudius and Laertes, which certainly must have been present in some form in an earlier version than Shakespeare's. Moreover, the differences in the first and second quartos of Hamlet's account of what happened on the voyage, may indicate that Shakespeare had been experimenting with his narrative substitute for a scene like that in the *Brudermord*.⁹

⁸ A further point of contact between the boors and *Hamlet* may be found in *Jerick*, the name of one of the boors, and *Yorick*, the jester.

⁹ This last is an argument advanced by Charlton M. Lewis in his consideration of the probable relation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* to the earlier play (*The Genesis of Hamlet*, pp. 22-63). The strongest fact against this assumption is that the incident of the changed letters which Shakespeare used is to be found in Belleforest, and there seems little reason for the earlier dramatist to have departed so far from his source. Against this view the following arguments may be advanced. The scene of the banditti in the *Brudermord* contains some English words, and thus indicates either the presence of the scene in the English source of the *Brudermord* or the addition of the scene by the English actors who produced the play in Germany. Offhand there seems to be as much reason for the writer of the early *Hamlet* to have evolved this scene as for the English actors. And when we come to consider the nature of the incident of the exchanged letters, it may be seen that the early composer of *Hamlet* had good reason to attempt something different. The scene had no dramatic fitness for representation on the stage, since the actual exchange of the letters could take but a short time and the cream of the jest, the execution of the attendants in England, could not be portrayed without dislocating the unity of the whole drama. Kyd, the most likely author of the early *Hamlet*, was above all a dramatist who insisted on having every possible incident acted *coram populo*. It does not seem too high a flight of the imagination, therefore, to conceive of him as recognizing that the scene could not be acted but must be narrated (as Shakespeare later does), and as substituting a scene which still contained some of the irony of his source, and which was eminently full of action. Professor Kittredge has told me that he believes Shakespeare to have used Belleforest, either in the original or in an earlier edition of the English translation than is extant, as well as the earlier *Hamlet* play. There is no bar, then, to the theory that Shakespeare dis-

I may therefore venture to suggest that *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany* contains incidents suggested by—and hence somewhat similar to—certain features of a Hamlet play, whether touched by Shakespeare or not, in an earlier form than the extant Shakespearian version. In particular, I conjecture that this *Ur-Hamlet* contained a scene which was much closer to the banditti incident in *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* and the incident of the boors in *Alphonsus* than what we find in Shakespeare. Finally I conjecture, on the evidence of *Alphonsus*, that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is not a redaction of any *Hamlet* play by Shakespeare that is known today.¹⁰

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SHAKESPEARE AND BACON AS HORTICULTURAL PROPHETS

Though Shakespeare's knowledge of gardening has been eulogized by several writers, these commentators, horticultural and literary, seem to have overlooked the full significance of one of the passages they have cited most frequently. In *The Winter's Tale*, Act IV, Scene III, Perdita says:

. . . the fairest flowers o' the season
Are our carnations, and streak'd gilly' vors,
Which some call nature's bastards. of that kind
Our rustic garden's barren; and I care not
To get slips of them.

.

For I have heard it said
There is an art which, in their piedness, shares
With great creating nature.

Following this are the often quoted lines of Polixenes, plainly referring to grafting. The obviousness of the reference in the lines

approved of the banditti scene and substituted in its place a narration based on the incident as he found it in the prose account.

¹⁰ For previous expressions of the opinion that *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* represents, more or less, the *Ur-Hamlet*, see Charlton Lewis, *The Genesis of Hamlet*, pp. 22-63; Gregor Sarrazin, *Thomas Kyd und Sein Kreis*, pp. 102-103; M. Blakemore Evans, "'Der Bestrafte Brudermord' and Shakespeare's 'Hamlet,'" *MP*, II (Jan., 1905), 433-449; J. Dover Wilson, *The Copy for 'Hamlet' 1603 and the 'Hamlet' transcript 1593*.

of Polixenes seems to have colored the interpretation of the whole passage. Perdita's lines do not refer to grafting, since these flowers are not, and were not, grafted; the mention of "slips" indicates propagation by cuttings. Grafting was common enough and well enough understood in Shakespeare's time to be freed of superstition and of need for whispering; Perdita's aversion is to something more mysterious, unnatural, almost perverted, almost unmentionable. It could be to nothing else than sexually produced hybrids. Polixenes misunderstood her allusion and gave her his beautiful but irrelevant little dissertation on grafting; commentators have followed his lead.

The full significance of this reference to hybrids lies in the fact that it anticipates scientific mention of the subject by nearly a century. Except for the vague references in Aristotle and Theophrastus, sex in plants was not set forth in any writings until those of Ray and of Grew appeared in the latter part of the seventeenth century and there was not even an approach to understanding it until the publication of *De sexu plantarum* by Camerarius in 1694. Apparently the first artificially produced hybrid was that originated by Fairchild around 1715, at Hoxton, near London. Curiously, this was supposedly between the carnation and the Sweet William.

The Winter's Tale was first acted about 1610; the first recorded artificially produced hybrid appeared at least a hundred years later. From the publication of the First Folio until 1694 the only hint of the possibility of hybridization I have found is this: "The compounding or mixture of kinds in plants is not found out . . . it were one of the most noble experiments concerning plants to find it out: for so you may have great variety of new fruits and flowers yet unknown. Grafting doth it not." This passage is from Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum*, published posthumously in 1627, and it was, apparently, not taken, as were many in this work, from della Porta.

That of all the writers of this period only these two should mention a matter concerning which others apparently did not even speculate, is truly remarkable. This coincidence may furnish aid and comfort to the Baconians or it may signify that both Shakespeare and Bacon had heard gardeners' or apothecaries' whispers. Theirs was a period of great enrichment of the garden flora, not only through importations, but also by the appearance of many new varieties of old plants, as is evident from Parkinson's *Paradi-*

sus (1629) wherein are described 120 varieties of tulip, fifty of carnations, and so on. Artificial manipulations are not necessary for the production of many hybrids and observing people could, without knowing how it came about, have noted in the succeeding generation of seedlings, the result of growing certain plants in close juxtaposition. Indeed the paper sent from America by Paul Dudley in 1724 shows this kind of observation of the immediate effects of pollination. Observations of this sort may have been guarded as trade secrets, or they may have been concealed because of a feeling illustrated by Perdita's aversion. About 1922 a bill prohibiting crossing of plants was introduced into one of our legislatures; in 1610 a prudent man might well have hesitated before divulging a secret of this sort. Nevertheless it is difficult to believe that the matter could have been discussed much about London without Parkinson knowing of it, and it is still more difficult to believe that, knowing of it, he could have refrained from hunting it when he wrote his *Paradisus*. Actually, Parkinson dismissed the mention of sex in plants by Theophrastus as merely another ancient fable. We might conjecture that Gerarde, superintendent of the famous gardens of Lord Burghley, breathed a hint to Bacon; but there is no evidence in his writings that Gerarde had any such notion.

The secret, if it existed, must have been held very closely and Shakespeare and Bacon must have got the hint from a common source. The ease with which the significance of Perdita's reference has escaped commentators seems to dispose of the possibility of Bacon's having utilized the hint from Shakespeare. Painstaking investigation of this matter might yield something of interest to literature and to horticulture.

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A NOTE ON *PERICLES*

While speaking of his daughter, Antiochus says,

The senate-house of planets all did sit,
To knit in her their best perfections.

I. i 10-11.

In annotating this passage, the various editors of the play have neglected to cite Lyly's *The Woman in the Moone*, where the Poet

dreams of four Utopian shepherds begging Nature to give them a woman for the propagation of their kind. To please them, Nature creates Pandora and endows her with the best parts of each planet. The planets object, and get vengeance by bestowing on Pandora their worst influences. Later, the planets repent, and at Nature's command Pandora is placed in the moon.¹

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DRAMATIC MISCELLANY *

For upwards of twenty years Wilhelm Widmann labored over an exhaustive history of *Hamlet* on all the stages of the world. In 1925 he died, having carried his work up to 1880 but leaving

¹ In Greene's *Planetomachia* the planets again sit in conclave, but here they merely argue concerning which are the best and worst planets.

**Hamlets Bühnenlaufbahn (1601-1877)*. By WILHELM WIDMANN. (Schriften der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, Neue Folge, Vol. I.) Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1931. Pp. xii + 276. 14 M.

Erläuterungen und Textverbesserungen zu Vierzehn Dramen Shakespeares. By LEON KELLNER. (Sächsische Forschungsinstitut für Neuere Philologie, Anglistische Abteilung, Vol. IV.) Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1931. Pp. xi + 354.

The Teat of King Lear. By MADELEINE DORAN. (Stanford University Publications in Language and Literature, Vol. IV, No. 2) Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Press, 1931. Pp. 5 + 148. \$1.00.

The Feminine Ending in English Blank Verse. By PHILIP W. TIMBERLAKE. (Princeton University thesis.) Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Co., 1931. Pp. 131.

Representation and Misrepresentation of the Puritan in Elizabethan Drama. By AARON MICHAEL MYERS. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931. Pp. 151.

Macbeth. By WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. Edited by JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931. Pp. viii + 298. \$1.00.

Henry V, Much Ado about Nothing, Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet. By WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. Edited by T. M. PARROTT and R. S. TELFER. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931. Pp. 565. \$1.00.

The Facts about Shakespeare. By W. A. NEILSON and A. H. THORNDIKE. Revised Edition. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. 275. \$1.50.

The Theory of Drama. By ALLARDYCE NICOLL. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co. (1931). Pp. 262. \$2.50.

The Bible in English Drama. Compiled by EDWARD D. COLEMAN. New York: New York Public Library, 1931. Pp. iv + 212. \$1.00.

Hamlet on the Dial Stage. By NATALIE RICE CLARK. Paris: Champion, 1931. Pp. 471.

the materials of his second volume, from 1880 on, uncompleted. Now the Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft brings out the first volume, handsomely printed, with a representative collection of theatrical portraits. Readers who expect an exhaustive catalogue will be disappointed. The data are especially full for Germany and for the eighteenth century. It is here that the student will find most valuable information, although very satisfactory accounts are also given of the leading Hamlets of the English stage. The treatment of France is confined to Ducis and Talma, America has a page and a half, Holland a paragraph, Italy appears only in connection with a few eighteenth-century operas—no other countries are listed. Although English companies in Germany are treated at length, one finds no mention of the important season of Shakespeare in English at Paris in 1827-28. No attempt is made to list all performances in any country, and only the more important actors are discussed. It is evident that Herr Widmann was most concerned, quite naturally, with *Hamlet* in his own language. Within the limits of his treatment the book is a valuable addition to a Shakespeare library.

At his death Leon Kellner left textual notes on fourteen of Shakespeare's plays, divided into commentary and emendation, which are now published under the editorship of Walter Ebisch. The commentary, of the sort which explains the meaning of words and passages, seems to be uniformly sound and is very full. But the emendations, which will be of more interest to the world of scholarship, will doubtless be viewed with some alarm. The study of Elizabethan handwriting and of printer's errors has unquestionably strengthened our judgment in respect to textual problems, but the knowledge so attained must be controlled by the most sympathetic feeling for Shakespearean usage. It is impossible here to do more than suggest a cause or two that have led Dr. Kellner astray. In general it may be said that he suffered from too rigidly practical a bent of mind; anything which does not quite logically hang together was suspect to him. His favorite phrase is "der Sinn verlangt," but his sense is not always Shakespeare's. Thus his comment on "earthlier happy" (*M. N. D.*, I, 1) is, "Der Sinn verlangt *earthly happier*." But the sense which makes such a demand is prosaic and modern. For "grace" in Conrad's speech (*Much Ado*, I, 3, ". . . he hath ta'en you newly into his grace; where it is impossible you should take true root," etc.), he would substitute "garden," as though Shakespeare were always careful of strict logic in metaphor, and in the face of the echo of "grace" in Don John's next speech. Of Hamlet's lines (IV, 4):

Rightly to be great
Is not to stir without great argument,
But greatly to find quarrel in a straw
When honor's at the stake,

he remarks that they say the opposite of what the context demands, and would substitute "with but" for "without," not perceiving that both sense and sound are better as they stand. We know that Shakespeare wrote rapidly, and that one consequence of the habit is sure to be the repetition of a word where a more careful revision would have found a substitute; but to Dr. Kellner every such repetition was probably the result of a slip of the printer's eye. Also every use of a word that cannot be checked for the period by the *NED* was suspect. Finding no precedent for Iago's use of "elements" (II, 3, "The very elements of this warlike isle"), he conjectures "Ela men," men of highest standing, as Ela is the highest note of the Gamut. This is a fair example of a large number of suggestions which bewilder and trouble the reader. In general it may be said that none of his solutions of cruces recommends itself, and that he finds difficulties where they have not hitherto existed. But oftentimes his corrections, especially in little matters, are most sensible. No maker of a text, therefore, can afford to pass him by.

Madeline Doran has made an important contribution to the bibliographical study of Shakespeare with her *Text of King Lear*. Her conclusions, briefly, are that the first Quarto was set up from the author's script, which represented the original text of the play plus a number of additions and changes. From this script (a difficult one because of the writing and the alterations) a fair copy was made, which then went through some further revision by the author, was cut for acting and by the censor, was prepared and used for prompting, and finally served as copy for the printer of the Folio. Miss Doran proves, conclusively I think, that no printed edition of the play could have formed the basis of the Folio text, but she is obliged to postulate, with evident reluctance, that the printer did occasionally refer, in moments of doubt, to the second (1619) Quarto. This is perhaps the weakest point in her theory, but it is not so improbable as to raise any serious doubt as to her evidence as a whole. Her examination of every phase of the intricate relations of the three texts is thorough, scholarly, and satisfying.

Philip W. Timberlake's study of feminine endings, chiefly in dramatic blank verse, extends from the beginnings (in Surrey) to 1595, by which time the habit was fully established. It is both

interesting and illuminating to compare the practices of all the dramatists within these years, and to note how Shakespeare, even in his lowest percentages, overtops Greene, Peele, and Marlowe. Mr. Timberlake believes that Shakespeare was mainly responsible for the rapid increase in these endings after 1592, perhaps sufficient proof for that is wanting, but he does establish that Shakespeare was the first dramatist to make a constant and noticeable use of them. His tables are unusually full and informative, because he not only gives the data scene by scene, but separates and lists all endings which are proper names and all such apparent dissyllables as *flower* and *heaven* which are commonly monosyllabic in Elizabethan verse. As to the accuracy of his work, I may say that on checking some twenty Shakespearean scenes I have not always been able to count exactly with him; for example, *Richard III*, III, 6, a scene of only twelve lines, contains a total of six endings (not five) and has two (not one) proper names, but he is right in counting only four strict endings. In my count of strict endings I have never varied from him by more than one and usually find him correct. In any case, the variations are too slight to interfere with his tabulation. In his discussion of last-foot elision he is somewhat too casual. He should have told us what his position is in respect to the the handling of *liest* and *beest*, of *to it*, and of adjectives in *-able*, which might be taken as weak endings. My eye has chanced to catch two misprints. On p. 11 (table for *Jocasta*, III, 2) the total per cent. should be 8.9; on p. 121 the second class should be headed, "Plays with 2-5 per cent."

Aaron Myers's study of the Puritan in Elizabethan drama is just another doctor's thesis, a compilation of passages without any summarizing conclusion (perhaps because there is no conclusion), without chapter headings, and without index. A perfunctory job of collecting.

On the side of school texts we may consider first Joseph Quincy Adams's edition of *Macbeth*. This is done with his usual competence in scholarship. The text and notes are excellent. Significant contributions to the origins and dating of the play are made in the appendices, where persuasive evidence is gathered to prove that Shakespeare wrote in a hurry to get up a new play against the approaching visit of the King of Denmark in the summer of 1606, and that the play is a special tribute to the Scottish King James. Mr. Adams also argues plausibly, from internal evidence, that the Forman diary entry is spurious. There is indeed only one aspect of the edition to which one can take exception and that is the Commentary, or scene-by-scene elucidation of the characters and

action. This is fourteen pages longer than the play itself! One hardly knows what to make of it, from more than one angle. Surely it is not good pedagogy to do *all* the thinking for the student.—Of the second volume of the Parrott and Telfer Shakespeare little need be said. It is, unlike the *Macbeth*, aimed solely at the undergraduate and is a sound, compact job for that purpose.—The Neilson-Thorndike *Facts about Shakespeare* has been brought up to date, by a revision which involves a surprisingly small disturbance in the original plates. Opportunity is taken also to correct the tabulation of lines in the plays (Table 1) and the description of the coat of arms. Many changes appear in the bibliography, showing reconsideration as well as addition. The volume continues to be a handy and useful tool of reference.

Another revision of an older work is Allardyce Nicoll's *Theory of Drama*, only in this case revision is so thorough as to amount to rewriting. New material has been added, old material that was sketchily treated has been filled out, so that the present volume is longer by half than the *Introduction to Dramatic Theory*. It is in all ways better for these changes, besides being improved in looks. It is now a compendious and admirable summary of the continuous movement of drama from the Greeks to our day.

The New York Public Library, under the editorship of Edward D. Coleman, Librarian of the American Jewish Historical Society, publishes what seems to be a comprehensive bibliography of English and translated plays based upon the Bible. It is fully classified and contains indices to authors, plays, and translations of foreign plays in English, so that the labor of reference is made as easy as possible.

Finally we arrive at Natalie Rice Clark's *Hamlet on the Dial Stage*, in part a contribution to the Baconian fantasy, in part a development of the theory that Shakespeare worked his plays out on a miniature stage involved in signs of the Zodiac, compass points, clock hours, and several sets of the alphabet. We arrive, but only to throw up our hands and retreat in complete rout. It is amazing!

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REVIEWS

Shakespeare-Jahrbuch. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft von WOLFGANG KELLER. Band 67 (Neue Folge VIII. Band). Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1931. Pp. v + 148. M. 10.

The longest and probably most important article is Werner Kraner's "Zur englischen Kurzschrift im Zeitalter Shakespeares." Teil I is an edition of Jane Seager's manuscript copy (1589) of "The Divine Prophecies of the Ten Sibyls"—a document significant for problems involving Elizabethan shorthand, inasmuch as she gives the text both in Timothy Bright's system of shorthand (with some differences) and in longhand. This material has hitherto been available only in the original manuscript in the British Museum and in a photographic reproduction in the Englisches Seminar of the University of Leipzig. Teil II is an alphabetical list of the words in the manuscript; for each word are indicated the manner of transcription used by Jane Seager and, if the word is treated by Timothy Bright, the manner prescribed by him. Teil III deals with Jane Seager's method of showing grammatical variations, Teil IV gives her additions to Bright, and Teil V discusses her differences from Bright.

Wolfgang Drews' "Die erste deutsche Aufführung des *König Lear*" is an interesting account of the first eighteenth-century performance of *King Lear* in Germany—that by Schröder in 1778. Among the alterations were that Cordelia was not made to die, that the division of the kingdom was omitted, that the blinding of Gloucester was not brought upon the stage, and that the number of scene changes was reduced. In "Hamlet: Die Tragik der geöffneten Augen," Hans Weichelt interprets *Hamlet* as a play of disillusionment. The pessimism is perhaps somewhat exaggerated; at any rate, Shakespeare is still far from the despair of Ibsen in *The Wild Duck*. "Die englische Reformation"—the *Festvortrag* delivered by Herbert Schöffler before the sixty-seventh meeting of the Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft in April, 1931—emphasizes the well-known fact that the primary motive force of the English Reformation under Henry VIII was political rather than religious. The movement was subject to considerable oscillation because it was not impelled by a religious necessity and did not have a religious leader.

The *Shakespeare-Jahrbücher* serve as a convenient and valuable record of Shakespearean scholarship in all countries and of Shakespearean performances in Germany. The current volume contains

twenty-nine small-type pages of book reviews by Professor Keller, who reveals a keen judgment and an amazing knowledge of Shakespeare and Shakespearean scholarship. A twenty-page summary of magazine articles dealing with Shakespearean and closely related subjects is presented by Bernhard Beckmann and Hubert Pollert.

Although the number of performances of Shakespeare in Germany gradually decreased from the peak of 2020 in 1923 to 1365 in 1929, the year 1930 registered an increase to 1466. The number of companies playing Shakespeare, however, decreased from 144 in 1929 to 133 in 1930. Of the twenty-six dramas given in 1930, *Midsummer Night's Dream* heads the list with 255 performances by twenty-four companies. Four others went above the hundred mark: *Julius Caesar*, 142; *Twelfth Night*, 141; *Hamlet*, 140; *The Merchant of Venice*, 130. At the bottom of the list are *Coriolanus* (2 performances), *Antony and Cleopatra* (5), *Troilus and Cressida* (6), and *Macbeth* (6).

Volume 67 includes accounts of the work of three prominent Shakespeare scholars who died recently: Friedrich Gundolf, Sir Israel Gollancz, and Charles Harold Herford.

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The Date of Love's Labour's Lost. By RUPERT TAYLOR. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. Pp. viii + 134. \$2.00.

In this brief and closely argued book, Mr. Rupert Taylor sets out to find a date for the composition of *Love's Labour's Lost*. This has usually been held an early play, and the date generally given for its writing is 1591. Mr. Taylor, however, pushes it forward to 1595-6. His reasons for this conclusion are three. First, and foremost, he notes the Russian Masque at the famous Gray's Inn Revels of 1594. This masque, he claims, gave Shakespeare the idea of his Masque of Russians in the last act of *Love's Labour's Lost*, or, at least, made masques of Russians fashionable. The second point is the use of the *Venus and Adonis* stanza in the comedy, which, if imitated from the poem, must bring the play to a later date than 1593. Last of all, in the clowning scenes, Mr. Taylor finds numerous verbal reminiscences of the Nashe-Harvey war of pamphlets, 1592-1596. The result of his argument Mr. Taylor presents modestly as a "probability," and he is content to await "the direct evidence" which shall prove or disprove his case. At this age and time we are unlikely to come across this "direct evidence," so Mr. Taylor has no need to apologize for his theory as a "probability" only. All Shakespeare scholarship is nine-tenths

"probability" and one-tenth "fact," and the few "facts" we possess of his life help us nothing with the plays.

Every theory about Shakespeare is open to sniping. The verbal reminiscences of Nashe and Harvey, to this reviewer's mind, seem largely accidental and due to the fact that Shakespeare, Nashe and Harvey all wrote a certain kind of literary English. Besides, may not the argument work both ways, i. e., may not Nashe and Harvey have imitated Shakespeare? (a "probability" which I do not believe in, but always a point to be considered, if we once start playing "the game of parallels"). So, too, with the Russian Masque—may not the Gray's Inn revellers have borrowed the idea from Shakespeare's comedy? "Shakespeare the great Borrower" is almost an article of belief with modern scholars, but it may be pushed too far. If Shakespeare and another man share a similar device, does that invariably mean that Shakespeare borrowed it from the other man?

But enough of sniping. Mr. Taylor's book is carefully argued and makes good reading and it is ungracious to pick holes in his argument. I don't think we shall ever be sure of the date of *Love's Labour's Lost*. Mr. Taylor has given us something to think about, and though we may not swallow his theory whole, we have to consider his argument seriously before we set up a rival "probability."

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Philadelphia, Pa.

Marlowe's Poems. Edited by L. C. MARTIN. New York: The Dial Press, 1931. Pp. ix + 304. \$4.00.

This volume in the new edition of Marlowe contains *Hero and Leander* (with Chapman's continuation), the translations of Ovid's *Amores* and the first book of Lucan, *The Passionate Shepherd* and the lines from *England's Parnassus*. The thoroughness and accuracy of the editorial work are what might be expected from a scholar of Mr. Martin's experience and reputation. In his introduction Mr. Martin rightly queries the common assumption that *Hero and Leander* was Marlowe's last work; but, rightly also, he does not attempt a decision on the point of chronology. While recognizing the possibility that the translation of Ovid may be late, he inclines to the traditional assumption that it is early work; regarding the Lucan he is non-committal. In his critical remarks, which are naturally concerned for the most part with *Hero and Leander*, Mr. Martin is more judicious than Swinburnian. Comparison of the text of Marlowe's fragment with that of Mr. Brooke's one-volume edition reveals half a dozen variations; see Mr. Martin's notes on *Hero and Leander*, i. 457, 477, ii. 118, 187, 195, 200, 320.

There is much matter of interest in the notes. The editor has been at pains to determine the editions of the *Amores* probably used by Marlowe, so that, while not relieving the poet of the charge of defective scholarship, he does lessen the body of evidence. Since, in his notes on *Hero and Leander*, Mr. Martin does me the honor to quote frequently from articles of mine, I feel ungracious in remarking that the reference to one of them is given wrongly in bibliography, introduction, and notes (pp. ix, 13, 28); my sketch of the influence of Marlowe's poem appeared in *MLN.*, XLII, not in *PMLA*. Mr. Martin's notes on Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* suggest a number of probable echoes in Milton which give still further testimony to Milton's assimilation of Elizabethan richness. For another Milton item (*P.L.* v. 382; Marlowe, i. 12) which Mr. Martin does not notice, see *SP.*, XXVIII, 269. To add a few more trifles, on pp. 28 and 30 Dunstan Gale's *Pyramus and Thisbe* is dated 1626; Gale's dedication was dated 1596, and the earliest known edition is that of 1617. On p. 28 there is a typographical slip in Gale's Christian name. Page's *The Love of Amos and Laura* is dated 1628 on p. 30, 1613 on p. 43; the latter date is the correct one.

The notes elucidating Chapman's continuation of Marlowe represent fruitful labor on a neglected poem. Here and there they would have profited from reference to Schoell's invaluable *Études sur l'Humanisme continental en Angleterre* (1926), for Chapman derives some extensive passages from Plutarch's *Moralia*. Ll. 337-40 in the fifth sestiad, for instance, are linked with Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, but Schoell (pp. 226-27) demonstrates that a long passage which they conclude is based on the *Quaestiones Romanae*. But such items are very slight shortcomings in an edition for which every student of Marlowe must be grateful.

DOUGLAS BUSH

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The Wheel of Fire. By G. WILSON KNIGHT. Oxford University Press, 1930. Pp. xix + 296.

The Imperial Theme. By G. WILSON KNIGHT. Oxford University Press, 1931. Pp. ix + 367.

These books have already given much profit and delight to those who enjoy such books, and considerable annoyance to those who do not. This is so because the good and ill which mingle in Mr. Knight's work are equally pronounced and inextricably interwoven. Which is which, indeed, must remain partly a question of the reader's temperament and point of view, not to mention the author's. Unquestionably, however, Mr. Knight's work is not to

be ignored. It has undeniable freshness, vigor, glow. Perhaps the essential fact is that this "imaginative interpretation" of Shakspeare's dramatic romances, tragedies, and certain of the problem comedies, compels serious attention even though it is a little lacking in humor and balance, and in spite of its not infrequent indulgence in somewhat uncritical rhapsody, vague allegory, and misty metaphysics. It is not food for average sewing circles and Sophomores. Mature students, on the other hand, will certainly not accept all of Mr. Knight's conclusions. Yet they will do well to take account of him, for many of these essays (*e. g.*, the studies of *Measure*, *Troilus*, *Lear*, and *Timon in Wheel*; of *Caesar*, *Coriolanus*, and *Antony in Theme*) are full of matter. They bear eloquent evidence of a subtle but solid study of Shakspeare as his own best commentator, often with distinction of style and imaginative challenge, not to say poetic vision.

To do justice thereto one must go to Mr. Knight's own work. Its relatively simple and somewhat glaring defects tempt disproportionately easy notice, but it is fair to observe first that most of them are defects of emphasis which do not obscure the underlying objective. This—first announced in *Myth and Miracle* (1929), and ably developed in the opening chapters of these volumes—has consistently been to aid in making Shakspeare a "positive and dynamic experience" (1) by seeking primarily a "poetic" ("imaginative") interpretation of the plays' universal and enduring "spiritual quality," and, for this purpose, to insist upon bringing source study, ethical criticism, and even the poet's conscious purpose into "tune with . . . imaginative vision"; (2) by eschewing the "fatal" error of "excessive attention" to plot and "characters, abstracted," in most commentaries, from the dramatic "pattern" as a whole; (3)—and most significant—by demonstrating the vital importance of other elements of the pattern, especially of background and atmosphere: of the "imaginative impact" of recurring poetic symbols, tone-color, imagery, and of the thousand and one subtle but pervasive overtones which make an essential part of Shakspeare's music.

Knight's preoccupation with "death-themes" in *Wheel*, and "life-themes" in *Theme*, does not lessen the marked singleness of effect stamped upon his volumes by this dominant purpose; the later work, indeed, achieves it more concretely and eloquently, though it suffers from repetitiousness (avoidable, perhaps, had either volume been provided with even the semblance of an index), and possibly from haste—witness occasional redundancies, misprints, and erroneous references (*Theme*, pp. 35, 362, 44). Other infelicities run deeper. A strong case is weakened by injudicious hyperbole and excessive symbolical, allegorical, and metaphysical speculation; also, at times, by perverse vagueness of phrase and unsmiling solemnity of manner. ("Fishing may be a love-thought

in Shakespeare." Perhaps. But one could do without it and the "delightful . . . 'horse' references" in *Antony*, and the pronouncement that there is *nothing* "comic" in Cleopatra's scene with the Clown, nothing of the "bluff soldier" in Iago [*Theme*, pp. 234 f., 212 f., 317; *Wheel*, 279]. Further, Mr. Knight "explicates" and "equates," too many "percurrent themes,"—the "Antony theme," the "Hate theme," the "feasting theme," the "stabbing theme"—too many of which grow into vague "rhythms" and "universes." As regards Cleopatra, he outsoars Swinburne, but does it like a poet; yet he might well have omitted the "imaginative parallel" between Cleopatra's death and Timon's and the Crucifixion [*Theme*, p. 321; *Wheel*, 259]. Finally, there is tedious overemphasis upon, "purely philosophic issues," and almost everything and everybody—*The Tempest*, Edgar in *Lear*, and Lady Macbeth—is translated into the realm of pure allegory or symbolism.) Even at worst, however, this is not altogether fool. Some of these pages are misty; others flash lightning and light. At their best they bring the "spiritual essence" of Shakspeare "in moving splendor before our eyes."

ALWIN THALER

University of Tennessee

Saint-Evremond, la Comédie des Académistes (Text of the MS. of 1638). By G. L. VAN ROOSBROECK. New York: Institute of French Studies, 1931. Pp. 72. \$1.00.

Boileau, Racine, Furetière, etc., Chapelain Décoiffé, a Battle of Parodies. By G. L. VAN ROOSBROECK. New York: Institute of French Studies, 1932. Pp. 89. \$1.00.

In these two pamphlets Dr. Van Roosbroeck brings together several satirical writings of the seventeenth century. As the *Colbert enragé* and the *Boileau ou la Clémence d'Auguste* had not been published before, their reproduction here meets a genuine need. The same thing can hardly be said of the other documents, for Livet had given a better text of the *Académistes*, based on the first edition and on earlier MSS., while Bernhard had published, as recently as 1910, a critical edition of the latter. Dr. Van Roosbroeck's editions are not critical, but may be called biographical, for his notes are chiefly concerned with the identification of the persons mentioned and no attempt is made to correct obvious inaccuracies. A few examples, with Livet's or Bernhard's form in brackets, will illustrate this fact (*Académistes*, pp. 32, 50, 55, 65; *Chapelain*, pp. 76, 88):

N'a qu'à lire [une fois] mon Benedicité.
 Monseigneur [Monsieur], tout alloit bien du temps de ces vieux mots.
 J'aymerois [J'ayme] mieux [te donner cinq] cent coups de baston.
 Auprès [Près] de vous les Catons, tous couverts de poussière.
 Toi qu'on ne vit jamais la [une] plume à la main.
 Espargnes tu mon sang?—Va [va] te recoiffer.

I find a line of fourteen syllables (*Académistes*, p. 49):

Toutesfois vous estes entrés en l'ardeur de l'esté,

for which Livet very properly substitutes one of twelve. Of course an editor may, if he chooses, keep a text intact, but, in that case, he should call the reader's attention to inaccuracies, for these were probably not in the original draft, but may well have crept into such documents as Dr. Van Roosbroeck follows for two of his reproductions, the *Ménagiana* and an eighteenth-century copy of the *Colbert enragé*. Even in the case of the *Académistes*, where he reproduces a MS. at the Nationale, it would have been wiser to compare it, before publication, with a MS. of the same date at the Arsenal (MSS. Conrart, V, 1033), mentioned by Magne. Indeed the latter declares and Livet implies that there are other MSS. in existence, but no attempt has been made to utilize them in this publication.¹

Such considerations aside, the pamphlets make entertaining reading and will be of interest to those who wish to study satire and parody in the seventeenth century. In them the Academy, Colbert, and Chapelain are held up to ridicule and their enemies make use of the *Cid* and *Cinna* to render their thrusts more effective. As the *Académistes* and the *Chapelain décoiffé* are among the cleverest works of minor authors of the time, one cannot regret their being called anew to the attention of the public.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Le Théâtre de Strindberg. Par A. JOLIVET. Paris: Ancienne
 Librairie Furne, Boivin & C^{ie}, 1931. Pp. iv + 356. Fr. 20.
 (Bibliothèque de la Revue des Cours et Conférences.)

Mr. Jolivet begins this study of Strindberg's Plays by taking issue with the methods of Arthur Liebert as advocated and exempli-

¹ Confirmation for the date of 1637-38 assigned, correctly as I believe, to the *Académistes* would have been found in the letters of Chapelain (April 28 and June 20, 1638, August 23, 1639). I am quite doubtful about the identification of Ladreville as Gomberville (*Académistes*, p. 27) since the dedication seems to exclude the latter from the group that is held up to ridicule. On the other hand Malleville's name would serve equally well, as far as the form is concerned, and would not encounter the same objection. The references to Tallemant on pp. 23, 27, and 33 of *Chapelain* are incorrect.

fied by him in the work *August Strindberg, seine Weltanschauung und seine Kunst* (Berlin 1925). Liebert sees in Strindberg a manifestation of the moral ideas current around the *fin de siècle*. In his study of Strindberg's works he tries to bring out of the welter of *Erscheinungen* the main lines, the deep under-currents of his philosophy, his attitude towards the world and the values. This, he professes, is the only thing worthy of study, the facta of Strindberg's life must be kept in the background as only of secondary interest.

It is here that Mr. Jolivet protests, pointing, rightly, to the fact that Strindberg's works are in reality a continued biography of the man. It would hardly do to neglect the biographical approach to the man who not only was himself one of the masters of autobiography, but who also even consciously drew upon his own experience for his literary production, and not least for the drama. And so Mr. Jolivet builds his book upon the biographical rock: not only has he utilized Strindberg's own copious autobiography (*En själs utvecklingshistoria*), but he has also controlled it with the testimony of others (his daughter and several friends). Furthermore he has followed the development of Strindberg through the contemporary records of his own correspondence, kept partly in the Strindberg Arkiv in the Royal Library at Stockholm, but mostly in the private collection of K. O. Bonnier, the well-known publisher of Strindberg's works in Stockholm. In dealing with his chief subject, the plays, Mr. Jolivet follows their genesis in detail from their conception in the poet's mind through their vicissitudes of external influences until they finally are entrusted to the printer and the public. The three main faces of Strindberg's playwriting are brought out clearly: his historical plays, the naturalistic plays, and finally his mystical or expressionistic plays destined to become models for expressionistic playwrights in Germany. Within each class of play the chief works are made to stand out vividly against the background of the lesser.

In tracing the literary influences upon Strindberg the author naturally tends to enlarge upon the French ones. This aspect of the work is very valuable as nobody could be in a better position to deal with these special problems. And the author has also been very careful not to allow these studies to upset the balance of the whole.

To conclude, it is safe to say that the author has given a full and very sensible survey of all the problems connected with Strindberg's plays. And the book can be recommended as an excellent guide to any one embarking upon a study of the chaos which is Strindberg.

STEFÁN EINARSSON

The Ballad of Tradition. By GORDON HALL GEROULD. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1932.

For some time a book has been needed that brings up to date, in compact and readable form, the history of learned opinion on traditional ballads and the various problems associated with them. Alexander H. Krappe recently issued a valuable manual of folklore, giving a literary interpretation to folk-lore materials and restating older positions. G. H. Gerould now performs this service for the ballad of tradition. The late F. B. Gummere's *The Popular Ballad*, issued in 1907, has long been the main reliance of those beginning the study of balladry. Much water has passed under the bridge, however, since Gummere's day, and a summary of the results of newer research has been much needed. This lack is now excellently filled by *The Ballad of Tradition* of 1932, put together by its author after a thoroughgoing canvass of investigation and opinion. His book is devoid of the inconsistencies and contradictions to be found in Gummere's work, and it is marked by the author's customary felicity of style. His statement of present positions and his general discussion of ballad problems should, I think, prove acceptable to all.

Naturally I find the views expressed in this new book very gratifying. From about 1915 onward, especially since my "The Beginnings of Poetry" in *PMLA* (1917) and *Poetic Origins and the Ballad* (1921), I have tried to combat traditionally accepted positions with regard to the English and Scottish ballads. I wrote in the preface to *Poetic Origins* that I thought the following assumptions should be given up, or at least be seriously qualified: "belief in the 'communal' authorship and ownership of primitive poetry; disbelief in the primitive artist; reference to the ballad as the earliest and most universal poetic form; belief in the origin of narrative songs in the dance, especially definition of the English and Scottish ballad type as of dance origin; belief in the emergence of traditional ballads from the illiterate; belief in the special powers of folk-improvisation; and belief that the making of traditional ballads is a 'closed account.'" I have also held that the ballad is a lyric type appearing late in literary history; that it does not belong in the same framework with primitive poetry; that the ballads of the Child collection, like other traditional songs, probably originated in many ways; and that the first human being who had the idea of telling a story in song—telling it directly, not by allusion—made the first ballad.

Rather a shower of brickbats fell about my head on the publication of *Poetic Origins*, and those thrown with the most vehemence came from Mr. Gerould. I quote from his article in *The Literary Review* of March 8, 1921:

What most of us believe to be the communal origin of folk-ballads means only that among the peasants of Great Britain, as yet unschooled, there developed a type of verse narrative by processes akin to those observable in the lower stages of society. The composition of these narratives was unconscious in the sense that their makers had no intention of producing works of art.

Of me as the author he remarked:

... the author is obviously incapable of orderly thought ... the results are practically worthless and deserve no praise ... a dull, confused and unconvincing book. ... Some very good minds have gone over the same material before and come to very different conclusions ... and had exquisite literary tact which Miss Pound seems not to possess ... she has never learned ... how to deal fairly with evidence ... so led away by her theories as to argue the impossibility of ballad composition by European peasants because the cowboys haven't really done it ... a quite abysmal lack of understanding of the psychological and social differences between the conditions in which popular ballads have been made and those in which they cannot be made ... her habit of distorting evidence. ... She seems to have no inkling that people in different states of society think and behave quite differently; and she has apparently never even surmised the real nature of folk-ballads

Now, in 1932, I find it pleasant to read that the positions advocated by me in 1921 and earlier have been tacitly conceded. Here are some stray citations showing the present beliefs of my critic:

I am not urging that song gave rise to dance or dance to song, nor do I wish to argue that in the beginning of things the two invariably went together (p. 204) ... If balladry, as well as other folk-song, was a cultural phenomenon rather than a heritage of primitive ages, which we must in reason believe (p. 218). ... individuals, we must suppose, fashioned the earliest ballads—those that ultimately set the form. Some of them, it is natural to surmise, were professional entertainers, minstrels (p. 213). ... This does not imply, however, the customary participation of all the members of a group in making a song, for neither a melody nor the outline of an imagined story can well emerge from more than a single mind ... One cannot believe that "communal composition" took place while the ballad type was becoming fixed (p. 213). ... we are forced to the conclusion that most ballads, both those which have been in circulation in later times and those of earlier date, have been composed by individuals (p. 231). ... the plain fact is that we cannot trace the ballad beyond the later Middle Ages (p. 197). ... Nor because we find improvisation with considerable frequency need we conclude with Gummere that "short improvisation" is the earliest form of poetic art (p. 201). ... It will not help us to postulate a dancing throng that had been composing and modifying ballads since primitive times; and it will be even less helpful to shut our eyes fast against the clear evidence of things, and deny that ballads are anything more than the cast-off brats of literature and music (p. 210).

Since Mr. Gerould's well-made and very readable book comes from a scholar once a strong advocate of peasant emergence of ballads, surely controversy concerning the origin of the ballad type in prehistoric times, or its development from the dance, or its composition by the illiterate, may now be termed at an end, and the matter dropped. Surely it is time that these beliefs be dropped,

and the appearance of Professor Gerould's book may well end them.

A main thesis of *The Ballad of Tradition* is that ballads owe their patterns to the fact that they were composed to be sung to a melody. Early English ballads were also sometimes chanted or recited, a manner of rendition for which dramatic structure and quality would be yet more essential. My personal preference is for the broader statement that their structure was influenced by their composition "for oral delivery." This would allow for singing to a melodic accompaniment—so important and fundamental in ballad presentation—and for chanting and reciting as well.

Perhaps I may be pardoned for taking this opportunity to defend myself against the scattered references to my contentions in Professor Gerould's volume. They leave me rather restive, though they are less personal than his earlier tributes, those announcing to his readers that my ballad ideas were the maunderings of a disordered mind.

I am cited in the first chapter as showing a tendency to distinguish between Child ballads and ballads of another sort. The author affirms that a ballad is a ballad because it tells a story in verse, and that the distinction referred to in the preceding sentence is wholly arbitrary and indefensible. Quite true, and I have made the same point many times; yet it is sometimes convenient or necessary to distinguish between the kind of ballads that Child included in his collection and those that he did not include. Mr. Gerould implied the same distinction when, in an article in *PMLA*, he submitted "The Bitter Withy" to three tests before deciding that it was a ballad meriting insertion in the Child collection.

He reiterates a charge against me (p. 206) of disorderliness and "logical error" in my discussion of origins. In doing so he jumbles together, as he did in his earlier criticism, the content of two distinct articles on two distinct subjects. My material concerning the conditions of poetic production in uncivilized races was presented in an article in which I treated communal and individual composition among primitive peoples and the theory that the ballad was the earliest poetic form. My materials brought together to dispute the view that the English and Scottish ballads emerged from the dances of mediaeval peasants came in a second article, in which my purpose was to show that refrains are more fundamentally characteristic of dance-songs proper than of ballads, and that typical dance-song material is, in general lyrical rather than narrative. My material in the first article was germane to that article, and that in the second was germane to the second. From Mr. Gerould's criticism one would think the articles jumbled into one and their illustrative material exchanged.

The remark is made on p. 171 that I utterly missed the point of his argument in a paper entitled "The Making of Ballads" printed

in *Modern Philology*, xxi. When I set forth the author's views in that article I did so only through verified quotations from it, paragraph by paragraph, and I checked my inferences (for fear lest I be biased) by the reports of a group of persons asked to read it for its theory. I still think the article a good article but not new. Nor do I think it new to seek to "close the door once for all on the notion that nothing can happen in oral tradition save progressive degeneracy and corruption." I have known no scholar who has held this view, and I have never held it myself. For one treatment of how ballads both gain and lose in transmission I may refer to page xxviii of my *American Ballads and Songs* (1922).

Mr. Gerould enters as a quotation from me (p. 221). "Mediæval ballad literature emerged under the influence of clericals," adding a little later, "If I combat her theory that 'ballads began with clericals.'" These quoted sentences are not mine, despite their quotation marks. I wrote my article on "The English Ballads and the Church" when I was contesting the theory of dance origins, remarking that as good a case could be made for deriving the English ballads from the church as from the dance, and I began the article by conceding that "nothing has ever really been brought out barring minstrels from major responsibility for ballad creation and ballad diffusion." Because I thought the available evidence too meager, I was careful *not* to say "ballads began with clericals," nor have I ever pressed this as a personal conviction. What I did say in the pages that Mr. Gerould cites was, "The possibility that ballad literature began with clericals should be taken into account" . . . "The suggestion that relates the early ballads to the religious, not the secular, carols as a type of folk-song, which assumes ecclesiastical emergence of ballads prior to their minstrel popularity, or else early adoption by ecclesiastics of a new minstrel type, has the distinction of novelty, whether or not it seems likely." A suggestion is not a statement of fact nor a statement of personal conviction.

Let me give one last illustration of the kind of criticism to which I am subjected in the references (fortunately few) that are made to me in *The Ballad of Tradition*:

Miss Pound, *American Ballads and Songs*, 1932, p. xxii, makes the statement: Nothing indigenous lives from colonial times, so far as is known. On the same page, however, she calls attention to *Springfield Mountain* as a "still recognizable piece from the eighteenth century."

Present writers usually divide the stretch of time from 1600 to 1776 into the Colonial and Provincial periods, though older books often recognized only a Colonial period. To me the ballad of "Springfield Mountain" does not belong to the Colonial period, that of beginnings, but to the Provincial, that preceding the War of the Revolution.

LOUISE POUND

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When Rome Is Removed into England. Eine Politische Prophe-
 ziehung des 14. Jahrhunderts. Kritische Textausgabe nebst
 ausführlicher Einleitung, Übersetzung, Anmerkungen . . .
 VON REINHARD HAERKORN. Leipzig: Bernard Tauchnitz,
 1932. (*Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*, hrsg. Max Forster,
 Heft XIX.)

It is not surprising that the field of the political prophecy in England has not been intensively cultivated. Before Rupert Taylor's *Political Prophecy in England* (1911) almost the only significant contributions were two volumes of the EETS (Murray's edition of *Thomas of Ercelesdoun* and Lumby's *Bernardus de Cura rei familiaris with some Early Scottish Prophecies*) and Brandl's *Cock in the North* (1909). We have since had Miss Lucy Paton's exhaustive monograph on *Les Prophecies de Merlin* (1926-27), published by the Modern Language Association. To most scholars these compounds of *ex post facto* "prophecy" and pretended foreknowledge seem a dreary literary waste, and their air of mystification and frequent obscurity detract even from such interest as they might have as literature. Apart from occasional indications of propagandist intent, they seem chiefly of value as symbols of the credulity of a former age. Yet it should not be forgotten that they enjoyed for several centuries a surprising popularity. Brandl found seventeen texts of the *Cock in the North*, including a Latin translation, and Haerkorn here prints collations from two other manuscripts. Several good-sized manuscripts that have been preserved are made up entirely of collections of political prophecies. And we should also remember that a number of important prophecies in the Middle Ages were dedicated to bishops or are expressly said to have been written or "translated" at their request.

The prophecy which is here named from its opening words *When Rome is removed into England* exists in twelve manuscripts, besides fragments and printed texts. None is earlier than the fifteenth century, although the composition of the poem must be placed in the latter part of the fourteenth. It has obviously undergone modification, probably in an attempt to make it fit later conditions, and three distinct texts are recognizable. The longest falls just short of a hundred lines. Like most of the M.E. political prophecies it seems to be of Celtic inspiration. Both dialect and subject matter attach it to Scotland or the Scottish border.

It is unfortunate that the prophecy should take its name from the words with which it happens to open. For these suggest a Lollard purpose and a religious theme. But after a few lines of general foreboding as to what would happen if priestly influence increased in the island, the poem reflects chiefly the hostility between England and Scotland and, in one passage, the struggle

for the possession of Berwick-upon-Tweed. Everything is rather vague. Cadwallader and Cynan will come down from Scotland to the advantage of both Scotland and Wales. The lion will join the lily—that is, the King of Scotland will unite with the King of France, according to the usual Galfridian symbolism. Their enemy, the leopard, is obviously England. An eagle that will come out of the East may be intended for the German Emperor, whose sister Anne of Bohemia brought high hopes to the English by her marriage to Richard II in 1382. Since the year 1382 is alluded to in a very transparent fashion, the identification is plausible. But the prophecy is so lacking in continuity and so general that it is impossible to connect it with specific events. In its three forms it could apply in a general way to conditions more or less valid from the end of the fourteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Dr. Haferkorn has carried out his task with judgment as well as thoroughness. The introductory discussion of the manuscripts, the language and metre, the elements traditional in previous prophecy literature, the historical conditions which furnish the background of the poem, is all reasonable and adequate. Although he has gone further in altering his base text than his own words would suggest, the readings which he inserts from the other manuscripts are generally conducive to greater clarity and the procedure seems to the reviewer justified. A checking of the text against the two pages of the manuscript reproduced in facsimile reveals only one slight slip. The reading of Peniarth MS. 50 at line 77 is *hyght* (not *hight*).

ALBERT C. BAUGH

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Le Conte dou Barril, poème du xiii^e siècle par Jouham de la Chapele de Blois. Edited by ROBERT CHAPMAN BATES. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932. Pp. cxxvi + 112. (Yale Romanic Studies, IV.)

Le conte dou barril is edited by Dr. Bates with admirable exhaustiveness. The critical text (1262 vv.) reflects accurate appraisal and judicious treatment of the two manuscripts,¹ and it is accompanied by a complete glossary of the basic version. The elaborate study of the author's language leads to prudent conclusions (pp. cix-cxii), as definite as the limited data permit. The editor has spared no pains to discover habits of pronunciation,² rather than orthographic traits alone.

¹ P, the basic manuscript, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and C is in Cheltenham.

² A good example is § 17 (pp. lxxviii-lxxx).

This edition is open to some criticism for three not unfamiliar reasons: 1) a tendency to overdevelop conclusions; 2) occasional confusion linguistically between author and copyists; 3) many inaccuracies of detail.

1) The conclusion that by dating the poem "entre 1216 et septembre 1218, on serait sûr de ne pas se tromper" (p. xvii) depends solely on two passages (one is in P alone) from remarks by a fictitious character. That the *Conte* post-dates at least part of the career of Simon de Montfort is clearly substantiated in these passages, but for a *terminus ad quem* they are totally without demonstrative value. Furthermore, the traditional mediaeval carelessness with tenses (cf. vv. 182, 1147, 1149) would prevent attributing to such testimony, even for mere hypotheses, more than a minimum of significance. At most, only a presumption is admissible: the evidence permits no precision beyond dating the poem somewhat after the inception of the Albigensian Crusade. Less vital instances of questionable assertions³ include particularly the judgment that C is "un ms. probablement normand" (p. lii); the traits adduced for the *Conte* point vaguely northward, scarcely more.

2) Forms not to be attributed to copyists include *matire* 6 (pp. xliv, liii); *gêé* (p. xlv); *donge, parost, tolu* (p. xlvii); and especially *-iés* (p. xlv, but cf. p. xciv). Conversely, the following have been ascribed to Jean without sufficient evidence: *les, lest* (p. xcii); *puît* (p. xciv); *grant* 299 (p. xcvi, n. 248).

3) Contrary to note 79 (p. lix), vv. 301-2, 449-50, 461-2, 729-30, 799-800 are not indispensable to the sense in C. Despite unanimous (but scanty) testimony for *-al*, Dr. Bates concludes (p. lxxv) that Jean "écrivait de préférence *-el*" for Latin *-alem*, simply because at Blois "on disait et écrivait *probablement -el*." Apart from the text proper and the glossary, the edition contains over sixty printing errors at least, of which fourteen or more are in verse numbers. The few citations from C in the introduction involve six disagreements with the table of variants.⁴ Twenty-four similar discrepancies noted for P are controlled further on by my corrections to the text, except for vv. 5 and 7 (cf. p. xiv), for which the photograph at my disposal is inadequate.

Further instances of inaccuracy include a lengthy comment on the interchange of *qui* and *quil* (p. xli) which takes no cognizance of the frequency of this phenomenon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Similarly in respect to confusion between final *r* and *z* (p. xlii). *Vengier* : *dengier* is entered as evidence (p. xc) in an

³ Cf. also pp. xi (where Jean's language is called "bien blésoise"), xlii (*conree*), xlv (loss of final *s*), lxviii (*ié* : *é* as dating criterion), lxxv-lxxvii, lxxxiii, lxxxvii (n. 185), xcvi (s in *deboneres*), ciii (which manuscript changed v. 917?).

⁴ *Greins*, p. lii; *empreisson* lv, *reson* lxxxv, *tels* xcvi (n. 250), *glouton* et ci, *que il* cvii (n. 283, v. 44).

observation on confusion between *tš* and *dž*. Why reject *honoratis* as etymon of *annorez* (p. xlv; cf. p. xlv, § 14)? *Ostex* (p. xlv) is incorrectly etymologized. Inconsistencies of detail in chapter VI render the rime percentages (p. cv) inexact. Dr. Bates claims (p. xlv) that P sometimes renders free tonic *o* by *uei* (but gives no examples), by *ieu* (but *vieult* is hardly proof), by *ei* (printer's error for *ie*). The rimes in vv. 693-4 (p. liv) are neither accusative nor singular. In the note to v. 813 it might be observed that *ventrillier* occurs also in v. 1369 of the *Tournement d'enfer*. Sometimes needless discussion is introduced, as for example on p. xcvi (declension of *sire*) and in the notes to vv. 10, 78, 521, 590, 649, 1020, 1088.

It is scarcely desirable in a brief notice to enlarge upon mere differences of opinion concerning readings which have already been competently considered. Yet it may perhaps be pertinent to inquire if it is consistent to alter vv. 305-6, 755-6, 869-70, 1036 while leaving 373, 822, 873, 1101 unchanged; in fact, do any of these verses *require* modification? Might *jeünré* be preferable in v. 402 to the introduction of an enclisis (*jan*) occurring nowhere in the poem (cf. p. xciii)? Could one venture *uieillon* (= 'old man?') in C in v. 970, and thereby not only avoid strain on the context but also in v. 969 accept Meung, which materializes in both manuscripts and which was eminently familiar to Jean de Blois (cf. p. x, n. 9)?

The following orthographic corrections to the editor's transcript of P are submitted, with the aid of photographs from the manuscript:

In vv. 86 and 88 P reads *ois*, in v. 109 *Tent*, 271 *herbergier* (cf. 267, 1072), 350 *ia* (not *je*), 511 *fontannes*, 522 *me*, 666 *commender*, 671 *reconter*, 677 *fresche*, 733 *il* (not *li*), 744 *toulerres*, 824 *de* (not *des*), 856 *Dieu*, 862 *u*, 942 *Li*, 952 *de* (not *et*), 1042 *ch'rl*, 1080 *li*, 1112 *Voz*, 1114 *ci*, 1236 *Se*, 1256 *nos*. The letters *t ut* are visible for *tout* 61. The remark in the variants for v. 902 is also valid for v. 1233. The editor's elision of abbreviated *que* is not recorded in the variants for vv. 66, 119, 320, 391, 542, 1094. Inconsistencies in the use of the diaeresis are not infrequent. The editor rarely accents tonic *e* before final *s*. He regularly alters *u* of the manuscript to *v* in forms of *pouvoir*, despite *poons* 1255.

EDWARD B. HAM

Princeton University

Skaldisches Lesebuch. Herausg. von E. A. KOCK und R. MEISSNER
Teil 1: Text. Teil 2: Wörterbuch. Bearbeitet von R.
MEISSNER. Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer, 1931. Rheinische
Beiträge und Hilfsbücher zur germ. Philologie und Volks-
kunde. Bd. 17-18. Pp. ix + 97, vii + 217. Price Rm.
4.60 + 10.—.

The quickened interest in the Old Norse Scaldic (or Court)

Poetry caused by E. A. Kock's *Notationes Norroenae* is born out by a recent boom in Scaldic textbooks. First to appear was I. Lindquist's *Norröna Lovkväden från 800- och 900- talen* (Lund 1929). Now comes the present textbook out of Germany, a fact worthy of notice in the history of Scaldic scholarship, as it is the first Scaldic textbook ever published in that country.¹ Those who are interested need not hesitate to buy both books, as the former contains only long poems (of praise) whereas the latter offers almost only short tidbits: mostly incidental *lausavísur* or ditties, or some selected verses from the longer poems. This does not make it any less interesting, for many of the ditties are very striking—there are even real gems among them—but the long poems are often dull and dreary.

The names of the editors—the well-known author of *Die Kenningar der Skalden* coupled with the brilliant and glamorous E. A. Kock—are in themselves warrant enough for the excellence of the book. Finnur Jónsson's name does not adorn its cover, but he and his *Skjaldedigting* are mentioned frequently enough in its pages. However, the real editor is Meissner.

It is a pity that economic considerations have forced the editor to omit a prose order reading of some of the hardest verses, as this would have proved of great help to the beginner. The system of punctuation, however, does much to redeem this lack and the same may be said of the full and detailed glossary.

This glossary is perhaps the most valuable piece of the whole work, not only for the beginner, but also for the more advanced student who will find in it Meissner's present views. And besides it is worth noticing that this is the only available glossary of Scaldic verse in a well known language—all the others are in Scandinavian. As to the interpretation of the verses there will always be some difference of opinion and Meissner does wisely in referring the student to F. Jónsson's and E. A. Kock's opinions. Many of his own interpretations are quite plausible, as e. g. *auðla* 1, 2 'mit erfolg' (for F. J.'s *óðla*), or *biðk beina at munka reyni* 94, 1 (*beina* = acc. of *beini*; F. J.: infinitive). Others are less so, as at *hølfu*, 'um die hälfte,' where F. J.'s reading (*því . . . at hølflu fleiri . . . væri*, at conjunction) is much better and fully in accordance with the strictest syntax. And Meissner's *mart verðr gegni-Gautum geirfiljar* (= mir) *nú sitja*, 'in vieles muss ich mich nun finden' 30, 4 seems to me a preposterous interpretation especially in view of F. J.'s correct translation 'meget må jeg nu finde mig i fra krigernes side,' much have I now to stand from the warriors. See F. J., *Lexicon Poeticum*, *sitja* 5, and Blöndal, *Islandsk-*

¹ Ettmüller's *Versuch einer strengeren kritischen Behandlung altnordischer Gedichte* (1858) deals almost exclusively with Eddic and allied poetry.

Dansk Ordbog, sitja III 3: *sitja e-m e-ð* = *þola e-m e-ð*, and above all Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gl. norske Sprog, sitja* 6. giving a great many examples from prose. But enough of this. Occasionally one finds an etymological reference, but it seems to me more of that sort would have been in place, and certainly one would have expected parallels from the Westgermanic poetry in a text-book bearing E. A. Kock's name. But this was probably prohibited by economy.

As it is, the book is decidedly a success and it deserves to be read not only in Germany but also wherever students are able to read German.

STEFÁN EINARSSON

The Johns Hopkins University

Christmas Carols Printed in the Sixteenth Century. Edited by EDWARD BLISS REED. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1932. Pp. lxiv + 104. (Huntington Library Publications.)

Every one with an interest in carols will welcome the admirably printed colotype facsimile of those from the press of Richard Kele. This unique and long-lost little sheaf is the most important document for the history of the carol to be published in some years, and its re-discovery in the Huntington Library by its present editor would have justified a more triumphant announcement than the modest note in his preface.

Mr. Reed gives an interesting account of the history of the volume and of its printer and provides the necessary bibliographical information on its several component fragments. One hesitates to question any of this without sight of the original, but surely it is more than "barely possible" that the last two leaves are reversed in the present binding. If they were to be folded the other way, the burden "A voyce from heuen" etc. would fall in its proper place, at the head of the carol to which it obviously belongs, and there would be no need to call it an "explanatory refrain" to a tailpiece.

The first two sections of the introduction, even when considered as merely "some remarks on Christmas carols in general," are somewhat superficial and confused. In spite of liberal quotations and references it is not easy to gather just what the author understands by the terms "carol" and "Christmas carol." A sentence like the following is not very helpful: "It seems paradoxical that, from the modern point of view, our first complete book of printed 'Christmas carols' does not contain a single one." On one page it is said to be "strange" that seventeenth-century carol-books deal

with the feast-days in chronological order; on the next it is pointed out that modern hymnals "naturally" do so. Mr. Reed seems to regard the French *noël* (which appears a full century later) as a *genre* parallel to the carol, and even as having a direct influence upon it. Even so, it is rather startling to find him denying to either type any "sanctifying [of] profane song for pious uses" in spite of the fairly abundant evidence to the contrary.

Some of the notes are good, but there are serious omissions. The editor dismisses with borrowed scorn poor James (why here Jacob?) Ryman, and fails to notice that one of the carols printed by Kele (p. [25]) is a version of one composed by that industrious friar at least fifty years before. The incomplete poem on p. I of the Douce fragments facsimile is left without mention of the MS. version in the same library of the longer poem from which it is taken (Brown's *Register*, No. 1142.)

Many readers will regret the absence of any edited text of the carols in modern typography. The different pieces could at least have been numbered. Reference to them as presented is difficult and awkward.

RICHARD L. GREENE

The University of Rochester

Richard Doddridge Blackmore: His Life and Novels. By QUINCY GUY BURRIS. Bibliography and some unpublished letters. (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, XV), Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1930. Pp. 219. \$1.25.

In this work Mr. Burris has made a conscientious effort to present, through collecting scattered material from various published sources and through his own investigations, the most comprehensive study of Blackmore that has yet appeared. In this effort he has succeeded; beyond this I find little in the book to commend. It is deficient in method, in critical judgment, in style, and as a contribution to knowledge. Some of the faults seem to come from inexperience in handling a large mass of material. Chronological lists which belong in the appendix have been inserted after p. 65 and at p. 105 without notice in either the table of contents or the index. The thesis is organized in such a manner as to lead to excessive repetition, illogicality, and diffuseness; e. g., Sect. III, Chap. I; Sect. IV, Chaps. I, II could be profitably condensed to two or three pages each. Far too much space is devoted to disproving the obvious: that Theocritus and Virgil exerted little influence on Blackmore's pastoral scenes and that the world of the nineteenth-century humanitarian novel is entirely different from Blackmore's world. Meanwhile, rather significant

sources of possible influence are ignored; e. g., the Robinhood legends and Mrs. Gaskell's *Sylvia's Lovers* on *Mary Anerley*; and Miss Edgeworth, Miss Ferrier, and Miss Mitford for local color. Although important biographical material is inaccessible (which means that the full extent of Blackmore's reading cannot yet be known) this handicap hardly excuses such a roundabout method of reaching the point. This fault is even more apparent where he discards what he calls the historical method in favor of the comparative in order to show what is unique in the novels (pp. 108 ff.). It takes him far afield and leads nowhere.

His chapter, "Faults and Merits, etc." is quite uncritical. He is too hesitant in pointing out the faults and in condemning a sensationalism lurid enough for Ainsworth and G. P. R. James. "In the matter of dialect Blackmore is excellent . . . he follows the dictums laid down by Scott, etc." (p. 170)—only six lines in all for Blackmore's extensive use of English dialects. It must be said here that a writer who is as ill at ease with the English language as Mr. Burris appears to be in this book is scarcely competent to treat the subject of style.

Finally Mr. Burris nowhere comes out with the flat truth first that Blackmore, in spite of *Lorna Doon*, remains, all told, in the minor rank of novelists and secondly that he is a romanticist through and through but with a pleasant vein of realism. Notwithstanding constant reiteration Mr. Burris does not do justice to this realism which is devoted to rural scenes and folk, the life that Blackmore knew best. And he should have followed the clue quoted (p. 108) from S. J. Reid's article in the *D.N.B.* pointing out that Blackmore "was connected with and was a pioneer in the new romantic movement" following the mid-nineteenth century development of the novel of manners. I can not see that this book, beyond collecting all the available material under one cover, has added anything significant to the knowledge about Blackmore and his novels.

ANNETTE B. HOPKINS

Goucher College

BRIEF MENTION

The Earliest French Play about America: Acoubar ou La Loyaute [sic] *Trahie*. By MARGARET ADAMS WHITE. New York: Institute of French Studies (1931). Pp. xx + 76. First published in 1603, this play is "about America" only in the sense that the scene is laid in Canada and that savages take part in it. Utopia or Uganda would have done quite as well and one might with equal justice call Racine's *Mithridate* a play about Russia. The author, Duhamel, whose name does not appear on

the title-page of Miss W.'s edition, knew America as little as his modern namesake who has also professed to write about it. The play is a museum piece, so rare that a good edition, with a study of what the author owed to such writers as Robert Garnier, would have been of value. Unfortunately Miss W. has little idea of what an edition should be. She gives no variants from the edition of 1611 and fails to discuss textual problems that deserve comment:

P. 9. *Parmi les ondes marins aux flocs infidelles*. She overlooks the two mistakes in gender and the impossibility of having a word contain both the sixth and seventh syllables of an alexandrine; I suggest, *Parmi les flots marins aux ondes infidelles*. P. 41. *Fortunie*, the heroine's name, makes the line too long and does not rime with *Lune*; read *Fortune*. P. 48. *Donque* and *doncque* do not rime; for the latter read *d'oncque*, used with the following *ne* in the sense of *never to*. P. 59. Both for meaning and versification add *ne*, reading *Non que je ne demeure*. P. 65. For *Tu es sera* read *Tu en seras*. P. 70. Both *alternance* and meaning require that the fourth line should precede the third. I have counted eleven other lines in which the versification is incorrect, but which brought no comment from the editor.

Instead, she gives notes which, with the exception of two that are incorrect (*Guylan*, an imaginary country, is not used in the sense of "army"; *espics* does not mean "pics," but *épis*), could have been derived for the most part from *Petit Larousse illustré*. Indeed, half of them might have been inspired by an elementary handbook of mythology; for example, this choice bit of information (p. 76):

Didon: queen of Carthage, entertained Aeneas on his return [*sic*] from Troy and wished to keep him always. At the order of the gods he left Carthage to found a new kingdom in Italy.

H. C. L.

The Ulster Theatre in Ireland. By MARGARET MCHENRY. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931. Pp. 109. An inconsiderable corner of the recent Irish dramatic development is the Ulster Theatre, which from 1904 to 1930 produced some forty-seven plays, half of them dealing with the peasantry. Founded in the attempt to allow to the Protestant north a voice from the stage in emulation of the voice accorded the Catholic south by the Abbey Theatre of Dublin, the proponents of the Belfast movement prepared the way for their Ulster Literary Theatre by a magazine called *Uladh*. Owing to lack of funds, this was issued in only four numbers from November, 1904 to September, 1905. It laid down the program of the movement and confessed the difficulties to be encountered in carrying it out, admitting freely that "Presbyterian crudeness, repression, and suspicion of gaiety, good will, generous feeling, and all forms and ceremonies" must militate against good acting, and that the Ulster drama

must necessarily suffer from lack of that spirit of nationality so notable in the south. Yet the little magazine emphasized the fact that, "Whereas Mr. Yeats, Mr. Martyn, and Mr. George Moore set out to create an Irish stage while obsessed by Ibsen and Maeterlinck, our modern playwrights appear to have written of their own spontaneity, without consciously imitating anyone."

This claim to originality seems hardly justified. Certainly, the northern playwrights kept the southern always in mind. Ten of their first productions, indeed, were given in Dublin rather than Belfast. Moreover, Miss McHenry's survey of the positive achievements of the Ulster Theatre year by year from 1904 to 1930 reveals no work to compare with the best plays of Synge or even Lady Gregory. Here is no serious drama of any moment and no comedy to offer more than the entertainment of an evening. Of the playwrights of the north two names alone stand out—Rutherford Mayne and Gerald Macnamara. The world already knew something of the former, but of the wit and fantasy of the latter it knew almost nothing. Miss McHenry has performed a real service in calling attention to such writers and to this minor but significant episode in dramatic history.

FRANK W. CHANDLER

University of Cincinnati

The History of the Pestilence (1625). By GEORGE WITHER. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by J. MILTON FRENCH. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932. Pp. 107. \$2.50. On approaching Professor French's edition of Wither's *History of the Pestilence*, a student of the seventeenth century may at first wonder why the poem needs to be printed at all, since Wither's expanded version, *Britain's Remembrancer*, is in the Spenser Society's publications. But the two cantos of this earlier MS contain, out of the eight which the long-winded author finally wrote, the material most apt to interest any ordinary reader. And by editing the MS, instead of abridging *Britains Remembrancer*, Mr. French has accomplished a double object: he has made the best of Wither's account of the Plague Year accessible to all students, and he has put hitherto unpublished material into print. His editing is careful, and the introduction and notes interesting and enlightening, especially to anyone not well acquainted with the period. To the more advanced student (for whose special benefit, presumably, the details of Wither's spelling and punctuation are so carefully reproduced) some of Mr. French's information is probably superfluous; but there is no great harm in that. The discussion, in the introduction, of Wither's description of the Plague as compared to other accounts we have from Dekker, Taylor, Lodge, Defoe, etc., is particularly illuminating; as are also

the references to these other writers, in the notes. Finally, the format and printing of the book make it an attractive addition to any book-lover's shelves.

GEORGE REUBEN POTTER

University of California

Thomas Lovell Beddoes: An Anthology. Chosen by F. L. LUCAS. (Poets in Brief.) Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company, 1932. Pp. xl + 172. \$2.00. This volume contains selections from the poems and the letters in convenient form. Mr. Lucas has evidently worked out a careful text, and frequently improves the punctuation of Gosse's pretentious but careless edition. "With few writers is there a stronger case for an anthology," he rightly remarks in his Preface. He even suggests that the anthologist's work is to save us the difficult task of reading his man through (p. xxxix). The Introduction, reprinted from *Life and Letters*, October, 1930, is chiefly concerned with Beddoes' cold, eccentric personality, and with the quality of his style and imagery; the editor does not attempt to fill in the historical setting, or to discuss critical issues at length. An interesting postscript reports the doubts of Mr. C. H. Wilkinson of Worcester College about "Gosse's story of Browning's horror for the Beddoes MSS." Our skepticism, it now appears, should extend also to the story of the poet's suicide as constructed by Gosse from Zoë King's papers. Mr. Lucas repeats the tale, but even the briefest study should reckon with the evidence presented in Mr. Royall Snow's *Thomas Lovell Beddoes, Eccentric and Poet* (New York, 1928), and recorded in the *Bibliotheca Osleriana* (Oxford, 1929), no. 4361.

ALAN D. MCKILLOP

The Rice Institute

Handbuch der Frankreichkunde. Erster Teil, mit Beiträgen von Hatzfeld, Lerch, etc. Zweiter Teil, mit Beiträgen von Grautoff, Neubert, etc. Frankfurt a. M.: Diesterweg, 1930. Pp. x + 324 + xvi + 328. (Handbücher der Auslandskunde Band III u. Band 4.) These two volumes include studies of French history, economics, art, philosophy, religious thought, literature, music, etc. by seventeen German professors. One can hardly expect from chapters of these dimensions any substantial contribution to the subjects treated, but they will serve to give the contemporary German point of view in regard to their western neighbors. The volumes are well printed and contain frequent illustrations.

H. C. L.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

ENGLISH

[The *English* list includes only books received.]

Bentley, H. W.—A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English, with Special Reference to the American Southwest. *New York*: Columbia Univ. Press, 1932. Pp. xii + 246. \$3.50.

Bond, R. P.—English Burlesque Poetry, 1700-1750. *Cambridge*: Harvard Univ. Press, 1932. Pp. xii + 484. \$3.50. (Harvard Studies in English, VI.)

Christy, Arthur.—The Orient in American Transcendentalism: A Study of Emerson, Thoreau, and Alcott. *New York*: Columbia Univ. Press, 1932. Pp. xx + 384. \$4.00.

Clemens, Cyril.—Josh Billings, Yankee Humorist, with an Introduction by Rupert Hughes. *Webster Groves (Mo.)*: International Mark Twain Society, 1932. Pp. xxiv + 200. \$2.00

Dryden, John, The Songs of. Ed. C. L. Day. *Cambridge*: Harvard Univ. Press, 1932. Pp. xvi + 200. \$2.50.

English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century.—Ed. Carleton Brown. *Oxford*: Univ. Press, 1932. Pp. xlv + 312. \$3.00.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel.—The American Notebooks. Ed. Randall Stewart. *New Haven*: Yale Univ. Press, 1932. Pp. xcvi + 350. \$5.00.

L'Hommédé, Edmond.—Le Secret de Shakespeare: Les Sonnets. *Paris*: Didier, 1932. Pp. 232. Fr. 15.

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MacCulloch, J. A.—Medieval Faith and Fable. With a foreword by Sir J. G. Frazer. *Boston*: Marshall Jones, 1932. Pp. iv + 346.

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Rollins, H. E. (ed.).—A Poetical Rhapsody 1602-1621. Vol. 2. *Cambridge*: Harvard Univ. Press, 1932. Pp. xii + 334. \$4.00.

Schnell, Eugen.—Die Traktate des Richard Rolle von Hampole "Incendium Amoris" und "Emendatio Vitae" und deren Übersetzung durch Richard Misyn. *Borna-Leipzig*: Robert Noske, 1932. Pp. vi + 192.

Serjeantson, Mary S., and Broughton, L. N. (eds.).—Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature, XII, 1931. Modern Humanities Research Association. *Cambridge*: Bowes and Bowes, 1932. Pp. x + 272 + viii. 7s. 6d.

Sibbald, Sir Robert, The Memoirs of (1641-1722). Ed. F. P. Hett, with an Introduction and a Refutation of the Charge against Sir Robert Sibbald of Forging Ben Jonson's *Conversations*. *Oxford*: Univ. Press, 1932. Pp. x + 108. \$3.00.

Spenser, Edmund.—The Works of, A Variorum Edition. The Faerie Queene, Book One. Ed. Edwin Greenlaw, C. G. Osgood, F. M. Padelford. *Baltimore*: Hopkins Press, 1932. Pp. xii + 558. \$6.00.

Wells, J. E.—Fifth Supplement to a Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1400. Additions and Modifications to July, 1932. *New Haven*: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1932. Pp. 1333-1432. \$1.50.

Wright, Luella M.—Literature and Education in Early Quakerism. *Iowa City*: Univ. of Iowa Press, 1933. Pp. 60. \$0.50. (U. of Iowa Studies, V, 2.)

—The Literary Life of the Early Friends 1650-1725, with an introduction by R. M. Jones. *New York*: Columbia Univ. Press, 1932. Pp. xiv + 312. \$3.00.

GERMAN

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Erlacher, Louis.—Untersuchungen zur Romantechnik Thomas Manns. Diss. Basel. *Liestal*: Heinzelmann, 1932. 70 pp.

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Hammerschmidt, Ferd.—Goethe und der Katholizismus. [Pantheon. Bd. 15/16]. *Breslau*: Borgmeyer [1932]. 111 pp. M. 1.50.

Heuer, Alfred.—Feierlichster Tag. Zum 22. März 1932. *Berlin*: Goldstein, 1932. 50 pp. M. 1.50.

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THE COST OF BOOKS IN CHAUCER'S TIME

We know of books in the late fourteenth century that they were scarce and difficult to obtain, and that they were lodged chiefly in the libraries of monasteries and universities. There is an appalling lack of information about the reading tastes of the period, and what information exists on the cost of books has not been collected.¹ This note aims to summarize the data on the cost of books in Chaucer's time and to consider several Chaucer passages in the light of the results obtained.

Late in the fourteenth century, parchment could be bought for 3 d. per quire (a quire was four sheets folded together to make eight leaves).² The price had dropped slowly through the preceding half century. In 1355 "two quires of paper" were sold at 5 d. each.³ In 1379 one quire, four leaves of parchment brought 7 d., and in 1399 "one dozen parchment" were sold at York for 3 s., or 3 d. per quire.⁴ Vellum brought 4 s. $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per quire in 1397, although another quotation for the same year lists six dozen "in staurum" at 34 s., which is nearly 6 d. per quire. The book maker, then, paid 3 to 6 d. per quire for his paper, or, in our money, one to two dollars.⁵

¹ The best collection is in Ernest A. Savage, *Old English Libraries*, Appendix A, 243-257. This will hereafter be referred to as *Sav.*

² Numerous references to this price in M. R. James, *Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Peterhouse*, pp. 128, 133, 169, 226, 105. Also in *Sav.*, 249.

³ J. E. T. Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices*, II, 573-76.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ This figure is arrived at by setting the ratio of the value of fourteenth century money to twentieth century money at 1:20. This is the multiple chosen by Arthur F. Leach in Oxford Historical Society, xxxii, *Collectanea* III, 218. J. M. Manly sets the multiple at thirty (*Canterbury Tales*, 1928, pp. 65-67).

The standard price for writing a book was 16 d. per quire (about \$5 now).⁶ In earlier times and for finer work the scribe might expect as much as 25 d.⁷ Sometimes the scribe was kept with the servants. In 1324, "The countess keeps a scriptor at Clare House for 16 weeks engaged in writing a book called *Vitae patrum*, & pays him 8 s."⁸ That is at the rate of 6 d. in cash, board and lodging, per week. As the age of manuscript writing drew near its end, the lot of the scribe grew harder. In 1469 William Ebesham wrote humbly to Sir John Paston, begging payment of a small bill, long overdue, and asking alms in adversity.⁹ Among the books he had written was Hoccleve's *de Regimine Principum* for which his charge was only 1 d. per leaf, and which, he said, "is right wele worth." But Ebesham's bargain prices were well after Chaucer's time, and it is safe to conclude that 16 d. per quire was a low average charge of the scribe in the late years of the fourteenth century.

The cost of illumination varied widely. Many books, of course, were not illuminated at all. Five books mentioned in the Peterhouse manuscripts were illuminated at an average cost of 10 d.¹⁰ Two graduals were illuminated in 1393 for 2 l.¹¹ A legend of thirty-four quires was illuminated and bound for 30 s. But these prices were nothing beside the 22 l. 0 s. 3 d. charged "for illumination of the large letters in Abbot Litlington's Missal" in 1384.¹² This tremendous sum (\$1,800 today) was five-sixths of the cost of the book. Yet in 1445 the yearly wages of an illuminator at Oxford were but 4 M. 10 s. (\$220).¹³

Binding cost from a shilling to a pound, and, in the case of

⁶ Cambridge Antiquarian Society, N. S., III, 398. Quoted, *Sav.*, p. 255. Five references to writing at this rate in James, *op. cit.*, note 2, pp. 128, 133, 169, 226, 234, and in *Sav.*, pp. 249, 255.

⁷ Surtees Society, VII, xxvi-xxvii n. Quoted, Warton, *History of English Poetry*, III, 145.

⁸ Rogers, *op. cit.*, II, 612. The accounts of John Morys, warden of Winchester, show considerable expenditure for the diet of scribes, Warton, III, 145.

⁹ The whole bill is printed in the *Paston Letters* (ed. Gairdner). It is referred to in *Sav.*, pp. 207-08.

¹⁰ James, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Surtees Society, XXXV, 130.

¹² J. A. Robinson and M. R. James, *The MSS. of Westminster Abbey*. Quoted *Sav.*, 254-56.

¹³ *Munimenta Academica* (ed. Anstey), p. 551. Quoted *Sav.*, 256.

bindings set with gold and jewels, it was probably much higher. One deerskin was sold in 1395 for 3 s. 2 d., but six brought only 13 s. 4 d. in 1399. Calfskins brought 4 d. each in the winter of 1412-13, redskins, 6 d. each, and sheepskins 3 d. each.¹⁴ The five books mentioned in the Peterborough mss. were bound for 2 s. each. In 1392 seven books were bound for 4 s.¹⁵ A white psalter was bound in 1394 for 3 s., and Robert Bukebinder was paid 10 s. in 1399 for binding a large gradual for York Cathedral.¹⁶ That expensive missal for Abbot Litlington was bound at a cost of 21 s.¹⁷

That is the price list which confronted an author who, in the late thirteen hundreds, wished to publish one of his works. Suppose that his manuscript covered thirty quires. His paper would cost 7 s. 6 d. He would have to pay the scribe 40 s. A modest illumination would cost 1 l., and a very respectable binding could be had for 10 s. The total is 77 s. 6 d., \$310 in our money, and the edition would include no presentation copies for the author, no review copies for the journals; it would be a trade edition of *one copy*.

Is the price absurd? Fortunately we have contemporary records to check against it. This is the bill for Abbot Litlington's missal:¹⁸

| | | | |
|---|-------|-------|----------|
| For writing the book during two years | 4 l. | | |
| Musical notation | | 3 s. | 4 d. |
| Illumination of the large letters | 22 l. | 0 s. | 3 d. |
| Binding | | 21 s. | |
| Paper (estimated) | | 12 s. | 6 d. |
| Total | 27 l. | 17 s. | 15 d. |
| | | | (\$2200) |

In 1397 the Warden of Winchester had a legend written. The cost was as follows:¹⁹

| | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Parchment | 51 s. |
| Writing | 72 s. |
| Illumination and binding | 30 s. |
| Total | 7 l. 13 s. (\$610) |

¹⁴ *Sav.*, 257. Surtees Society, VII. Warton, III, 145.

¹⁵ Oxford Historical Society, XXVII, Boase, XLVIII.

¹⁶ Surtees Society, XXXV, pp. 130-32.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, note 12.

¹⁸ *Supra.*, note 12.

¹⁹ *Supra.*, note 8.

Processionals could be made for 10 s. each (\$40); few books could be made more cheaply. Presentation copies cost much more. There is record of a bill for 63 s. 6 d. (\$250) for "writing, illuminating, and other expenses of a primer, given to the Lady Queen of Castile."²⁰ The Lady Queen of Castile was the noble Constance, second wife of John of Gaunt. Is it too much to suppose that Chaucer might have handled that very book?

There is another document which shows the high cost of book making in Chaucer's time. This account is dated 1414: "For mending one old mass book almost worn out; for parchment and new writing in divers parts and for the binding and new clasps, and a skin to cover the book.....11 s. 2 d."²¹ Why would the librarian of Wells pay \$45 for repairing an old mass book if he did not know that writing a new one would cost many times as much.

Such documents as the catalogue of the New College Library²² give us a good idea of how fourteenth century librarians valued their books. One of the Bibles was marked 53 s. 4 d. (\$215). A versified Bible was worth only 5 s. (\$20), while a single book of the Bible glossed might be worth as much as 23 s. (\$92). Abbot Litlington's Missal was valued at 34 l. 14 s. 7 d. (\$2800). Breviaries might be had from 10 s. to 10 l.²³ Psalters brought from 3 s. to 26 s. 8 d. (glossed). A book of Alcuin's *Lectura* was priced at 10 s. Gregory's *Homilies* were worth 13 s. 4 d. "A book called Augustine of the city of God" was marked 53 s. 4 d.; Augustine's *Sermons* were 26 s. 8 d., his work on the *True Life*, 12 d. Notyng- ham on the Gospels brought 6 l. 13 s. 4 d. (\$535) and the letters of Sidonius only 12 d. (\$4).

The faculty of philosophy offered Albert, *on vegetables and*

²⁰ Cambridge Antiquarian Society (N. S.), III, p. 401. Quoted, *Sav.*, p. 249.

²¹ *Archaeologia*, LVII, 208-9; *Sav.*, 250.

²² Oxford Historical Society, XXXII, *Collectanea III*, pp. 213-44. The marked values were the sums which "every one taking one of the books on loan shall, if he lose it, be bound to pay to the chest, and with the sum so received another book shall be provided of like binding and shape, as soon as possible" (*Ibid.*, p. 218). But the best books were not lent; therefore, the prices are, in general, rather high valuations of second best books.

²³ Camden Society, *Bury Wills*, I; *Sav.*, p. 244; Surtees Society, XLV, 110.

plants for 53 s. 4 d., *on meteors*, for 26 s. 8 d. Cicero's *Rhetoric* was valued at 5 s. and Boethius' *Arithmetic* at 4 s. A text of philosophy might be lost for 16 s. and a text of metaphysics for 10. Aristotle's *de Anima* was valued at only 6 d. (\$2).

A text of the *Decretals*, according to the faculty of canon law, was worth 100 s., although a similar text for poor students was marked 10 s. The faculty of civil law marked a small volume of the *Institutes* at 40 s., and a tattered copy of the same at 2 s.

The average valuation of the books in the New College catalogue is between 10 s. and 15 s. (\$40 and \$60). In general, sale prices were lower. Three books sold in open market in 1395 brought, respectively, 3 s. 4 d., 6 s. 8 d., and 6 s.²⁴ "Eleven quires of Bacon's Mathematics" brought 5 s. 6 d. in 1357.²⁵ On the other hand, the "Problems of Aristotle for Exeter College" sold for 4 l., a volume of Boethius brought 3 l. 6 s. 8 d., and in 1400 John de Meun's *Roman de la Rose* was sold before the palace gate at Paris for the impressive sum of 33 l. 6 s. 6 d. (\$2650).²⁶

Fourteenth-century pawn prices confirm these valuations. Two Bibles which had been pawned in Langeton and Chichester chests were redeemed for 3 l. each. A silver cup in Galdeford chest was redeemed for 1 l. 9 s. A missal pledged in Burnel chest was bought back for 8 s. 4 d. And in 1374 one paid "to our Barber for a Bible which was pledged to him in the time of John Dagenet, 2 l. 13 s. 4 d."²⁷

These valuations may be summarized under three heads. In the first place, books were relatively much more costly in the fourteenth century than they are in the twentieth. Scarcely any book could be bought for less than 1 s. (\$4); few good books could be purchased for less than 10 s. (\$40). A standard work on theology, natural science or law cost 2 or 3 l. (\$150 to \$250). A beautiful book might cost upwards of 30 l. (\$2400). It cost \$250 to give a primer to the Lady Queen of Castile and "our barber" accepted a Bible as security for \$215. Exeter College paid 3 s. 4 d., the cost of a very insignificant book, "for straw and for covering the library" in 1375, and when the college built a new library, eight

²⁴ Surtees Society, XLV, 6; *Sav.*, p. 249.

²⁵ Rogers, *op. cit.*, *vid.* pp. 569, 573, 574.

²⁶ Warton, *op. cit.*, I, 187.

²⁷ *Supra*, note 15.

years later, the building cost less than 58 l., including "drink of the smiths" and "cheese for labourers." A very few books would have been worth more than the building.

In the second place, there was a variation in the value of books which is quite without a parallel in our time. Within five years of each other, books might be sold at such divergent prices as 3 s. 4 d. and 33 l. 6 s. 6 d. In 1314, two books of romance might bring only 3 d., but in 1400 a romance might be sold before the palace gate in Paris for 33 l. This is in the tremendous ratio of 1:5000, the ratio of a dime novel to a \$500 volume. Machine production has made our prices more uniform.

In the third place, fourteenth-century books occupied a position in the social and economic systems far different from that they hold today. In the fourteenth century a book was a treasure, capable of being pawned, often as valuable as a country estate. A man who had a book in 1390 was more distinguished than a man who owns an automobile today. There were fewer books in all England in 1390 than there are in many single libraries today. Because there were so few books, they were used differently. They were read more carefully and their content was passed on by word of mouth. A vast majority of the volumes were lodged in the libraries of monasteries and of the poor but growing universities, and to these centres men flocked to hear the words of wisdom fall from the lips of the doctors who had access to a few volumes of Aristotle!

Chaucer told us that he had sixty books. That represents a fortune of at least \$5,000 in our money. Chaucer's library was as valuable as the average collection of 5,000 volumes today, and, considering the scarcity of books, as large as the very largest private collection today. Five thousand dollars was a great deal of money for Geoffrey Chaucer, keeper of the king's customs, to spend for books. At the height of his affluence he could command an annual income of about that much, but he was a public man and there were heavy demands upon his funds. How many government employees today have libraries equal in value to their largest year's salaries? The facts point to one of two possibilities: either Chaucer spent an unprecedented part of his budget for books, or else he secured a substantial portion of his library by gift or loan from such good friends as John of Gaunt.

Then there was the clerk of Oxenford, that inveterate lover of books—

For hym was levere have at his beddes heed
 Twenty bookes clad in blak or reed
 Of Aristotle and his philosophie
 Than robes riche, or fithele, or sautrie.

Philosophical books were not especially inexpensive. The average of the Aristotle volumes listed in our catalogues is about 2 l. At that rate twenty volumes would be worth about \$3,200. The clerk was a poor man—"hadde he but litel gold in cofre." His annual income was probably not more than \$50. Yet he hoped for \$3,000 worth of books. Nor were his economics so far at fault: twenty books might be worth more than several "robes riche" and a whole orchestra of "fithele, or sautrie."

There was also the Wife of Bath who rent a leaf from her husband's book because she did not like the stories he read from it. It was his favorite book,

At whiche book he lough alwey ful feste.

This was one of the large omnibus volumes so popular in that time. It contained "Valerie and Theofraste," Jerome, Tertullian, Crispinus, Trotula, the love letters of Heloise, the parables of Solomon, Chaucer's own favorite Ovid,

And alle thise were bounden in o volume.

This was no cheap volume. It is inconceivable that it cost less than 1 l.; it may easily have cost 10 l. When the Wife of Bath seized the book she was probably handling a \$500 treasure. Was it surprising that the meek clerk, her husband, rose up like a lion? The good wife won a complete victory at last. Although she lost, like Edison, the use of one ear, she saw a \$500 book, perhaps the only book her husband owned, consigned to the flames, and the property was returned to her name. The Wife of Bath could well afford to be able to say:

After that day, we hadden never debaat.

WILBUR LANG SCHRAMM

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HARRY BAILEY'S "CORPUS MADRIAN"

No other member of the Canterbury group swears so often or so grotesquely as does the jolly Host of Tabard Inn. To what extent this inclination is due to his environment, to the attitude of his age toward swearing or to his own tendency toward display and bombast, it is difficult to say. At any rate, Chaucer has individualized his Host by his oaths and imprecations.

No more striking illustration of this appears than Harry Bailey's "by that precious corpus Madrian."¹ This name has long puzzled scholars for no St. Madrian is known. Professor Manly suggests St. Materne and St. Mathurin as possibilities, but seems dissatisfied with each conjecture.² There was a St. Madian, an early Breton saint, a St. Madron, a sixth-century Cornish saint, and a St. Madryn, a sixth-century English abbess, granddaughter of Vortigern,³ whose names bear a closer resemblance to Madrian than either Materne or Mathurin. But no one of the five was a prominent saint, and each occupies but an obscure place in the early legends. As a matter of fact, it is quite possible that the Host's Madrian is no saint at all.

Let us consider first some of the Host's characteristic expressions. Alert, eager to make his presence felt, Harry Bailey, even though he realized his inferiority to many in this group, chimed in whenever he could with what seemed to him pertinent. For instance,

Wel kan Senec and many a philospre
Biwaillen tyme moore than gold in cofre,⁴
But Salomon seith everythyng hath tyme;
For Goddes sake, as beth of bettre cheere!⁵

He not only tried to keep up his reputation as toastmaster by putting his scant knowledge to timely use, but he even played the part of critical listener to what he admitted he did not always understand.

¹ Headlink to the *Monkes Tale*, l. 3082 (Manly, *Cant. Tales.*, p. 439).

² *Ibid.*, p. 635.

³ *Biographical Dictionary of Saints* (F. G. Holweck Ed.), Herder, London, 1924, pp. 636, 637.

⁴ Headlink to the *Mannes Tale of Lawe*, ll. 25, 26.

⁵ *Prologue to the Clerkes Tale*, ll. 6, 7.

This Monk he clappeth lowde,
He spak how Fortune "covered with a clowde" . . .
I noot nevere what.⁶

Yet he was conscious, too, of his importance among the pilgrims.

And wel I woot the substance is in me,
If any thyng shal wel reported be.⁷

It would seem that the Host was better informed on the contemporary jargon and latest oaths of his day than on scholarly subjects. When the Parson rebukes him for his profanity, he answers:

I smelle a loller in the wind.⁸

Whether or not "loller" actually refers to a Lollard, it was a popular expression in the fourteenth century for one who pretended great piety, combined with a tendency to more or less heretical views.⁹ The aptness of the Host's remark is obvious. Such expressions, too, as "by nayles and by blood,"¹⁰ and "for goddes digne passioun,"¹¹ illustrate the uniqueness of his oaths. Once he even attempted one in Latin, "by *corpus dominus*."¹²

As for the Madrian, Harry Bailey as proprietor of a well-known inn must have come in contact with some of the foreigners who found their way to London or its environs. Doubtless he would pick up a smattering of the languages represented by his guests. At least it is not too much to suppose that in a day when the cult of the Virgin Mary had so recently passed, and when swearing was so universal, the name of Mary must have been heard in various tongues in this public gathering place. We know that unusual expressions invoking her as God's Holy Mother were common ones in the Middle Ages.¹³ Perhaps at some time or another, Harry Bailey had heard an Italian visitor address the Holy Mother in his own tongue as "Madre." It is not at all unlikely that since there was an Italian quarter in London near

⁶ *Prologue to the Nonnes Preestes Tale*, ll. 3971-3973.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ll. 3993-3994.

⁸ *Prologue to the Shipmannes Tale*, l. 1173 (Skeat Ed.).

⁹ *NED*.

¹⁰ *Endlink to the Phisiciens Tale*, l. 288.

¹¹ *Prologue to the Shipmannes Tale*, l. 1175 (Skeat Ed.).

¹² *Headlink to the Prioresses Tale*, l. 1625.

¹³ A. E. H. Swaen, "Figures of Imprecation," *Englische Studien*, xxiv, (1897-1898), 204-208.

the Tower,¹⁴ and since to the east of Billingsgate there was a market and a dock where the Genoese galleys brought merchandise and news from Italy,¹⁵ Italians found their way to the Tabard Inn. If so, here perhaps was a new-fangled word for the Host which we may surmise he took great delight in adding to his store of unusual expressions. Might not this "precious corpus Madrian," then, be his own "stylish" way of saying "by the precious body of the Holy Mother?" His case ending is a bit anglicized, possibly, but even this is in his characteristic vein. If this conjecture is correct, it reveals Chaucer's skill in characterization far more than an oath invoking a minor British saint could ever do. It is interesting also to speculate upon the inquiries of Chaucer's audience at this new and strange oath from a character whose genial humor and blustering officiousness must have amused them not a little.

DOROTHY MACBRIDE NORRIS

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THE GRETE EMETREUS THE KING OF INDE

In my *Notes on Chaucer* many years ago I remarked of Emetreus: "This name is derived from Demetrius the son of Euthydemus, a Greco-Bactrian prince. . . . He appears to have ruled over a large part of India . . . and was known as 'King of the Indians.'"

Lately I have discovered that this conjecture was long ago anticipated by Major-General A. Cunningham, in an article entitled *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*. In *The Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. ix, New Series (1869), pp. 140-153, he gives the fullest account of this Demetrius that I know of, an essay that certainly deserves the attention of every student of the sources of the *Knight's Tale*. I will quote the following:

"The romantic career of Demetrius, who shared with Menander the glory of having extended the Grecian empire in the East, would seem to have attracted the eager notice of his countrymen in the West. His royal bearing as a youth had won the regard of Antiochus, and his exploits as a man had pushed the Greek dominion in

¹⁴ Besant, *Medieval London*, I, 209.

¹⁵ John Manly, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

the East beyond the conquests of Alexander. To him was due the glory of having carried the Greek arms across the mountains of Imaus on the north, and beyond the mouths of the Indus on the south. His dominions embraced the fairest and the richest portion of the ancient Persian empire; and the vanity of his countrymen was flattered by hearing that the gods of Greece were worshipped on the Indian Caucasus, and that distant nations beyond the Sogdians and Indians had yielded to the happy influence of Hellenic genius. The exploits of Demetrius were no doubt related in the Parthian history of Apollodorus of Artamita. But of this work we have only a single passage preserved by Strabo. . . . It seems probable, however, that the story of Demetrius must have been preserved in some other ancient work down to a very late period, as Chaucer gives a description of

‘The great Emetrius, the King of Ind,’

in the ‘*Knight’s Tale*.’ . . . The part of the poem which I suppose to refer to the son of Euthydemus is the description of the king’s personal appearance. . . . The fair complexion, as well as the Greek name of the king of India, shows that the poet intends to describe a European, and not a native of the East.¹ His youth and royal bearing tally exactly with the account of Polybius; and his aquiline nose is seen on all the coins of the King of Bactria. This curious and interesting coincidence is so close and precise that it can scarcely be accidental; and I feel a strong inclination to identify the great Emetrius of Chaucer with the son of Euthydemus of Bactria.”²

This conclusion, by the way, is accepted by *The Cambridge History of India*. The name *Emetreus* or *Demetrius* does not occur in Boccaccio’s *Teseide*, where *Peleo* takes its place, as I pointed out in my *Notes*.³

HENRY BARRETT HINCKLEY

New Haven, Conn.

¹ I doubt whether this was Chaucer’s intention. He simply didn’t know anything about Hindu names or complexions.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 150-152.

³ May I inform the public that my *Notes on Chaucer* is now the property of the Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. A. Every year I am incommoded by orders which should be addressed to the present proprietor.

JOHNSON'S UNDERSTANDING OF CHAUCER'S METRICS

Johnson's low opinion of Chaucer has long been notorious. The tale of Chauntecleer struck him as being hardly worth revival, the Knight's story was a flagrant violation of decorum,¹ and the *House of Fame* was unquestionably inferior to Pope's modernization of it.² Gower, rather than Chaucer, he called the father of our poetry; the utmost praise he would allow was that Chaucer seemed "happy and judicious" in the "mixture of different numbers".³ Yet it appears that he was deeply interested in the old poet, for he had listed among his projected publications:

Chaucer, a new edition of him, from manuscripts and old editions, with various readings, conjectures, remarks on his language, and the changes it had undergone from the earliest times to his age, and from his to the present. With notes explanatory of customs, &c. and references to Boccace and other authors from whom he has borrowed, with an account of the liberties he has taken in telling the stories, his life, and an exact etymological glossary.⁴

The edition, of course, never appeared, but this interest in Chaucer's language leads us to inquire whether Johnson had discovered for himself the pronunciation of fourteenth-century English, the value of the final "e", and the melody of Chaucer's verse.

In the forepart of the Dictionary, tracing the history of the language, Johnson quoted several passages from the Chaucerian poems and thus enjoyed an opportunity to show his knowledge of the poet's text and his verse. In the poetical selections several final "e"s are marked with an accent when they occur within the verse, but not when they occur at the end.⁵ Other peculiarities of the text, such as the infinitive ending in "—in" and the past

¹ *Lives*, ed. G. B. Hill, I, 454.

² *Ibid.*, III, 225-26.

³ "History of the Language," prefixed to the Dictionary.

⁴ Hawkins' *Life of Johnson* (Dublin, 1787), 74.

⁵ These inconsistencies were pointed out to me by Professor R. D. Havens, who observed that they were probably derived from a seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century text. To this observation I am indebted for the idea of the problem here considered.

participle in "—id", suggest Urry, and a comparison of the first edition of the Dictionary and the 1721 edition of Urry's Chaucer reveals that Johnson followed Urry in every detail, except that he spelt with a smaller letter several nouns and pronouns capitalized by Urry, changed *buxomnesse* to *buxomenesse* in one instance, changed *hir* to *her* in one instance, dropped Urry's italics, dropped the final "e" of *beste* in one instance, and placed a comma at the end of one line where it obviously belonged (all of which are changes that might have been made by the printer or by one of Johnson's assistants). Urry's edition, according to Tyrwhitt, was "by far the worst that was ever published", but Johnson was apparently satisfied with it. Probably he had never been interested enough to look into the manuscripts or into any other editions. The fact is that, as his introductory remarks and his statement of the projected edition show, he was interested in Chaucer for his vocabulary rather than for his art of poetry, so that even a poor text of the poems served his purpose.

Although Tyrwhitt's edition appeared several years before his death, Johnson made no revision of text in his selections.⁶ To be sure, he had no great liking for the work of revision, and it is improbable that he would have considered the illustrations of his history of the language important enough to revise anyhow. But the depreciatory remarks concerning the poet which occur in the *Lives* (1778-81) indicate surely that he never advanced beyond the crude understanding of Chaucer that was offered in a very faulty early eighteenth-century edition.

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⁶ In the 1785 edition of the Dictionary *herkin* appears as *herken* in one instance, but other words in "—in" are left as they were. The final "e" is dropped from two words; *ne*, *ther*, and *wer* are each printed incorrectly once, as *he*, *their*, and *wee*; the pronoun *thy* is omitted from a line; and a few marks of punctuation are left out. These changes are all apparently due not to revision but to haste and carelessness in the compositor.

VOLTAIRE'S *MAHOMET* AS A SOURCE OF LESSING'S
NATHAN DER WEISE AND *EMILIA GALOTTI*

That Voltaire's *Le fanatisme ou Mahomet le prophète* was very probably one of the sources of Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* has been rather briefly indicated by various critics.¹ There are certain general parallels that are apparent. Both authors embody in dramatic form an enlightened treatise against bigotry and intolerance; in both plays the setting is oriental, the plot is based on a religious war, and the action takes place during a truce. Furthermore, it has been observed that, like Palmire and Séide in Voltaire's play, Recha and the Templar, the lovers in *Nathan*, eventually learn they are brother and sister.² There are, in addition, other analogies which, as far as I know, have not yet been noted.

Eighteen years before the immediate action of Lessing's play, Nathan's wife and children suffered violent death as victims of religious fanaticism and persecution. At a period almost equally prior to the action in Voltaire's drama—fifteen years—Zopire was informed that the same cruel fate had befallen his whole family—wife, children, and brother.³ And though these anterior elements of the plot, one of them an actual happening and the other one actual in part and believed to be actual as a whole,⁴ have a very dissimilar bearing on the action in the dramas and on the character of the two fathers, the catastrophes in themselves are practically identical, and in each case their import is highly significant.

¹ Cf., in particular, Erich Schmidt, *Lessing*, 4th ed., II, 329 and Wilhelm Dilthey, *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, 5th ed., p. 129.

² The relationship of the lovers in Voltaire's drama is known to both Mahomet and Hercide and is revealed by the former to Omar and to the audience as early as the fourth scene of the second act. In *Nathan* the relationship is not established and announced until the dénouement. In Voltaire's *Zaire*, Nérestan and Zaire likewise prove to be brother and sister. The plot of *Les Guèbres ou la tolérance* reverses the situation; Arzémon and Arzame, who believe they are the children of the elder Arzémon, later discover they are not of the same parentage.

³ Cf. *Nathan*, act IV, scene 7, and *Mahomet*, act I, scene 1.

⁴ As a matter of fact, Zopire's son and daughter, their identity unknown to their father, are still living, yet they are, nevertheless, irrevocably lost to him until a few minutes before his death, and up to this time his feeling and action, no less than Nathan's, are governed by the impression that his children have been killed.

Lessing's Patriarch has many traits in common with Voltaire's Prophet. Both are ruthless fanatics, both are political schemers and opportunists,⁵ both are worldly and sensual. These traits are, to be sure, very general—Lessing might well have taken them all from the historical figure on whom he modelled his character—but they at least could form the plausible basis for the borrowing of a much more specific aspect which coincides in both plays. For the proposal that the Patriarch makes to the Templar through the *Klosterbruder* is the same that Mahomet makes to Séide—namely, the murder of a protector and benefactor,⁶ and in each case the same argument is presented as a means of persuasion: religious zeal in its righteousness condones all. With regard to the injunction he is giving Séide, Mahomet fanatically proclaims that the instruction of God as manifest through one of His representatives is neither to be examined nor questioned by mere human reason:

Enfant d'un dieu qui parle à votre cœur,
Écoutez par ma voix sa volonté suprême:
Il faut venger son culte, il faut venger Dieu même.

⁵ The following words of the *Klosterbruder* with regard to the Patriarch apply no less pertinently to Mahomet:

Ich hab' mich oft gewundert,
Wie doch ein Heiliger, der sonst so ganz
Im Himmel lebt, zugleich so unterrichtet
Von Dingen dieser Welt zu seyn herab
Sich lassen kann. (Act I, scene 5)

⁶ The life of the Templar, a captive, has actually been spared by Saladin. Zopire undertakes to save the life of Séide, a hostage, by offering his own home as a refuge:

Souffre que ma maison soit ton asile unique.
Viens, le sang va couler; je veux sauver le tien.

(Act III, scene 7)

The two proposals, it should be noted, are received in a very different spirit. The Templar staunchly refuses; Séide at first zealously acquiesces although the mission is painful to him, then wishes to abjure his vow, but finally is persuaded to commit the crime. Incidentally, the passage in which the dying Zopire magnanimously forgives his assassin was based on a scene of Lillo's *London Merchant* which Lessing singled out and commended in his early correspondence with Mendelssohn. Cf. letter of Dec. 18, 1756.

Téméraire,

On devient sacrilège alors qu'on délibère.
Loin de moi les mortels assez audacieux
Pour juger par eux-mêmes, et pour voir par leurs yeux!
Quiconque ose penser n'est pas né pour me croire.
Obéir en silence est votre seule gloire. (Act III, scene 6)

Apropos of a hypothetical word of "counsel" which he may express, the Patriarch makes a similar announcement to the Templar:

Zum Beyspiel: wenn ein Gott
Durch einen seiner Engel,—ist zu sagen,
Durch einen Diener seines Worts,—ein Mittel
Bekannt zu machen würdiget, das Wohl
Der ganzen Christenheit, das Heil der Kirche,
Auf irgend eine ganz besondre Weise
Zu fördern, zu befestigen: wer darf
Sich da noch unterstehn, die Willkühr dess,
Der die Vernunft erschaffen, nach Vernunft
Zu untersuchen? (Act IV, scene 2)

A minor parallel may finally be pointed out. As Zopire tries to convince Palmire that she should not go back to Mahomet, who has for her, as she confesses, "tenu lieu de père," and to his camp, which Zopire considers unfit for her, she replies:

La patrie est aux lieux où l'âme est enchaînée. (Act. I, scene 2)

Likewise, when Daja attempts to persuade Recha that the latter should welcome the prospects of leaving Nathan, her foster-father, and returning to the people who are worthy of her and for whom she has been "born", Recha answers:

Und wie weiss
Man denn, für welchen Erdkloss man geboren,
Wenn mans für den nicht ist, auf welchem man
Geboren? (Act III, scene 1)

Although *Mahomet* has not been cited as a source of *Emilia Galotti*, it seems to me that Lessing's indebtedness in the latter play is no less probable than in the case of *Nathan*, and that it may be considered even greater.

Voltaire's drama combines a political-religious plot and a love plot. The latter may be briefly outlined as follows. Mahomet, the tyrant, is fascinated by Palmire, a slave, and desperately wishes to

possess her.⁷ Palmire, however, is in love with Séide; the attachment is mutual; and the two lovers are to be married. In order that the path may be cleared for the fulfilment of the tyrant's desire, his confidant⁸ surreptitiously murders the successful suitor,⁹ and the girl is brought to Mahomet. Seemingly in his power, she thwarts his designs by stabbing herself and, dying, evokes Divine justice which transcends the tyranny of this world:

Je me flatte, en mourant, qu'un Dieu plus équitable
Réserve un avenir pour les cœurs innocents.
Tu dois régner; le monde est fait pour les tyrans.¹⁰

The analogies between this plot and the action of *Emilia Galotti* are obvious. It is no less obvious, it is true, that most of the factors that Lessing's drama has in common with Voltaire's derived directly from the Virginia legend, which was Lessing's primary source. But there remains, none the less, one very important aspect which coincides both in *Mahomet* and *Emilia Galotti* and which is found neither in the various forms of the Virginia story which Lessing apparently used nor in any of the other sources¹¹ that have been attributed to *Emilia*—that is, the secret killing of the husband-to-be in order to give free reign to the passion and schemes of the tyrant. This is one of the essential elements in Lessing's play—in fact, a major portion of the plot hinges on it—and for this element Lessing may well have been indebted to Voltaire's drama.

⁷ In the first acts Palmire considers Mahomet her master and guardian. It is not until late in the play that she recognizes his true nature.

⁸ Mahomet himself orders the murder of Séide. In *Emilia Galotti*, Hettore simply gives Marinelli "freye Hand" to prevent the marriage of Appiani.

⁹ Although Mahomet knows that Séide and Palmire are brother and sister, he cannot enlighten them as to this relationship without revealing that Zopire, his sworn enemy, is their father, and this revelation would ruin his own plans. Hence, he must continue to regard Séide as a favored rival and must dispose of him as such.

¹⁰ The same contrast of worldly injustice and a future reckoning is made by Odoardo in his last speech: "Hier liegt er, der blutige Zeuge meines Verbrechens! Ich gehe und liefere mich selbst in das Gefängniss. Ich gehe, und erwarte Sie, als Richter.—Und dann dort—erwarte ich Sie vor dem Richter unser aller!"

¹¹ These sources have been analyzed in considerable detail by Erich Schmidt, *op. cit.*, II, 4 ff.

We may go further and permit ourselves a plausible conjecture. While officially reviewing the plays of the Hamburg *National-theater*, Lessing, after a lapse of ten years, again turned to his dramatic project of an *Emilia Galotti* tragedy and at that time completed a stage version of the play. Now, *Mahomet* was produced by the Hamburg troupe Nov. 23, 1767, was repeated Dec. 4, and two additional performances were presented in June and July of the following year.¹² It is more than likely that Lessing saw at least one of these productions, and it is not improbable that the actual witnessing of Voltaire's drama was the immediate cause of the revival, after years of neglect, of Lessing's interest in his own incompleted play.

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FLAUBERT AND HENRY MONNIER: A STUDY OF THE *BOURGEOIS*

One of Flaubert's most remarkable works is the *Dictionnaire des idées reçues*, discovered among the documents and notes concerning *Bouvard et Pécuchet*. It is what might be called a pocket manual of human stupidity, a classification of the opinions and judgments which formed the intellectual stock in trade of the *bourgeois* during the middle years of the nineteenth century. Such a record has considerable historical interest, if Flaubert's analysis of the *bêtise humaine* of his time is not colored by his hatred of it. I have tried to estimate how accurate his observations are, and whether the *Dictionnaire* should be considered caricature or realism.

Among the romantics who hated the *bourgeois*, who studied with fascinated horror his mind, manners, and morals, who sought to avenge themselves on him by painting his portrait for the amusement of his contemporaries, there seems to be no one more closely akin to Flaubert than Henry Monnier, creator of that immortal *bourgeois*, Joseph Prudhomme. Typical even to his clothes of the self-righteous, narrow-minded middle class, Prudhomme might well represent all that Flaubert despised, and the truisms and clichés with which his sayings abound are the *idées reçues* of the

¹² Cf. *Lessings Samtliche Schriften*, ed. Lachmann-Munckner, xv, 54-56.

years when Flaubert was collecting the notes which he organized later into the *Dictionnaire*.¹

As biographer *par excellence* of the *bourgeois*, and undisputed authority on his character and habits, Monnier offers furthermore a unique means of checking Flaubert's realism. With the *Dictionnaire* as a starting point, it is possible to compare Flaubert's catalogue of *idées reçues* with those set forth by Monnier, not only in the *Mémoires de Monsieur Joseph Prudhomme*² but also in some of his less well-known works, such as *Les Bourgeois de Paris*,³ *Scènes de la vie bureaucratique*,⁴ and *Le Bourgeois*,⁵ the last being one of the *physiologies* so popular in the 1830's. It is interesting to note that Flaubert was so strongly attracted to that curious *genre* that as a mere boy he imitated it in the *Leçon d'histoire naturelle*, which may perhaps be considered a precursor of the *Dictionnaire*.

Such a study reveals numerous resemblances, not only in thought, but often even in phraseology. There is, for instance, the famous dictum concerning Napoleon's divorce. The *Dictionnaire* gives: "DIVORCE. Si Napoléon n'avait pas divorcé, il serait encore sur le trône,"⁶ an opinion which Joseph Prudhomme has already expressed: "Depuis le jour où Napoléon commit l'irréparable faute de divorcer avec Joséphine, je prévis la chute de l'Empire."⁷

¹ Flaubert wrote to Louis Bouilhet about the *Dictionnaire* in 1850, *Correspondance* II, 237. For other early allusions to it, cf. *Corr.* II, 256; III, 66, 105, 139, 175, 295, 337. All my references are to the Conard edition of the *Oeuvres complètes*. Cf. also Maxime DuCamp, *Souvenirs littéraires*, Paris, 1892, I, 169: "A ce moment Gustave songeait à deux oeuvres qu'il voulait faire . . . L'une . . . a fini par se cristalliser dans *Salammô*; l'autre était le *Dictionnaire des idées reçues*, qui eût été le groupement méthodique des lieux communs, des phrases toutes faites, des *prudhomismes* dont il riait et s'irritait à la fois; le personnage de Homais dans *Madame Bovary*, le roman *Bouvard et Pécuchet*, sont une réminiscence lointaine de ce projet de la vingtième année."

² Paris, 1857, 2 vols.

³ Paris, 1854.

⁴ In *Scènes populaires*, Paris, 1864, pp. 375 ff.

⁵ In *Les Physiologies parisiennes, Bibliothèque pour rire*. Paris, [1841].

⁶ The text of the *Dictionnaire des idées reçues* is published in the volume of the *Oeuvres complètes* which contains *Bouvard et Pécuchet*, pp. 415-444. As Flaubert's classification is roughly alphabetical, I shall not give more detailed references.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, I, 272.

The *bourgeois*' idea of the life of an *émigré* is summed up in the *Dictionnaire*: "ÉMIGRÉS. Gagnaient leur vie à donner des leçons de guitare et à faire la salade," an idea that Flaubert might have derived from Prudhomme's *Mémoires*: "Valère est en exil, Dorante donne des leçons de menuet aux Russes, Damis enseigne aux Anglais l'art d'assaisonner la salade. . . . Triste vie, d'ailleurs, que celle de l'émigré."⁸ Prudhomme's flowery phrase: "Le luxe, ce vers rongeur des empires, n'avait point encore envahi la société,"⁹ appears tersely in the *Dictionnaire*: "LUXE. Perd les états." Flaubert's own experiences while traveling in Italy with his family seem to have contributed to his observation concerning that country: "ITALIE. Donne bien des déceptions, n'est pas si belle qu'on dit." Prudhomme proves that to be true when, like all good *bourgeois*, he takes his wife to Italy on their honeymoon:

Mon ami, me dit-elle, l'Italie est sans doute un fort beau pays, mais ne trouvez-vous pas que nous en avons assez? La cuisine au fromage nuit décidément à ma santé; ce soleil perpétuel me fait mal aux yeux.¹⁰

It is on this same trip that Madame Prudhomme's fidelity is first put to the test:

Il y avait un piano dans la salle, le commis voyageur se mit à chanter des romances en regardant ma femme. Il me sembla qu'elle lui rendait à la dérobée regard pour regard. L'affreuse jalousie me mordit au coeur.¹¹

There is a situation which the jealous husband should have foreseen. Says the *Dictionnaire*: "ROMANCES. Le chanteur de—plaît aux dames."

Further comparison brings to light many more *idées reçues* which both Flaubert and Monnier considered characteristic of their common enemy, and which combine to form the portrait of the *bourgeois*. According to both observers, he has certain fixed opinions concerning literature and the other arts. He is much more anxious to be able to say that he knows an author or actor personally than to read his books or see him play, but his effort to win the great man's friendship is inspired either by self-interest, the hope of an invitation to dinner or of free seats at the theatre, or by envy, which finds satisfaction in revealing spitefully the most intimate habits of his so-called friend. All actresses are a menace

⁸ *Op. cit.*, I, 238.

⁹ *Op. cit.* I, 279.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, II, 27.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, II, 81.

to the *bourgeois* sons; all artists are *farceurs*.¹² But the genuine critic inspires tremendous respect, being in a position of authority and therefore to be looked up to. For the *bourgeois*' fundamental conviction is that all society is based on respect for authority, whether it be the ministers who govern or the *garde municipale*, representative of law and order.

Flaubert's *bourgeois* shares various other opinions with Prudhomme. He agrees with the writing-master that good penmanship is the first essential of success.¹³ They are both fond of dogs, whose loyalty is a lesson to mankind. They are both afraid of draughts. They both disagree violently with the newspapers, which nevertheless they read faithfully.¹⁴ In their conversation, politics and religion are banned, and the one topic of neverfailing interest is the weather, which is always frightful. And they both feel that there is something immoral in being out after midnight.

The *Leçon d'histoire naturelle*, which I have mentioned as a possible forerunner of the *Dictionnaire*, presents such close parallels with Monnier, especially with the *Scènes de la vie bureaucratique*, that it merits a moment's attention. It is an analysis of the nature and habits of the Clerk, beginning with his costume:

Pour l'hiver c'est un pantalon bleu avec une énorme redingote qui le préserve du froid. La redingote est l'élément du Commis comme l'eau est celui des poissons.¹⁵

Monnier's clerks dress in the same way: "(Chef de bureau) Grande redingote grise, cravate blanche, gilet noir . . . (Expéditionnaire) Redingote tête-de-nègre, col noir, gilet de couleur, pantalon bleu. . ."¹⁶ And like the *Commis*, they all bring their lunch in their

¹² Cf. *Dict.*: "ARTISTES. Tous farceurs . . ." *Joseph Prudhomme* I, 162: (Reception of a new pupil in the studio): "3e Rapin, s'approchant du nouveau. 'Faites pas attention, c'est tous des farceurs.'"

¹³ Cf. *Dict.*: "ÉCRITURE. Une belle écriture mène à tout." *Le Bourgeois*, p. 315: "Le Bourgeois, assez ordinairement, possède une belle main, grâce à monsieur son père, qui, dès sa plus tendre enfance, lui a constamment corné aux oreilles qu'avec une belle main on arrivait à tout."

¹⁴ Cf. *Dict.*: "JOURNAUX. Ne pouvoir s'en passer.—Mais tonner contre." *Le Bourgeois*, p. 317: "lit tous les journaux, ce qui ne l'empêche pas de vouer au journalisme une haine implacable, sans trop savoir pourquoi."

¹⁵ In *Œuvres de jeunesse inédites*, I, 199-200. First published in *Le Colibri*, Mar. 30, 1837.

¹⁶ *Scènes de la vie bureaucratique*, pp. 377, 386.

pockets. They are cold-blooded creatures. In the office they spend their time putting wood into the stove, and their favorite seat is before its glowing heat. They have certain turns of speech that are characteristic of their species. According to Flaubert, when the Clerk is angry at having lost a game of dominos: "Alors il rentre chez lui, casse deux assiettes, n'appelle plus sa femme *mon épouse*." ¹⁷ Monnier's observation confirms Flaubert's:

—C'était un dîner sans cérémonie; mon épouse n'y était même pas.

—*Votre femme*, s'il vous plaît, il n'y a que les ouvriers qui se servent de ce terme d'épouse pour désigner leurs femmes.

—Depuis bientôt quarante-huit ans que je suis au monde, je n'ai jamais dit autrement, et je ne m'en suis pas mal trouvé.¹⁸

The personage of Homais, in *Madame Bovary*, is generally accepted as Flaubert's supreme incarnation of the *bourgeois*. His famous discourse on religion is too well-known for me to cite it, but here are Joseph Prudhomme's ideas on the same subject:

Certes je ne suis point l'ennemi du culte catholique, j'ai toujours pensé et je pense encore qu'une religion est indispensable aux masses; mais l'homme éclairé trouve un aliment suffisant dans la sublime philosophie de Socrate, de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, de Platon et de monsieur de Voltaire. C'est en face de la nature que j'aime à adresser mes vœux au souverain Architecte de l'univers.¹⁹

The remarkable similarity of thought in that passage, as well as in many others, leads to the question whether Flaubert used Monnier as a source for material concerning the *bourgeois*. The *Correspondance* might offer an answer to that question. So far as I have been able to discover, however, it contains only two letters in which Monnier is named. The first is interesting because it indicates that the two men probably knew each other personally: "Le Théo ne donne pas de ses nouvelles, la Présidente est toujours charmante, et tous les dimanches chez elle, je rivalise de stupidité avec Henri Monnier." ²⁰ The second letter was addressed to

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 203.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 424-5.

¹⁹ *Joseph Prudhomme* I, 195. Cf. *Madame Bovary*, p. 106. Flaubert's conception of Homais might have been influenced by the earlier portraits of Prudhomme, whose character Monnier sketched in 1830, in the *Scènes populaires*, and repeatedly during the years that followed. Cf. *la Famille improvisée*, 1831; *le Courrier de la malle*, 1832; *Grandeur et décadence de Monsieur Joseph Prudhomme*, 1853; *Bourgeois de Paris*, 1854, etc.

²⁰ To Baudelaire, 1860, *Corr.*, iv, 366.

Maupassant in 1876: "Comment peut-on donner dans des mots vides de sens comme celui-là: 'Naturalisme'? Pourquoi a-t-on délaissé ce bon Champfleury avec le 'Réalisme,' même ineptie? Henry Monnier n'est pas plus vrai que Racine."²¹

It is known also that Monnier wrote to Flaubert in the winter of 1857, asking his permission to produce a dramatization of *Madame Bovary* which he had prepared, and in which he wished to play the part of Homais. Flaubert refused his consent to the production. Perhaps the memory of that incident caused the slight acerbity that seems to tinge the allusions to Monnier in the letters which I have quoted.²²

So far as concerns the literary relationship between the two, the *Correspondance* gives clear evidence that Flaubert was intimately acquainted with M. Prudhomme. Not only did he scatter in his letters frequent *prudhomismes* such as this: "Êtes-vous condamnée à Villenauxe à perpétuité? 'Paris n'est-il pas assez à plaindre, belle dame?' comme dirait M. Prudhomme";²³ but he also used the name of Prudhomme to represent the typical *bourgeois*: "Etudiez-vous Prudhomme par ces temps-ci? Il est gigantesque. Il admire le *Rhin* de Musset et demande si Musset a fait autre chose."²⁴ It is interesting to note that Prudhomme appears most frequently in the letters after 1870, so that he must have been present in Flaubert's mind during the years when he was working on *Bouvard et Pécuchet* and the *Dictionnaire*. There is even one epistle which begins: "Je mets la main à la plume pour vous écrire," and continues in the most florid *prudhommesque* style, ending with the signature: "Prud'homme. N. B.—Un parafe impossible," an allusion to the famous flourish with which the writing-master was wont to sign his name.²⁵ Flaubert was evidently amusing himself by playing a rôle for which his fitness had once been suggested. After the publication of the second *Education sentimentale*, a provincial newspaper, perhaps more appropriately than

²¹ *Corr.* VII, 377.

²² Cf. *Madame Bovary*, *Notes*, p. 524; Dumesnil, *La Publication de Madame Bovary*, Paris, 1928.

²³ *Corr.* VI, 288.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 138. For other mentions of Prudhomme, cf. letters to George Sand: May, 1870, *Corr.* VI, 117; Feb., 1872, *op. cit.*, p. 353; March, 1873, *Corr.* VII, 11.

²⁵ *Corr.* VI, 417-19.

anyone suspected, called Flaubert a second Prudhomme, as though recognizing in him the successor to Henry Monnier, with the same gift of observing and recording everyday human nature.²⁶

It is impossible to prove by this study, of course, that Flaubert imitated Monnier or took from his writings material for the *Dictionnaire*. If he did, it was because he found that his own experience proved the essential truth of Monnier's observations. Such borrowing would then be a high tribute from an artist of Flaubert's integrity. If, on the other hand, Flaubert collected his *idées reçues* independently of Monnier, the resemblances which I have pointed out lead to a commentary on the value of the *Dictionnaire*. In *La Jeunesse de Flaubert*, M. Maynial has said that the *Dictionnaire* "nous renseigne avec précision sur les opinions moyennes de la bourgeoisie française entre 1850 et 1870."²⁷ What the comparison with Monnier shows is the extraordinary accuracy with which Flaubert recorded those opinions.

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THE INFLUENCE OF FLAUBERT'S TRAVELS IN THE ORIENT ON THE LAST EDITION OF *ST. ANTOINE*

Despite the fact that Bouilhet and Du Camp said of the first *Tentation de saint Antoine*, "Nous pensons qu'il faut jeter cela au feu et n'en jamais reparler,"¹ the *Tentation* occupied too important a place in Flaubert's mind for him to forget it entirely. Keyed up to the glory of the scenes of which he had written, Flaubert visited the East in 1849, and that sojourn made such a lasting and vivid impression upon him that the final version of the *Tentation* is transformed by the colorful realism of its setting.

St. Anthony's hut, mentioned in the first version as "la cabane de saint Antoine,"² is no longer an imaginary impression in the 1872 version. It now appears made of mud and reeds.³ Flaubert,

²⁶ Cf. *Corr.*, vi, 98, 99.

²⁷ Paris, 1913, pp. 290 ff.

¹ Du Camp, Maxime, *Souvenirs littéraires*, Paris, Hachette, 1892; i, 315.

² Flaubert, Gustave, *Tentation de saint Antoine*. Appendice-Versions de 1849 et de 1856. Paris, Conard, 1924; 205.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, i.

aboard the *cange*, had written to his mother describing a village "dont les maisons sont construites de roseaux et de terre."⁴ In the last version of *Saint Antoine*, the Nile seemed to form a lake at the foot of the cliff. As Flaubert followed the Nile for many days, it had presented itself in many aspects to the young traveler. More than once Flaubert noted its similarity to a lake. "Le Nil, souvent, a l'air d'un lac, on est emprisonné par des coudes, on ne sait pas de quel côté on va, et comment on pourra sortir."⁵ To Bouilhet he wrote of the immensity of the desert stretching out from the banks of the Nile, which itself was so tremendous that "on ne sait pas de quel côté est le courant, et souvent on se croit enfermé dans un grand lac."⁶ Again, noting the palms black as ink and the red sky, Flaubert added: "Le Nil a l'air d'un lac d'acier en fusion."⁷

The opening passage of *Saint Antoine* now describes the beauty of an Egyptian sunset. These words conclude the passage: "Et dans l'espace flotte une poudre d'or tellement menue qu'elle se confond avec la vibration de la lumière."⁸ Flaubert had seen such a golden light on the Nile: "C'était une incandescence qui tenait tout ce côté-là du ciel et le trempait d'une lumière d'or,"⁹ while on another occasion, he wrote: "La lumière liquide paraît pénétrer la surface des choses et entrer dedans."¹⁰ Just as Flaubert had seen the sails which seemed to transform the boats on the Nile into birds,¹¹ St. Anthony, in the 1872 version, gazed enviously at the boats on the Nile, their sails giving the appearance of wings.¹² At a little temple at Athor, a green-eyed tarantula held Flaubert's attention,¹³ while the travel-notes dealing with the night at Karnac contain this item: "Claquement de bec des tarentules."¹⁴ In the final version of the *Tentation* he writes, "La nuit est calme; des

⁴ Flaubert, Gustave, *Œuvres complètes*, "Correspondance," Paris, Conard, 1913; II, 376.

⁵ *Ibid.*, "Notes de voyage," IX, 148.

⁶ *Correspondance*, II, 382.

⁷ *Notes*, IX, 153.

⁸ *Tentation*, 2.

⁹ *Notes*, IX, 73.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, IX, 109.

¹¹ Cf. *ibid.*, IX, 109; *Correspondance*, II, 341, 365.

¹² Cf. *Tentation*, 5.

¹³ Cf. *Notes*, IX, 210.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, IX, 223.

étoiles nombreuses palpitent, on n'entend que le claquement des tarentules."¹⁵ After visiting the Orient, Flaubert introduced another detail into *Saint Antoine*, that of the tinkling of little bells on mules in the mountain.¹⁶ Although Flaubert and Du Camp rode horses through the mountainous country of Palestine, several of their servants rode mules equipped with little bells. During the night, at Tyr, Flaubert heard the mules in the courtyard: "Bruit des sonnettes des mulets."¹⁷ At their departure from Zafeth, their host warned them of the dangers of travel in the mountains. "Bref, nous partons après toutes les recommandations possibles aux moucrés, qui ont ôté les sonnettes et grelots de leurs mulets."¹⁸

During his travels, Flaubert interested himself greatly in Oriental dances, which consequently receive special mention in the *Notes de voyage*. The dances of Ruchiouk-Hânem, Bambeh, and Azizah, in particular, are described.¹⁹ In the 1872 version of *Saint Antoine*, the Queen of Sheba now adds her skill as a dancer to her numerous attractions.²⁰ She also draws St. Anthony's attention to her eyes, "de grands yeux noirs, plus sombres que les cavernes mystiques. Regarde-les, mes yeux!"²¹ Flaubert had observed with interest the deep fascinating eyes of the Oriental women. In a wedding procession at Cairo, the bride was escorted "de 2 femmes à yeux magnifiques, celle surtout qui était à sa gauche."²² Another woman at Cairo had large, black eyes,²³ while those of Ruchiouk-Hânem were "noirs et démesurés."²⁴ Elsewhere he wrote, "Petite femme, à nez gros, yeux noirs, enfoncés, vifs, féroces et sensuels,"²⁵ while he mentioned the large eyes of another woman despite her unattractive appearance.²⁶

One passage of the *Notes de voyage* appears to have furnished material for two spots in the final version of the *Tentation*. On the way to Rosetta, he saw the sun set over the sands. While describing the clouds, Flaubert added in parentheses: "Il y eut un moment où le ciel était une plaque de vermeil et le sable avait l'air d'encre."²⁷ Near the beginning of the *Tentation de saint*

¹⁵ *Tentation*, 8.

¹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 14.

¹⁷ *Notes*, IX, 277.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, IX, 332.

¹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, IX, 156-159, 165-166, 203.

²⁰ Cf. *Tentation*, 31.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

²² *Notes*, IX, 121.

²³ Cf. *ibid.*, IX, 106

²⁴ *Ibid.*, IX, 155.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, IX, 158.

²⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, IX, 173.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, IX, 98.

Antoine, Flaubert observed briefly: "Le ciel est rouge, la terre complètement noire."²⁸ The travel-notes continue with mention of the pastel colors appearing in the sky. Then, "nos deux ombres à cheval marchant parallèlement sont gigantesques, elles vont devant nous régulièrement comme nous. On dirait deux grands obélisques qui marchent de compagnie."²⁹ Towards the end of the *Tentation*, the same picture appears:

A mesure que le soleil s'abaissait, les deux ombres de nos corps s'allongeaient comme deux obélisques grandissant toujours et qui auraient marché devant nous.³⁰

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"CONSACRÉE AU REPOS"

Salut, ô belle nuit, étincelante et sombre,
Consacrée au repos. O silence de l'ombre,
Qui n'entends que la voix de mes vers, et les cris etc.

The above lines were printed for the first time, under the heading "l'Astronomie", in Gabriel de Chénier's 1874 edition of André Chénier's *Œuvres poétiques* (T. II, p. 135). They are printed in the same way, under the same heading, in R. Guillard's 1899 edition (T. I, p. 216). In all other editions consulted, they are given as part of the poem "L'Amérique." Becq de Fouquières, in *Poésies*, 1881 (p. 345), and in *Poésies choisies*, 1889 (p. 73); A. Bellessort, in *Œuvres poétiques*, 1924 (T. II, p. 97); and B. Crémieux, in *Poésies*, 1928 (p. 290), give the same reading. But the words "Consacrée au repos" are omitted in P. Dimoff's 1910 edition of the *Œuvres complètes* (T. II, p. 105), in F. Roz's 1913 edition of *Textes choisis*, and in H. Clouard's 1927 edition of the *Œuvres* (T. I, p. 198). In none of these editions is there any note on this line.

Chénier's manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale (n. a. 6849, fol. 134, r^o) shows the following. At the beginning of the second line, well in line with "O silence de l'ombre," are the words: "Qui n'ent." (It would be possible to read the last word as "eus"; there is no cross on the final letter). These three words are

²⁸ *Tentation*, 5.

²⁹ *Notes*, IX, 98.

³⁰ *Tentation*, 179.

smudged, and the ink is paler than on the rest of the page. Apparently Chénier started to write, for the second line, what is really the third: "Qui n'entends" etc. Recognizing his error, he tried to obliterate, with his finger, the few syllables that he had just written. Slightly above them is: "Consacrée au repos," apparently written hastily. There is no accent on *Consacrée*. (There are twenty-two other missing accents, three of them acute, on this folio). The handwriting resembles Chénier's, though there are some slight differences.

Did André Chénier write "Consacrée au repos"? M. Dimoff, in a letter, says flatly: "Cet hémistiche est d'une autre écriture que celle d'A. Chénier." If such is the case, it seems strange that Gabriel de Chénier, even granting his lack of critical faculty, should have failed to recognize the forgery and should have printed the words without comment. B. de Fouquières, who never saw the manuscript of the poem but who had far keener critical taste than G. de Chénier, accepted them as genuine, as do most other editors.

Apart from the question of the handwriting, there are two objections to believing that A. Chénier wrote these words. In the first place, they are very commonplace and prosaic. This unfortunately sometimes happens even with great poets. In the second place, they do not fit at all with the rest of the passage. The night described by the poet is by no means devoted to "repose"; his soul soars through the universe.

M. Dimoff's hypothesis is that the offending words were written by Latouche, the poet-editor who prepared the 1819 edition of Chénier's poems, and who afterwards returned a part of the manuscript to the Chénier family. M. Dimoff calls attention to other changes made by Latouche, e. g. in *Hylas*. In the preface of 1819, Latouche forecasts "l'indifférence qu'il [Chénier] doit attendre de la critique"; he refers to the poems as "fruits imparfaits". Possibly he honestly believed that some improvements of his own would render these fruits less imperfect, more acceptable to critics.

The probability is that A. Chénier did not write the prosaic "Consacrée au repos," but a definite solution of this problem naturally depends on the question of the handwriting. In view of French critics' silence, it seemed worth while to present the facts.

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THE ADDITION TO DONNE'S CATALOGUS LIBRORUM

The copy of Donne's *Catalogus Librorum Aulicorum incomparabilium et non vendibilium* which exists in a manuscript commonplace book in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (shelf-mark MS. B. 14. 22), has at the end the following, which is not contained in the printed version (*Poems*, 1650):

Baldus in laudem Calvitij;
Agrippa de vanitate Scientiarum;
et Encomium Asini per eundem.¹

The *Catalogus* consists of a list of imaginary books, got up for satirical purposes. The manuscript version, as Mrs. Simpson points out in her careful edition, seems to represent Donne's own revisions and omissions. Mrs. Simpson further suggests that the three titles which I have quoted above were intended by him to supplant some of the omitted items, but she is puzzled by the fact that "*Agrippa de vanitate Scientiarum*" is not a fictitious title. As a matter of fact the other two refer to actual compositions also. Chapter cii² of Cornelius Agrippa's *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum* is in praise of the ass. "*Baldus*" is Hucbald, a monk of St. Amand, who was born about 840, and who wrote a Latin poem, *Ecloga de calvis*.³

Therefore the notes at the end of Donne's catalogue appear to be, not projected insertions, but the beginning of a list of encomiums and paradoxes, or treatments of unworthy subjects. Such lists are of common occurrence in the Renaissance. Erasmus gives one in the letter to Sir Thomas More prefixed to *The Praise of Folly*. A short list occurs in Castiglione's *Courtier*.⁴ Harington defended his *Metamorphosis of Ajax* by citing mock encomiums and other works on ignoble matters, and he was in turn included in the list which Taylor gave in his *Praise of Hempseed*. Harvey has a list in *Pierces Supererogation*,⁵ and Nash has a long cata-

¹ *The Courtier's Library, or Catalogus Librorum Aulicorum . . .*, ed. Evelyn Mary Simpson, Nonesuch Press, 1930, p. 38.

² In James Sandford's English translation, 1569.

³ See Max Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I, München, 1911, pp. 588-91.

⁴ Hoby's translation, "Everyman's Library," p. 105.

⁵ *Works*, ed. Grossart, II, 244.

logue of such items in *Lenten Stuffe*. Professor McKerrow's notes on Nash's list refer to many others.

The only remarkable thing about the three items appended to Donne's *Catalogus* (for it is easy to see how such material might have become associated with it) is the inclusion of Hucbald on baldness. A reference to Synesius's *Praise of Baldness* would not be extraordinary, for it was well known.⁶ But Hucbald's poem was a matter of less common knowledge. It was not the common property of the makers of such lists, and while it is a short piece, and very possibly published at an early date, the first printed version which I find recorded is in Caspar Dornau's *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Socraticae joco-seriae* . . . (Hannover, 1619, I, 290).

It is to be noted that the common use of such lists was for a prefatory defence of a similar work. Did Donne start this with some such purpose in mind? At least, if we accept, with Mrs. Simpson, the addition in the Trinity MS. as Donne's, we know some of the paradoxical material which he had uppermost in his mind; and this knowledge is of value with reference to his own paradoxes.

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BURNS AND JENNY CLOW

That Burns's life in Edinburgh included one or more liaisons with girls of the servant class has long been known, but any exact knowledge of the dates and circumstances of the affairs has been lacking. Most of the scanty documentary evidence still extant is mutilated. However, since the publication of the *Letters*, the original of the one to Robert Ainslie of 6 January, 1789,¹ has been found in a private collection, and proves to contain an unpublished

⁶ It appeared (in a Latin translation by John Free) in many editions of Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*, and in 1579 an English translation by Abraham Fleming was published.

¹ *The Letters of Robert Burns* (Oxford, 1931), I, 286. The letter was found in time for Professor Snyder to receive a copy while his biography was in proof, and he quotes a sentence from it in his notes. See F. B. Snyder: *The Life of Robert Burns* (N. Y., 1932), 458.

reference to one of these girls. Inasmuch as these intrigues have considerable bearing on Burns's reputation among the Edinburgh gentry, and as no biographer can honestly ignore the existence of at least one acknowledged son not reared in the poet's family, I purpose briefly to review the facts in the light of this new information.

Of the girls involved, May Cameron and Jenny Clow, little is known except their names, and Wallace even suggests that these may be different aliases of the same girl.² Burns's latest biographers, however, Mrs. Carswell and Professor Snyder, treat the two affairs as separate, and are almost certainly right in so doing.

We first hear of May Cameron in a letter written to Ainslie about June 1, 1787, at the close of Burns's Border tour.³ Awaiting him at Dumfries post-office was a letter from this girl, who was pregnant, had lost her job, and needed help. Wallace stresses the fact that May did not directly impute to Burns the paternity of her expected child, and a mutilated fragment to Ainslie⁴ seems to hint that Burns himself had doubts. To one "Will" (possibly William Nicol) Burns appears to have confided something partially disguised in venereal slang, including the information that the child's birth was expected sometime in November.⁵ Whatever May's earlier meekness, she was not long content with the "ten or twelve shillings" which Burns authorized Ainslie to pay her, and sued out a writ *in meditatione fugae*, from the restraints of which, says Wallace, the poet was freed on 15 August, 1787.⁶ If this date

² "Whether Jenny Clow is to be identified with May Cameron, . . . or whether [Burns] had two intrigues of the same kind about the same time it is now impossible to say." Chambers-Wallace: *Life and Works of Robert Burns* (Edinburgh, 1896), III, 301.

³ *Letters*, I, 226; cf. also Chambers-Wallace, II, 121-2. In my edition I erroneously assign this letter, on the basis of Burns's subsequent reference to "that affair of the girl" (*Ibid.*, p. 230), to his arrival in Dumfries in June, 1788. Final proof that Wallace's date of 1787 is correct came to hand, after my text of the Letters was complete, in a photostatic copy of the original Journal of Burns's Border tour. Among some unpublished memoranda at the end is the address of James Hog, the shoemaker in the Canongate in whose care Burns was asked to address his answer to May's appeal.

⁴ 25 June, 1787. *Letters*, I, 98.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁶ Chambers-Wallace, II, 145-6. Wallace describes the discharge, and cites

is correct, the whole affair was over before Burns's second winter in Edinburgh, but of the fate of May Cameron and her child no record survives.

Hitherto our sole knowledge of Jenny Clow has come from a letter which Agnes M'Lehose ("Clarinda") wrote to Burns in November, 1791, and which he answered on 23d of that month. The girl had somehow got in communication with Clarinda, who tells Burns that his "old acquaintance, Jenny Clow, . . . to all appearance, is at this moment dying. Obligated, from all the symptoms of a rapid decay, to quit her service, she is gone to a room almost without common necessities, untended and unmourned." Clarinda's feelings are sufficiently moved to make her, for once, brief and effective. After pointing out that Jenny might naturally look for aid from the father of her child, she merely adds that here Burns has a chance to show "you indeed possess these fine feelings you have delineated," and closes with an appeal to his humanity and his gratitude.⁷

Clarinda meant her letter to sting, and it did. Burns begins his reply by telling her she has written "in so stately a style that I would not pardon it in any created being except herself," but he frankly admits that Jenny's child is his. The "tale of the poor girl's distress," he continues, "makes my very heart weep blood." He begs Clarinda to send her five shillings, in his name; he expects to be in Edinburgh himself the following week, "and, before I am two hours in town, I shall see the girl and try what is to be done for her relief. I would have taken my boy from her long ago, but she would never consent."

And there, so far as present records go, the story ends. Whether Jenny lived or died; whether the boy lived or died; if he lived, what became of him; all these are questions without answers. Undoubtedly Burns meant what he said about his willingness to provide for the child—his care for his other illegitimate children is proof of that—but we hear no more about it. If Jenny was really dying of tuberculosis, we can only conclude that some of her rela-

the date, but neither quotes the document nor reveals its whereabouts. I have been unable to trace it.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 300. This letter, and Burns's reply to it, were first published in 1843, in W. C. M'Lehose's edition of the Clarinda correspondence. I do not know the present location of the MSS.

tives took charge of her son. Our new evidence, however, supplies an earlier chapter.

The letter to Ainslie of 6 January, 1789, first printed in *The Scots Magazine* for October, 1801, was collected in 1808 by Cromek in his *Reliques of Robert Burns*. In both texts the letter closes with the song, "O Robin shure in hairst." This published portion, like most of the other texts of the much-maligned Cromek, is substantially correct. In the original, however, the song is followed by two paragraphs hitherto unprinted:

I shall be in town in about four or five weeks, & I must again trouble you to find & secure for me a direction where to find Jenny Clow, for a main part of my busin[ess] in Edin^r is to settle that matter with her, & free her hand of the process.—

I shall not be above two or three nights in town; but one of them I shall certainly devote to witness with how much esteem & affection I am, My dear Friend, yours—

ROBT BURNS *

It has always been taken for granted that Burns's main business in Edinburgh in February, 1789, was final settlement of his publishing accounts with William Creech. Now it appears that he had also a law-suit to deal with—probably Jenny had sued out the familiar writ *in meditatione fugae*—and his remark to Mrs. Dunlop that "I am here more unhappy than I ever before experienced in Edin^r"⁹ takes on new meaning. The reasons he alleged for his unhappiness, in this letter and a later one to Mrs. Dunlop, were his business with Creech, and the snobbishness of the gentry; a stronger reason was of course his estrangement from Clarinda; now we have the strongest reason of all.

How Burns settled the case cannot be determined. A search of the Sheriff Clerk's records for February, 1789, reveals no mention of his name, and lacking the legal documents we can fix no exact dates, though we can make a reasonable surmise.

It is tempting, at first, to associate Jenny with the frantic letter to Richard Brown, 20 March, 1788, in which Burns says that "these eight days, I have been positively crazed."¹⁰ However, the

* The letter is an ordinary quarto sheet of post. On the verso of the second leaf Ainslie is addressed in care of his kinsman, James Ainslie, bookseller; the postmark is January 8. There is a seal-hole in this leaf; a blank fragment is missing from the margin, and the folds are much worn. The mutilations, however, affect only one word of the text.

⁹ *Letters*, I, 309.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

business matters there mentioned, coupled with the nervous strain of his double entanglement with Jean Armour and Clarinda, are enough to explain his agitation, and had Jenny sued out her writ before her lover left Edinburgh in March he would certainly have settled with her at once, for he had to be certified as free from debt before he could receive his Excise instructions. His remark to Ainslie on June 30 offers a more likely date: "I am vexed at that affair of the girl, but dare not enlarge on the subject until you send me your direction."¹¹ Doubtless he did enlarge on it, but a gap of three and a half months intervenes between this and the next surviving letter to Ainslie, itself a mere fragment postmarked October 18.¹²

It seems obvious, then, that Burns's intimacy with Jenny Clow occurred in the winter of 1787-88, and probably during the latter part of his residence in Edinburgh, since a dislocated knee kept him housebound from December 8 until near the middle of January. Wallace's suggestion that May Cameron and Jenny were the same girl is clearly untenable, and Mrs. Carswell's guess that Jenny's son was born in November, 1788, is probably very near the truth.¹³ It is also obvious that the suits of two servant-lasses for the support of illegitimate children were important sources of the exaggerated gossip about Burns's later moral degradation which estranged Dugald Stewart and other former friends and patrons among the Edinburgh gentry.¹⁴ It was always Burns's ill luck that his sins should be proclaimed from the house-tops. Every lawyer about the old Parliament House who had ever heard Burns's name would know that two girls had sued out writs against him, and from Parliament House the gossip would spread and grow in every corner of Edinburgh society. And finally, it is hardly fanciful to attribute Clarinda's asperity in November, 1791, to chagrin at her discovery of the means whereby Sylvander had managed to keep his courtship on a more or less "platonic" level.

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¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 266.

¹³ Catherine Carswell: *The Life of Robert Burns* (New York, 1931), 295.

¹⁴ Cf. *The Anecdotes and Egotisms of Henry Mackenzie*, ed. by H. W. Thompson (Oxford, 1927), 152.

fragment, though without a date, is obviously an earlier working copy. Its value lies in what it shows of Rossetti's severe self-criticism. He cast out stanzas of genuine interest and fair literary quality, apparently because they border upon the sentimental and lessen the fierce power that goes with the rapid succession of events. I quote from the latter part of the poem where Kate Barlass is relating the story of the Queen's conduct after the death of the King; the stanzas in italics are those which Rossetti finally omitted:

And the Queen sat by him night and day,
And oft she knelt in prayer,
And wan and pale in the widow's veil
That shrouded her shining hair.

And I had got good help of my hurt:
And only to me some sign
She made; and save the priests that were there,
No face she would see but mine.

*And every morn and eve I brought
To her arms her little son;
And once she murmured under her breath,—
“ My God! Must he mount a throne? ”*

*And she held his face to his father's face,
And wept and almost smiled
To see again her dear dead king
Reborn in her little child.*

And the month of March wore on apace;
And now fresh couriers fared
Still from the country of the Wild Scots
With news of the traitors snared.

And still as I told her day by day,
Her pallor changed to sight,
And the frost grew to a furnace flame
That burnt her visage white.

And evermore as I brought her word,
She bent to her dead King James
And in the cold ear with fire-drawn breath
She^{*}spoke the traitors' names.

But when the name of Sir Robert Graeme
Was the one she had to give,

^{*} HM6096; undated. By the kind permission of Dr. Max Farrand, Director of research, I quote from the manuscript.

I ran to hold her up from the floor;
 For the froth was on her lips, and sore
 I feared that she could not live.

*Some sleep that night, for the first time yet,
 She took by her husband's bier;
 For till that night, for her vengeance' sake,
 Like the beacon fire was her soul awake
 While the foemen still are near.*

And the month of March wore nigh to its end,
 And still was the death-pall spread;
 For she would not bury her slaughtered Lord
 Till his slayers all were dead.

And now of their dooms dread tidings came,
 And of torments fierce and dire;
 And nought she spake,—she had ceased to speak,—
 But her eyes were a soul on fire.

*And now I had heard how the felon Graeme,
 With torments fiercely riven,
 Had cried at length: "If by this your deed
 To curse God's name I am driven,
 I summon the Queen at the last dread day
 To answer that crime to Heaven!"*

*Then I said, "Grant death, for mercy's sake!"
 She looked up once; and no more
 I spoke; For it made me chill at the heart
 To behold the face she wore.*

From this point onward the fragmentary manuscript agrees with the printed version except that it lacks the final stanza.

Rossetti's severity in judging his own work is shown again by the fact that he failed to republish in any of his volumes the following ballad, which appeared in the magazine *Once a Week* on January 14, 1860:

A BORDER SONG

To horse! For who would idly bide
 With a moon so round and clear?
 'Twill merrier be tonight to ride
 Than hungry-eyed sit here.

"The board is bare," my lady pleads,
 And shall we fast perforce?
 Never, while herd in England feeds,
 And Harden owns a horse.

What though in our last border fray
 We lost a cousin brave?

As sound a sleep is his, I say,
As comes to churchyard grave.
Rather than toss on couch of pain,
Sinking by slow degree,
Who would not fall on starlit plain,
Or 'neath the greenwood tree?
The thrall of peace is all I fear;
No battle doom I dread;
There hath not died this many a year
A chief of Scott in bed.
To horse! and use to-night, my friends,
The moonlight as you may,
Till English valleys make amends
For our poor cheer to-day.
D. G. R.

Rossetti's authorship of this ballad is indicated only by the initials D. G. R. at the end, and I have found no allusion to the poem by anyone who wrote or spoke of Rossetti. But if the initials are insufficient evidence, it may be shown that the Rossettis had others connections with the magazine at that time. Only a few months earlier Christina had contributed two poems,³ and Gabriel knew the magazine well in 1860. Ten months after *A Border Song* appeared in *Once a Week*, Rossetti wrote concerning the periodical to William Allingham, expressing his dislike of the contents, both literary and artistic; yet stating that he might seek employment at designing illustrations for the magazine.⁴

Rossetti's failure to republish the ballad may perhaps be accounted for by its lack of the dramatic force and condensation of incident and detail which, in general, make his other ballads great. How it escaped the affectionate care William Rossetti devoted to the publication of his brother's literary odds and ends is not easy to understand.

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³ *The Round Tower at Jhansi* appeared on Aug. 13, 1859, with the authoress' name erroneously given as Caroline G. Rossetti; and *Maude Clare* appeared on Nov. 5, 1859.

⁴ *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to William Allingham*, London, 1897, 248. An unpublished portion of this letter, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, shows that the illustrations which Gabriel ridiculed were by his old friend Holman Hunt.

EMERSON ON SWINBURNE: A SENSATIONAL INTERVIEW

Of the literary attacks which Algernon Charles Swinburne made during a long career of controversy, perhaps the most notorious—many have thought the least excusable—was contained in a letter to Emerson. This letter has been much discussed, but the circumstances prompting it have received little attention.

Edmund Gosse¹ pointed out that the letter was provoked by a denunciatory interview. Gosse's account of this interview is rather vague—pardonably so, since it was based only on a memory of an event more than forty years in the past; the nature of Emerson's comments has, therefore, remained a mystery. After a long search I have succeeded in tracing the interview.² It appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*³ for January 3, 1874. The passage relating to Swinburne follows:

He [Emerson] condemned Swinburne severely as a perfect leper and a mere sodomite, which criticism recalls Carlyle's scathing description of that poet—as a man standing up to his neck in a cesspool, and adding to its contents. Morris, the author of "The Earthly Paradise," is just the opposite of Swinburne, and will help to neutralize his bad influence on the public.

According to Gosse, when Swinburne gave Emerson an opportunity to explain that he had been misquoted, no explanation was offered. Determined not to let such an affront go unpunished, Swinburne then sent Emerson a letter of astonishing violence. A copy of it was sent also to George Powell,⁴ the poet's friend, who indiscreetly gave it to the New York *Daily Tribune*⁵ for publication, probably with Swinburne's approval. One sentence of the letter will be sufficient to indicate its tone:

¹ *The Life of Algernon Charles Swinburne* (London, 1917), pp. 210-11.

² A puzzling reference to a Mr. Leslie in an undated letter in Lord Brotherton's library at Leeds supplied a clue. I owe the privilege of consulting the correspondence to the kindness of Mr. J. Alex Symington.

³ "Emerson: A Literary Interview," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, January 3, 1874, p. 275.

⁴ Bonchurche Edition, xx, 451.

⁵ See the New York *Daily Tribune* for February 25, 1874, p. 4.

A foul mouth is so ill matched with a white beard that I would gladly believe the newspaper scribes alone responsible for the bestial utterances which they declare to have dropped from a teacher whom such disciples as these exhibit, to our disgust and compassion, as performing on their obscene platform the last tricks of tongue now possible to a gap-toothed and hoary-headed ape, carried first into notice on the shoulder of Carlyle, and who now, in his dotage, spits and chatters from a dirtier perch of his own finding and fouling.⁶

Emerson's interview had not been noticed by the journals and newspapers of the day. For that reason Swinburne's letter seemed unprovoked, and created a sensation. Among those reading it was Paul Hamilton Hayne, who thus expressed his indignation to Whittier:⁷

Please tell Mr. Emerson that but one feeling of intense disgust has greeted the appearance of that infamous letter, South, no less than North. Was ever such mean arrogance, such maudlin impudence, such colossal conceit obtruded before, upon the public view? The miserable scamp! Why his name ought to be spelt Swine-burn!

In his review of *Essays and Studies*⁸ Henry James also reprehended Swinburne's denunciation.

Did Emerson really make the remarks attributed to him? One

⁶ In *A Study of Shakespeare* (p. 159) Swinburne alludes to "an impudent and foul-mouthed Yankee philosophaster" who had accused Landor of pestering him with Southey and had been rebuked by the old lion. In a letter to Paul Hamilton Hayne, published in the Boston *Evening Transcript*, October 16, 1918, Swinburne says that Emerson had exposed himself as "a foul-minded and foul-mouthed old driveller," yet acknowledges that one or two of Emerson's poems have exceptional beauty.

Possibly Swinburne's reference to "'Eternal Cesspools' over which the first of living humorists holds as it were for ever an everlasting nose" (*A Study of Shakespeare*, Bonchurch Edition, xi, 139) is a retort to Carlyle's "scathing description." Edward Dowden (see his *Letters*, p. 148) assumed that one of the poet's comments was explained by a remark which Dowden heard in 1878. As M. Georges Lafourcade suggests (*Swinburne: A Literary Biography* [New York, 1932], p. 234), passages in *Note of an English Republican on the Muscovite Crusade* (1876) may have been prompted by resentment of Carlyle's alleged abuse.

⁷ *Whittier Correspondence*, ed. John Albree (Salem, Massachusetts, 1911), pp. 188-89. By 1875, however, Hayne was corresponding with Swinburne on most amicable terms and later published some verses in his honor.

⁸ *The Nation*, xxi (July 29, 1875), 73-74; reprinted in *Views and Reviews* (Boston, 1908), pp. 51-59.

can find little reason for doubting Gosse's statement that Swinburne's letter asking Emerson to repudiate the interview was unheeded. Moreover, the reference to Carlyle's abuse may be due to Emerson, not merely to the reporter.⁹ Perhaps the denunciation of Swinburne was based partly upon current gossip—in this instance untrue, for the poet was, whatever his aberrations, not "a sodomite." He was used to scurrilous attacks and was inclined to ignore them, particularly when they were anonymous; but on this occasion he was moved to make angry retort because of the outrageous nature of the charge and because his assailant was a noted man of letters, whom he had previously admired.¹⁰

CLYDE K. HYDER

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WASHINGTON IRVING, MATILDA HOFFMAN, AND EMILY FOSTER

Students of Irving will recognize in the title the familiar names of two women to whom he is believed to have proposed marriage. Discussion still exists concerning their possible influences upon him, and since recently in the pages of this magazine the old question has arisen,¹ I wish, prior to the appearance of my biography of Irving, to comment on these episodes, and to define my attitude toward the Irving-Hoffman-Foster problem. I desire,

⁹ Cf. Alexander Ireland's *In Memoriam, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Recollections of His Visits to England* (London, 1882, p. 109), where the author refers to the visit of an English writer to Emerson's home a few years before: "Mr. Emerson's visitor records what Carlyle is reported to have said regarding a distinguished English poet of the fleshly school; but the *pronunciamento* is so scathing and unprintable that I dare not venture to give it currency."

¹⁰ Coulson Kernahan's "Swinburne and Emerson, The Story of, and a Sequel to, an Ancient Enmity" (*The National Review*, April, 1929, pp. 229-41) discusses Swinburne's later opinion of Emerson. The literary relations of the two men are touched upon in René Galland's "Emerson, Swinburne et Meredith" (*Revue Anglo-Américaine*, October, 1928, pp. 37-43).

¹ See G. S. Hellman, review of *Journal of Washington Irving, 1823-24*, *MLN.*, May, 1932. See also *Journal of Washington Irving, 1823-24*, xi, p. 3, n. 2.

without reviewing in detail all the accessible facts, merely to sum up my convictions regarding this problem, as I have expressed them in various places (*Notes While Preparing Sketch Book, &c., 1817*; "Washington Irving and Matilda Hoffman," *Journal of Washington Irving, 1823-1824*).

By Matilda Hoffman's death on April 26, 1809, Irving was deeply affected. It is demonstrable that eight years later (Notebook, 1817, Yale University Library) he wrote an invocation to her memory; that fourteen years afterwards (Manuscript, Dr. Roderick Terry, Newport) he wrote of her in a similar strain; and that in the same year (1823) he composed the confession concerning her influence upon him (Yale University Library). It is demonstrable, also, that parts of *The Sketch Book* were inspired by this experience. This is enough evidence to suggest that Matilda Hoffman exerted a significant influence upon Irving. This, using this evidence, I have said, but no more. I have never subscribed, as Mr. Hellman implies, to what he calls "the lovely Mathilda Hoffman theory advanced as explaining Irving's life-long bachelorhood" (p. 327). The events in Irving's career do not support such a theory. On the other hand, the facts summarized above are indisputable. Irving's love of Matilda Hoffman affected his life and work to the extent described. How much more or in what other ways this experience influenced him is unknown.

But it is precisely this distinction between the demonstrable and the conjectural to which Mr. Hellman, in spite of his many services to students of Irving, is not always sensible, in his discussions of the relations of Irving and Emily Foster—in his biography of Irving, in his edition of the Journals, and in this review. I conjecture, in agreement with Mr. Hellman, that Irving desired to marry Emily Foster, but I do not think this fact demonstrable. I repeat my statement (p. 3) of which Mr. Hellman disapproves: "It has been said Irving was a rejected and despondent suitor for the hand of Miss Emily Foster, but no conclusive evidence exists that this is so." Mr. Hellman thinks that he has "conclusive evidence" for the two facts, that Irving proposed marriage to Emily Foster, and that he was deeply depressed by his rejection, even to the extent of influencing his writing.

What is his "conclusive evidence" for these two facts? He adduces, first, the testimony of Flora Foster Dawson, the sister of

Emily Foster, as recorded in P. M. Irving's biography, and as described by Mr. Hellman (p. 327). Mrs. Dawson, in an appendix to the London edition of this biography, made the two statements now under consideration. Her story of the friendship of Irving and her sister persuades any reader of Mrs. Dawson's own convictions in this matter. It is not, however, so certain that her word is final about the event itself. The following aspects of her testimony should be noted: Mrs. Dawson offers no written evidence whatever from Irving, from her sister, from her mother, or from any other person. We have only her own assertions. Were these wholly reliable? She appears to have been a lover of romantic anecdote and of publicity, a fact evident not only from the style of her narrative in the "Appendix," but also from another book, *Princes, Public Men, and Pretty Women: Episodes in Real Life* (London, 1864). I myself do not consider Mrs. Dawson an impressive witness, because of her inability or unwillingness to submit evidence from others for her statements. In brief, though I think it probable that Irving proposed marriage to Emily Foster, I do not find on this point "conclusive evidence." In regard to the effect of the episode upon Irving's life and work, Mrs. Dawson appears even less qualified as a judge. In regard to this, I shall, because of lack of space, refer the reader to my remarks in the *Journal* (p. 3).

But Mr. Hellman himself attaches less weight to Mrs. Dawson's narrative, as "conclusive evidence," than to his own deductions in connection with Irving manuscripts. I quote briefly from the second paragraph (p. 326) of his review, in which he repeats the evidence submitted previously by him as editor and biographer:

The Dresden Journals . . . were first published in full in 1919 under the editorship of W. P. Trent and myself. A facsimile of one of the March pages was given, "showing . . . how lines were erased, presumably by Irving's biographer in his desire to perpetuate the tradition of Irving's exclusive devotion to his first love, Mathilda Hoffman. Still decipherable, however, are the words: 'Early part day *triste*—Emily delightful' in the seventh line. We surmise that the rest of the deleted portion referred to Irving's determination to put his fortune to the test, and that on March 31 (which entry shows another deletion—this time probably of the word 'depressed') Irving asked Emily to become his wife, but without success."

Mr. Hellman thinks that P. M. Irving rubbed out the lines. Yet in the numerous journals and notebooks many passages are deleted.

How? By the effect of time on indistinct pencilling, by the friction of pages, by Irving himself (there are instances of this), or by unknown causes? The last, I should say; I should not venture to say a particular passage was erased by a particular individual. Mr. Hellman surmises that P. M. Irving deleted the passage, and ascribes a motive for the deletion. Finally, he suggests the date on which Irving proposed marriage. All this is creditable as an ingenious interpretation, but it is, as Mr. Hellman says, a surmise. I do not see how it can be introduced as evidence apropos of Matilda Hoffman's influence upon Irving.

Furthermore, this surmise is unconvincing. For as "conclusive evidence" it is dependent upon the seventh line, which Mr. Hellman reads: "Early part day *triste*—Emily delightful" whereas the line actually reads, if I trust my own judgment, and that of handwriting experts: "Early part of day triste Evening delightful." That is, Irving was merely describing, after a less cheerful morning, a pleasant evening. There follows a transcript of the entire passage:

Friday 28th *good Friday*—morning 7 o'clock hear the Mount of Olives *perfor*² by Beethoven performed in the Kreuz Kirch—Walk up the banks of the Elbe with Cochran—Dine at Mr's F's rehearsal—pass the evening there—Emily reading Faust &c—Early part of day triste Evening delightful. (Manuscript, New York Public Library)

Thus what Mr. Hellman says in his biography and edition of the Journals about the relations of Emily Foster and Irving is founded upon a misreading of the Irving Journals. (See also *PMLA*, September, 1931.)

I might add much concerning facts and conjecture in the story of Irving and Emily Foster, as in that of Irving and Matilda Hoffman. I shall, however, conclude by quoting and commenting upon the last sentences in the fourth paragraph of the review. In July, 1824, Irving visited the Fosters in England. Mr. Hellman says of Irving (p. 327):

He arrives on July 6. The next morning he takes a long walk with Emily and her mother, his ally; and again in the afternoon. Subsequent to that, there is no walk with Emily, and she is never alone with him, When he leaves, it is Flora who gives him a parting gift. Is the surmise untenable that in England, as in Saxony, Emily is still unable to make up her mind to marry Washington Irving? But Irving has not given up hope.

²This incomplete word, "perfor" is crossed out in the manuscript.

On August 26, again at Paris, he writes to Emily. On August 27, he re-writes this letter. On August 29 he sends the letter to Emily. It takes three days before this famous author, this fluent letter-writer, is satisfied with his missive to the young girl some twenty years his junior! Is it difficult to conjecture the contents of so deeply pondered an epistle?

Here, at least, conjecture is unnecessary, for the letter, dated Paris, August 23, 1825, was published in the *Yale Review*, for January, 1926. The letter was written, it should be observed, in 1825, not in 1824, as Mr. Hellman intimates, and it was rewritten on August 28, not on August 27. But the point is that it contains no word of love; it is a friendly letter discussing Irving's attitude toward religion,—an echo of his experiences at Bedford (See *Journal*, July 6-15, 1824).

The future may prove Mr. Hellman's surmises right—but at present this letter, the entries in the *Journal*, and even Mrs. Dawson's narrative hardly stand as "conclusive evidence" for more than what has been long known, that Irving was fond of Emily Foster, and that he may have made her an offer of marriage.

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS

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REVIEWS

Conrad Ferdinand Meyer: The Style and the Man. By ARTHUR BURKHARD. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1932. Pp. 225.

One takes this book in hand with the feeling of pleasant anticipation that here we have to do with a work on Conrad Ferdinand Meyer from an American scholar, who, unhampered by the prejudices of German, French, and Swiss critics from the camps of the Kellerites and Meyerites, the pro-Meyerites and the anti-Meyerites, will take advantage of the opportunity to present an independent, unprejudiced, and objective portrait of the poet. But alas! one lays it aside with the regret that it belongs strictly in the tradition of its predecessors and represents, although from a new point of view, but a synthesis of earlier works upon the same subject. In that tradition Dr. Burkhard inclines most closely to the views of d'Harcourt and Baumgarten. One immediately becomes suspicious of the critical acumen of the former, so far as German literature is concerned, when he offers us such gems of

quotation as "sie schlang unter den letzten Bäumen die zugehörigen Rappen um eine junge Ulme," and "welches sich gleichmässig durch das ganze Gedicht verbringt," (quotations which cannot be set to the account of the French type-setter); and whose feeling for the rhythm of *Hutten* allows such a line as "Dass meine Laufbahn nun eben recht beginnt." The latter, mistaking clever aperçus for criticism, has furnished us with a book which is chiefly notable for its contradictions, the same fact being frequently used to prove diametrically opposite statements. It must be acknowledged that Baumgarten's book is a most inspiring one, but rather for the *Widerspruchsgeist* which it calls forth than for any constructive criticism.

Conrad Ferdinand Meyer has, since the day of his first appearance upon the German literary horizon, presented a problem which the Germans find almost impossible of solution. He has been unfortunate in his friends who find no blemish in him, and fortunate in his enemies who can discover nothing praiseworthy in his productions. An author whose sense of form is as highly developed as that of Meyer is such a rare phenomenon in literature that just that very sense of form must be considered a weakness because it is so un-Germanic. If, as Baumgarten asserts and Dr. Burkhard agrees, Meyer "litt an der Krankheit der Vollendung," then one is compelled to cry out, "Would that there were more German authors afflicted with the same disease!" Lack of a sense of form has ever been the prevailing literary weakness, content must replace form, and suspicion is immediately aroused when form is wedded to content. The production then becomes *Kunstpoesie*, *Luxuspoesie*.

Since Baumgarten the view has been held that Meyer's art can only be explained from his personality, the magnificence of the work must compensate for the weakness of this personality. Shut off from close contact with the active world about him, the poet seeks to compensate for this lack of effective action in that world by fleeing to the world of the past, and because of his own drab existence, he loves the atmosphere of strong characters, those who occupy a large space on the canvas of the world's history, the great sinners, criminals, and martyrs. Why, however, have the critics never duly emphasized the discrepancy between Meyer's heroes and heroines and the Renaissance world in which they have their being? It may be demonstrated that Meyer is not a poet of the Renaissance at all. Granted that his scenes are in such surroundings and contemporaneous with that period of history, where are the Renaissance characteristics in such individuals as Astorre, the weakling monk, the prey of his own unbridled passions, who in other garb might be our contemporary; or Pescara, the general with the soul of a poet, little comparable with his historical original, a spiritual brother of Thomas à Becket; or Angela, she of the delicate con-

science, who is so clearly out of place at the court of Ferrara? Meyer's heroes and heroines are not heroic in character, but thoroughly permeated with their creator's own being. Jenatsch and Stemma alone can be explained by any theory of compensation. His other heroes and heroines seem to have strayed by mistake into their Renaissance environment. What if the minor characters do more closely resemble the traditional conception of the Renaissance; they but afford the setting; the author's main interest is with those who are more in accordance with his own image.

Dr. Burkhard has attempted to corroborate this earlier conception of Meyer's work by a study of his style, proceeding from the old dictum that the style is the man. With the details of his study we have no quarrel. With the conclusions drawn therefrom, however, we can in no way agree. Nor do we comprehend how such conclusions can be drawn from the material presented.

The work proper is preceded by an introduction of two parts: "Aim, Method, Manner of Presentation," and "The Struggle for Expression." The conclusion is reached:

Conrad Ferdinand Meyer gives to his prose as well as to his verse an air of solemn dignity, urbane polish, aristocratic elegance. His art appears (sic!) impressive because of its plastic objectivity, its classic restraint, its monumental grandeur. One discovers in his German works the concreteness and precision which is of France, the symmetry and order which is of Rome, the formal beauty and flawless perfection which are customarily considered more characteristic of Southern than Northern art . . . he attained precision, plasticity, concentration, and nobility of expression . . .

Chapter two deals with "The Grand Style and Manner." Here the author successfully and in admirable detail shows the laconic solemnity and monumental grandeur of effect of certain majestic combinations, the nobility of expression, the startling and tremendous effects, which on occasion approach the sublime, the magnificent climaxes, the aristocratic elegance, and the majestic grandeur of Meyer's style. But for Dr. Burkhard such characteristics of style belong to rhetorical poetry, and we are greeted as with a cold shower with the statement that Meyer's art is so full of mannerisms and affectation that it appears grand rather than great. It would seem as if the author had caught himself proving more than he cared to prove, and then attempts to take back all he has said in the preceding pages. As a critic of Meyer he appears torn between an uncritical admiration and his critical conscience which forbids such admiration. Undeterred by this short aberration from his main line of presentation, in the remainder of the chapter he but adds proof to these outstanding elements of the poet's style. The ambiguity of the concluding paragraph resembles that previously quoted:

. . . we have observed Meyer's careful selection of details, his almost fastidious choice of words through which he hoped (!) to gain nobility

of expression in his poetry and prose. We have also learned how . . . he tried (!) to attain tremendous compression, a concise, condensed, concentrated, compact, pregnant style.

Has not Dr. Burkhard already taken considerable pains to prove that Meyer was very successful in his attainment of these elements?

In the third chapter, "Concrete Forms and Moving Figures," we find demonstrated that remarkable plasticity familiar to all readers of Meyer. Again we are told that Meyer attains both nobility and compression of style. The *Gebardensprache* is discussed quite sympathetically except when the author finds himself rendering a too favorable verdict with regard to the matter discussed.

So much for the presentation of material. In the concluding chapter the author presents his main theme that all these stylistic devices are merely products of a powerful urge for compensation. It would take more space than that at our disposal to prove in a satisfactory and eminently fair manner that the reviewer's own conclusion "non demonstratum est."

Conrad Ferdinand Meyer will always offer some problematic features, but we shall never get any closer to a solution of the poet's psyche by emphasizing unduly such a theory of compensation. We are only willing to concede that the flight into the past was homogeneous with the poet's character, but in any consideration of his work the fact must be taken into account that his heroes and heroines are bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh. Who but a C. F. Meyer could have conceived his Thomas à Becket and his Pescara? We gain nothing by attempts to prove that here we have an author whose attitude toward his characters is objective, aloof, cold, passionateless, and lacking in emotion. As a writer of historical *Novellen* C. F. Meyer will always occupy his niche, albeit a disputed one, in the history of German literature, but as poet and artist he will always stand out as one of the most preëminent.

One of the failings of Dr. Burkhard's book, which he shares with other critics who have some special thesis to set forth with regard to Meyer, is a tendency toward inconsistency. Can he reconcile such statements as "It is extremely difficult . . . to discover traits of Meyer . . . in most of his characters"; "the characters of Meyer's stories, in all of whom there is a good deal of Meyer"; "the delicately adjusted characters of Meyer's creation, who so much resembled him"; "He accordingly conceals rather than reveals himself in the large majority of his characters, in whom it is difficult to discover traces of his personality . . . it is almost less difficult to find portrayal of his opposite than direct revelation of his own character"; "There is more expression of his personality in his work than at first appears?" Again, in agreement with Baumgarten, Dr. Burkhard believes that Meyer has "eine unzüchtige Phantasie." With such an imagination we are nevertheless told that Meyer in chasteness of language resembles his character

Louis XIV, and is noteworthy for his restraint, only mentioning "unseemly" actions and then leaving them to the reader's imagination. The appraisal of *Die Hochzeit des Mönchs* is also variable in different connections.

In conclusion, Dr. Burkhard has given us a book which must be taken into consideration in any study of Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, and although we cannot agree with its conclusions and regret its indebtedness to the German, Swiss, and French tradition, it represents a scholarly production which must be regarded with the respect it deserves. It is also to be regretted that he did not emphasize that trait in Meyer which in the reviewer's opinion should never be omitted and cannot be brought out too strongly, namely, his heroic struggle against difficulties. How many authors, after being provided with enough of this world's goods to live an easy but unproductive existence, would have undertaken the struggle which finally resulted in the art of Conrad Ferdinand Meyer? Meyer's artist soul, however, was not to be denied its expression. Such a character as that portrayed in Dr. Burkhard's book would never have survived such a combat. "Armer Conrad! Wärest du nur mit Gottfried in die Kneipe gegangen, um etwas benebelt deinen 'schwankenden' Weg nach Hause zu finden! Dann hättest du einmal etwas Grosses geleistet! Dann wärest du ein Charakter geworden! Nun aber!" All hail to the heroic struggle and attainment of Conrad Ferdinand!

ROBERT BRUCE ROULSTON

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Russian Heroic Poetry. By. N. K. CHADWICK. Cambridge: University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932. Pp. xv + 294.

This collection of translations from the Russian heroic poetry of various periods is a most welcome addition to the small list of works in that important and attractive field. The book is excellently prepared and printed and it is invaluable for all those who are working in the field of Russian folk-epics and the general mediaeval romance, for there are many details that will strike the student as familiar to him from other and very different environments. The volume is the more welcome, because the best previous work of similar character, Miss Isabel Hapgood's *Epic Songs of Russia*, consists of paraphrases and dates from the period of the nature-myth, when the commentator saw in every song a reference to the sun and the thunder and the wind.

The introduction and also the introductory notes to the different songs are thoroughly sane and reliable. They give a well-balanced picture of the state of our studies in this field and they rightly fail

to stress some of the social and sociological theories that were in vogue in some Russian editions made even before the World War. It must be said, however, that the section dealing with the Early Heroes and the Cycles of Kiev and Novgorod is far and away the best part of the volume. We may feel the absence of one of the songs in which Marya the White Swan appears. One of these should have been included, for as the most definite and consistent foe of the Russian heroes whom she yet marries, she is a highly specialized figure. When we come to the songs of the later periods, more criticisms can be made of the volume. Mr. Chadwick mentions the local peculiarities of these songs (p. 26) and he has rightly printed the songs collected by Richard James in 1619. Yet the ballads of the Cycle of Ivan the Terrible are far more complex than the volume indicates. The ballads from Simbirsk are usually short and the bulk of the latter *byliny* which he cites come from this southeast group. The versions from Archangel and to a lesser extent Olonets are much nearer to the Kiev Cycle and they give some really remarkable cases of contamination with the older tales but the author seems afraid to stress such unusual circumstances (cf. p. 20). Such cases should have been illustrated by at least one example. It is also hardly likely (p. 21 ff.) that the loyalist tone of the later *byliny* was forced upon the singers in any way. During the reign of Peter the Great his opponents created a very rich literature of attack amid various types of folk songs. In some cases they used other patterns whereas the *byliny* remained in the old loyalist and tsarist pattern and so naturally became identified with the party of the Emperor. Besides this the epic songs, like the people, regularly accept the cruelty as well as the justice of Ivan the Terrible and they strikingly take his point of view, even when it is open to condemnation.

Though there is still much to be done before we can really understand the entire history of the later historical songs of Russia and all of their connections with Western Europe and Asia, Mr. Chadwick must be congratulated on bringing out this book which can be warmly recommended and which will be a real milestone in the understanding in America and England of Russian heroic poetry.

CLARENCE A. MANNING

Columbia University

Yugoslav Popular Ballads, their origin and development. By DRAGUTIN SUBOTIĆ. Cambridge: University Press. 1932. Pp. xvi + 288.

Dr. Subotić has given us in this volume a very interesting and suggestive series of studies on the popular poetry of the Yugoslavs,

a subject which has aroused a great deal of interest in Europe during the last century. He illustrates the volume with a number of selected poems and he gives an admirable summary of the historical and literary factors involved in the heroic songs. The development of the songs on the Serb defeat at Kosovo into one of the great cycles of epic poetry that is known to Europe is a striking phenomenon and so is the emergence of such personalities as Marko Kraljević, where history seems almost to be denied by the legends.

But the book is more important than as a mere history of the Yugoslav ballads. In order to make them fully intelligible and to give a detailed picture of their history, Dr. Subotić delves deeply into their relation with the Castilian romances and into the relations between the Yugoslavs, especially the people of Dubrovnik-Ragusa, and the Spaniards in the Middle Ages. The material which he produces here will be a surprise to many careful students of the Middle Ages who have not devoted themselves to the tangled skeins of Balkan history.

The second part of the book may be called comparisons and foreign history. In a very interesting chapter Dr. Subotić stresses the differences and the similarities between the Yugoslav poems and the English and Scottish popular ballads. Here in a few words we see the difference of civilizations. There is the difference in the rôle of the mother who is far more trusted by her children than in the West. There is slight emphasis on romantic love among the Serbs, but in its place strong emphasis is laid on family solidarity, respect for elders, confidence between brothers and sisters, an acceptance of the normality of marriage, everything that goes to promote a sound and healthy family and clan feeling. Robin Hood too finds his parallels among some of the hajduk leaders of the Yugoslavs and so the comparison goes on.

Finally Dr. Subotić traces the history of these ballads in Western Europe. It is a tragic or a comic story and makes us almost horrified at the ease of intentional or unintentional deception by great men. It is a story of well-known writers who know little or nothing of Serbo-Croat, translating ostensibly, but really adapting their translations from others that are little better. We even have the amazing episode of Prosper Mérimée writing his collection *La Guzla* in order to secure money to take a trip to Dalmatia and succeeding so well (in art, if not in finances) that the Russian poet Pushkin translated the hoax into Russian as bona fide Yugoslav poems. The whole history of the claims and counter-claims here set down shows that that type of imagination which produced the mediaeval traveller's tales or even Herodotus is not lacking when we come to the "discovery" of a new and still unexplored area of literature.

We can be very grateful that we have in Dr. Subotić a serious and

competent Yugoslav scholar writing in English, and we can greet this book as a real contribution to not one but many fields of thought. It is invaluable for one interested in European popular poetry and in the history of European translations.

CLARENCE A. MANNING

Columbia University

The Restoration Court Stage (1660-1702) with a Particular Account of the Production of Calisto. By ELEANORE BOSWELL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932. Pp. xviii + 370. \$4.50.

Miss Boswell's study of the court stage during the reigns of Charles II and his immediate successors is heartily to be welcomed. While the results of her researches will not necessitate any fundamental alteration in our conception of the general arrangements in Restoration theatres, her book provides us, in meticulous detail, with a mass of interesting and valuable evidence relating to the stage conditions, to the players and to the general attitude of the courtiers towards this their sumptuous and costly toy.

The documents belonging to the Office of Works and to the Lord Chamberlain's Department have been thoroughly searched and from what she has discovered there Miss Boswell has been enabled not only to correct a number of previous errors but to bring forward much that hitherto had remained unpublished. After a capably written general introduction, she deals first with the various court theatres of the late seventeenth century; this section is followed by an elaborate analysis of "maintenance and production"; then special attention is devoted to the lengthy preparations for *Calisto*, last of the court masques. Appendices, occupying 118 pages, present excerpts from the Public Record Office documents, together with a very useful calendar of plays acted at court.

Within the space of a short review it is, naturally, impossible adequately to indicate the wealth of material here gathered together. The value of Miss Boswell's study rests mainly in its exhaustive treatment of her subject, but in every chapter there is introduced matter that calls for special attention. She has, for example, discovered, among the Chatsworth drawings, the design made for the Hall Theatre proscenium (pp. 37-8); she demonstrates that the frontispiece to *Ariane* represents (however bad the execution) Drury Lane and not the Hall Theatre (pp. 111-2); she shows the correct dating of *The Empress of Morocco* (pp. 131-3); she proves that the payments to Mrs. Barry in the nineties were not personal gifts from royalty (p. 172). The entire section on

Calisto is filled with similar matter of importance. From the extraordinary array of warrants we are permitted to view, down to the smallest detail, the arrangements made for the production of this masque; so detailed, indeed, are these that Miss U. M. Ellis-Fermor has been enabled to make some charming sketches of at least three of the costumes described in the bills.

There are, of course, many conclusions which might raise discussion. It is, for instance, by no means certain that in the warrant which refers to "25 fo^t. of roofing before the stage to set candles in" the word "roofing" is a slip for "troughing." Miss Boswell herself calls attention to the fact that this is "the only instance of candles being used for footlights instead of lamps." Possibly these were not employed for footlights at all, and "roofing" may be correct; as early as 1638 Sabbatini in his *Practica di fabricar Scene e Machine ne' Teatri* had recommended the placing of a row of lights behind the "heavens." If Miss Boswell is right in suggesting that the rectangles shown in Webb's plan of the "*Mustapha*" stage are intended for blocks of wings, is it not strange that the lines of the wings should not have been drawn (as in the *Salmacida Spolia* plan) and that Webb should have taken the trouble to mark out the precise depth? The exact measurement seems to imply that he intended the rectangles to be taken as either solid or fictionally solid blocks. Some general judgments, too, might be questioned, such as the affirmation that before the Civil Wars "the stage was essentially a national institution." The theatre had been "national", certainly, in Elizabeth's days, but this statement seems to overlook the fact that from 1635 to 1640 there was almost as much orientation towards the court as is to be found after 1660; or, at least, that the courtly atmosphere of the Restoration period was definitely adumbrated during the reign of Charles I.

A couple of other notes may be added here. Miss Boswell presents a valuable and well-reasoned summary of the Cockpit-in-Court before 1642; her conjecture that the three Chatsworth drawings she mentions were made for this theatre seems fully justified, but is it necessary to assume that these were designs for the "original" scenery there? I personally had been inclined to regard them as scenes painted for a later production at that house. Concerning the French and Italian players there is also an informative section in her book. To this may be added the note that among Fiorilli's troupe during 1675 were M. A. Romagnesi and his wife (Elisabetta Giulia della Chiesa), the latter of whom died in London, and that there is extant a very entertaining letter, dated February 17, 1679, written by G. A. Lolli (the *Dottore* of the company) which refers to the straits in which the Italians found themselves at court and to the generosity of the Duchess of York.

This of Miss Boswell's is a volume which must prove fascinating

to the student of theatrical history; it forms a notable contribution to a subject which only lately has been receiving exact attention. Miss Boswell is thoroughly to be congratulated on having completed well an arduous piece of research and on having provided, in a skilful manner, such a clear picture of conditions in the Restoration court theatres.

ALLARDYCE NICOLL

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Dramatic Theory and the Rhymed Heroic Play. By CECIL V. DEANE. Oxford: University Press, 1931. Pp. vi + 235. \$3.75.

At a time when the necessity for careful re-examination of English heroic drama is being keenly felt by many scholars, Mr. Deane has attempted to ascertain the influence of contemporary dramatic theory on the technique of the Restoration heroic dramatists. He begins by reviewing the sources of the English heroic plays, concluding that "no set of influences . . . outweighs another set by much." He then partly accounts for the limitations of the genre with reference to theatrical conditions in the Restoration period. The volume is chiefly devoted to a survey of French and English theory and practice regarding the conventions of the happy ending, the unities, violent action, bombast, rhyme and blank verse. In conclusion, a few somewhat arbitrarily selected plays by D'Avenant, Orrery, Dryden, and Lee are analyzed. One regrets that the list does not include Dryden's last and finest rhymed heroic drama, *Aureng-Zebe*.

Mr. Deane arrives at well-worn conclusions which no one is likely to dispute: that, in the main, the neo-classic rules of the drama "exercised a wholesome restraint on the heroic plays," and that "the independent temper of the national drama" managed to survive in spite of partial conformity to limiting conventions. In the course of his investigation, Mr. Deane is able to furnish convincing evidence as to why Dryden was less restricted in regularizing Shakespeare in *All for Love* than (to adapt the author's excellent phrase) in almost breaking the bounds of the heroic tradition in the process of expressing himself within them in his rhymed heroic plays. A valuable by-product of Mr. Deane's study is the light which he throws on "the closeness of the affinity which existed between the heroic couplet and heroic sentiment." Interesting, also, is his comparison of heroic drama to baroque architecture.

In a long introductory chapter, Mr. Deane considers in an eclectic way the sources of heroic drama. He believes that Dryden was indirectly influenced by the Cartesian doctrine of the energy of the will; but he does not consider the probable influence on Dryden of

Marlowe's supermen. Although he is of the opinion that the drama of Corneille was "almost the most potent force" among the shaping influences from which English heroic drama emerged, his comments on Corneille serve to emphasize the marked contrast between the spirit of Corneille's serious drama and the spirit of Dryden's. He rejects without analysis of the plays in question the theory that Dryden may have been influenced by the pre-Restoration Platonic plays that were popular in the decade which immediately preceded the closing of the theatres. One of these plays, Carlell's *Arviragus and Philicia*, for a Restoration revival of which Dryden wrote a prologue, anticipates the dramatic pattern of Dryden's heroic drama more definitely than any of the Elizabethan plays over which Mr. Deane lingers. It is true that Dryden's heroic plays represent the triumphant careers of valorous heroes, whose heroism is of a "robuster type" than the heroism chronicled in pre-Restoration Platonic drama. It is equally true, although Mr. Deane is silent on this point, that Dryden's plays record the vicissitudes of Platonic courtships, featuring romantic heroines, idealized within the bounds of "practicable virtue," who discipline their quite fallible lovers by frowns or favors.

Yielding to an academic temptation, Mr. Deane virtually maintains that dramatic theory determined the character of the heroic play instead of reflecting and vindicating the practice of the dramatists themselves. Moreover, one is disposed to protest against the systematization of the persuasive but shifting theories of such a dramatist as Dryden. It is not surprising that Dryden proves "evasive." It is difficult, indeed dangerous, to try to sum up the convictions of a man who rejoiced in both sides of an argument and who questioned the validity of final judgments.

It is, of course, highly desirable to assemble in orderly fashion the critical theories concerning heroic drama, to compare French and English points of view, and to note variations in the manner in which English heroic dramatists followed or diverged from neo-classic standards. On the other hand, a good deal remains to be said about heroic drama after such tests have been applied. Unfortunately, Mr. Deane does not feel at liberty to overstep the bounds of his special problem, in order to evaluate a dramatic genre of which the unique literary qualities are more or less obscured in contemporary controversy.

KATHLEEN M. LYNCH

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Theatrical Criticism in London to 1795. By C. H. GRAY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Pp. vi + 333. \$4.00.

The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry. By R. W. BABCOCK. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1931. Pp. xv + 307. \$3.00.

Through the work of Mr. Gray and Mr. Babcock, the student of dramatic theory and especially of Shakespeare criticism can find for the first time solid footing in eighteenth-century criticism. Mr. Gray's study is a chronological survey of the theatrical criticism in periodicals during practically the whole century. The first two chapters, which carry the reader up to 1750, traverse a barren field, interesting chiefly as background. But the rest of the book gives increasingly richer, and richer materials for the study of theatrical vogues, the history of acting, and the progress of dramatic theory. Some of the references supplement those given by Mr. Babcock for Shakespeare studies in the eighteenth century.

With so enormous a field, covered with such minute care, Mr. Gray could not proceed beyond the limits of critical bibliography. But Mr. Babcock concentrates on Shakespeare criticism during the years 1765-1800. In consequence, his book, though still largely bibliographical, has room for a considerable amount of interpretative criticism. Though the field has been touched or even covered by various scholars before him, Mr. Babcock's learning puts them all in the shade. His references to the background of his field alone are sufficient to furnish the materials for another valuable book on Shakespeare criticism from 1700 to 1765, which Mr. Babcock announces as his next subject. When this is accomplished, we shall have a critical supplement to the Shakespeare Allusion Book which will carry us up to the nineteenth century. It is to be hoped that we shall see also an anthology more extensive than those edited by Mr. Nichol Smith. In the character-studies, much of the criticism of the later eighteenth century should be more accessible to students; and in other types of criticism the eighteenth century has even more to offer, not so much because of the excellence of its critics—though some *are* excellent—as because of their point of view. Their criticism is specifically dramatic, not merely literary, and deals with structure, which the nineteenth-century critics generally ignored. They were independent of the Shakespeare idolatry which Mr. Babcock criticises, and if they were dominated by the idolatry of Aristotle and his false interpreters, at least that prejudice is one which we can now discount as no longer dangerous. And in that crisis of dramatic theory, the critics of the later eighteenth century necessarily retained an interest in general ideas regarding dramatic form, which we are now slowly

and painfully reviving. We should be able to read in their entirety not merely Morgann and Whately and Mackenzie, but Hanmer and Daniel Webb, with larger selections from Kames and Richardson and others who cannot be included in their whole work.

Even now, however, any one who has access to the larger Shakespeare collections will find his way charted for him with laborious care by Mr. Babcock, who supplements the organization by subjects in his text with an extensive chronological bibliography. In the eighteenth century proper, little fault can be found with his work. It begins to weaken only when he enters the nineteenth century and endeavors to present evidence to prove that the nineteenth-century critics were fully anticipated by their predecessors in the late eighteenth century. The presentation of evidence in chapters XV-XVI is necessarily so condensed that it gives the impression of bad organization. And Mr. Babcock does not keep clear the distinction between the anticipation of a method and of an application of the method. An analysis of Hamlet's character may be very new, even if the method of character-analyses is old. And finally Mr. Babcock talks sometimes of proof, when to my mind he has established only a probability—a very different thing. But these adverse criticisms touch only the latter part of the book, where the author is looking forward out of his own field. They should not be taken as seriously diminishing the value of one of the most useful tools for Shakespeare studies which has appeared in recent years.

THOMAS M. RAYSOR

University of Nebraska

The Pepys Ballads. Edited by HYDER E. ROLLINS. 8 vols., pp. xix + 273, ix + 257, xvii + 338, xv + 353, xvii + 336, xvi + 352, xviii + 319, viii + 243. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929-32. Each, \$3.50.

There is a type of reviewer who shows his scholarly superiority by pointing out his author's faults of treatment or by scrutinizing a book page by page for typographical slips or minor (sometimes very minor) verbal inaccuracies. He is a not unfamiliar figure in the columns of learned periodicals. Usually his remarks suggest that he could make a far better book, if he were treating the subject, than that of which he writes. Reviewers of this type will find meager pickings when examining the reprints that appear, in surprisingly rapid succession, under the editorship of Professor Hyder E. Rollins. They are as faultlessly precise as human nature permits. The so-called "creative" or "corrective" reviewing—often needed in notices of scholarly work—lacks material on which to exercise itself, in his instance. The searcher after inaccuracies

who scans the volumes coming from this editor, with zeal to show his own competence as a critic, will fare ill at his favorite sport.

The anthologies and broadside collections reprinted in the last dozen years by Professor Rollins make an imposing array when brought together. He issued *Old English Ballads* in 1920, *A Pepysian Garland* in 1922, *Cavalier and Puritan* in 1923, *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* in 1924, *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* in 1926, *The Pack of Autolycus* and *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* in 1927, *Tottel's Miscellany*, in two volumes, 1928-1929, followed by *The Phoenix Nest* and *A Poetical Rhapsody*. And now, in the years 1929-1932, he has completed a reprint of the ballad collection of the celebrated diarist Samuel Pepys save for the pieces in this collection that have already been made accessible in *A Pepysian Garland* or elsewhere. Assuredly Dr. Rollins is a prolific and tireless issuer of definitive reprints.

A miscellaneous assortment of material appears in the pages of the seven volumes of the Pepys collection—Professor Rollins' eighth volume is occupied by the index. The songs reprinted range in time from 1535 to 1702. The reproduction of their titles in blackletter, and occasionally of old woodcuts, helps to draw attention to the individual pieces. There are hundreds of the songs, and they treat of historical events at home or in Ireland or on the continent, or they narrate the stories of crimes, disasters, and prodigies so liked by broadside balladists and their hearers. One can read in rollicking verse of social happenings, or turn to satires on contemporary foibles, drinking songs, or sentimental pieces. Pepys amassed no inconsiderable number of love songs in his immense collection, and a few here and there exhibit sweetness and charm. The shifting topics of the broadsides are treated sometimes with robust vulgarity, sometimes with surprising refinement. There is variety of matter enough for all readers, even the most jaded.

In the pages of these handsomely printed volumes is the pulsating life of Old London. There appear cheats and greenhorns, street-hawkers, murderers, drunkards, bawds, and highwaymen. There are ballads of gay city gentlemen, of doddering old men, of soldiers and of women disguised as soldiers, and there are innumerable laments of lovelorn swains and lasses. There are entertaining pictures of life, and dismaying pictures of human brutality, credulity, and greed. An accurate and vivid background is afforded by them for social and literary historians of the later sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Here, indeed, in the background they create, lies the chief value for modern readers, of broadside reproductions.

The publication in recent years of so many volumes of reprints points toward rising interest in sub-literary verse. Broadside songs used to be thought hardly worth preserving, certainly not worth making accessible in sumptuously printed form. Even new

editions of Shakespeare rarely draw more beautiful format than that given the Pepys broadsides by the Harvard University Press. Purists and classicists may not find anything valuable in such collections as those that interest Professor Rollins, but many students of history or of literary history now delight in their resurrection. They recreate vividly a past life, and they are an index, in their sub-literate way, of the forces affecting literature in the decades preceding their composition and at the time of their circulation.

In this connection it may be appropriate to note the growing interest in American broadsides, following that now at full tide for the broadsides of the mother country. American books that are symptomatic of this tendency are Worthington C. Ford's checklist of 1922, *Broadsides, Ballads etc., Printed in Massachusetts 1639-1800*, Oscar Wegelin's *Early American Poetry*, a compilation of the titles of volumes of verse and broadsides from 1650 to 1820, the second and augmented edition of which appeared in 1930, and Ola Winslow's *American Broadside Verse from Imprints of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, an anthology of broadside verse coming from the Yale University Press in 1930.

LOUISE POUND

University of Nebraska

A *Garland for John Donne, 1631-1931*. Edited by THEODORE SPENCER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Pp. 202. \$2.50.

It is a garland of many-colored posies that Mr. Spencer has woven for John Donne; let us first list in order this handful of pleasant delights. Eight essays in all; the first, by T. S. Eliot, is on "Donne in Our Time," and the last, by the editor, on "Donne and his Age." One essay, and one only, restricts itself to a single work of Donne's. This is "Donne's 'Paradoxes and Problems,'" by Evelyn M. Simpson. One might rather have expected, perhaps, from Mrs. Simpson a discussion of Donne's sermons, but this topic is well cared for in John Hayward's "A Note on Donne the Preacher." "Donne's Relation to Philosophy" is considered by (and this would have been my own assignment of the topic) Mary Paton Ramsay. On the historico-biographico-factual level we have a careful and satisfying study by John Sparrow of "The Date of Donne's Travels." Mario Praz has contributed "Donne and the Poetry of his Time," and George Williamson, "Donne and the Poetry of Today."

All of these disciples write clearly and justly of Donne; yet when all is said, he remains somewhat enigmatic. And this is well, for if too much were explained, we might well suspect the explanations. Donne was in truth the Hamlet of poets—an in-

structive parallel between the two men is drawn by Mr. Spencer—and not all of the contradictions in his character can be resolved. Happily the contributors to the present volume have not sought an artificial unity in nominal agreement. Miss Ramsay writes of Donne as of a philosopher; Mr. Williamson remarks that "One may say that Donne's emotion is commonly given 'conceptual' form, but not that he is a philosophical poet," and Mr. Eliot declares (perhaps a little fantastically) that "in our time he might have been a very great company lawyer."

None of the writers here represented seems to aim especially at novelty, yet they say some new and striking things, and say them persuasively. Thus, Mr. Eliot makes a case for his statement that "Donne ought always to be recognized as one of the few great reformers and preservers of the English language." M. Praz draws such striking parallels between passages in Michelangelo and in Donne as to justify his assertion that in certain realms ("for some things," as Jonson said to Drummond) "Donne is perhaps nearer to Michelangelo than to anybody else." (But I can hardly agree with this writer that "Had Donne always written in the style of the Anniversaries, he would not rank much higher than Marino or Gongora," or that "Donne's holy sonnets come next in interest after his songs.") Mr. Williamson is strictly accurate in saying, "Contrary to many critics, I find in Donne a rather frugal store of images, and a definite economy in their use"; when he lists the contemporary poets who seem to him closest to Donne, he is not always on such sure ground.

Throughout the essays comprising this volume runs a vein of the best sort of appreciative criticism, a criticism founded on solid knowledge and level-headed reflection. It is such a book as all Donne lovers will appreciate, and as might gratify the poet's ghost.

BEN C. CLOUGH

Brown University

L'Idée de l'art pour l'art dans la littérature anglaise pendant la période victorienne. By LOUISE ROSENBLATT. Paris: Champion, 1931. Pp. 328. (Bibliothèque de la Revue de la Littérature Comparée.)

Miss Rosenblatt's book is intended to do for English Literature in the nineteenth century what was done for the French in Albert Cassagne's *Théories de L'Art pour L'Art en France* (Paris, 1906). But she has chosen to follow a different and, I believe, a less satisfactory method. M. Cassagne devotes only a brief space to a history of the movement. He is primarily interested in what by contrast may be called a philosophical interpretation of the phrase

"art for art's sake." In the French manner, aided by the fact that in France different writers happened to represent different aspects of the term, he treats it principally by analyzing its several qualities, pessimism, snobism, exoticism, and so on. His preliminary generalization is that the movement began as a reaction to bourgeois industrialism, and that the War of 1870 put an end to it.

Miss Rosenblatt, however, finds that the corresponding movement in England was only getting into its swing by 1870, and that it did not arise so much out of a direct opposition on the part of artists to industrialism as out of the nature of the Romantic Movement itself. She follows Miss Egan's brief but important paper (*Smith Studies in Modern Languages*, July, 1921), and finds the theory explicit in the German transcendental philosophers, Kant and Schelling in particular, whose ideas through Coleridge were the most important intellectual influence upon English if not upon French Romanticism. Having assumed with great plausibility this origin for what only several decades later became generally known as "art for art's sake," she carefully distinguishes such art from both art with a sociological-utilitarian purpose and art with an evangelical-moralistic one. But she does not so precisely distinguish its positive qualities. She gives the reader no more clarity than is found in the statement that a work of art exists for the satisfaction it directly affords as a novel form of experience. But the term needs to be associated with its successors as well as its predecessors in esthetic history. To clarify the definition, we ought to know whether the term is to be related to Croce's theory of expression or Mr. Bell's "significant form."

And so, having left her definition vague, Miss Rosenblatt, unlike M. Cassagne, naturally chooses a dominating arrangement that is historical. She finds that after 1860 the native Romantic influence was supplemented by that of contemporary French writers. But it is doubtful if she emphasizes enough not merely the absence of French influence before this date, but the positive hostility towards it in the native art, which became surprisingly insular after the heyday of Romanticism. She does not, in other words, stress Rossetti's hostility to Flaubert as an immoral writer, which arose from a confusion in him that did not exist in Keats or Coleridge between the art for art's sake point of view and the evangelical-moralistic. Similarly, I do not think Miss Rosenblatt clearly enough distinguishes the confusion in Swinburne between the art for art's sake viewpoint and the sociological-utilitarian, which is shown by his adoration of Hugo, who was essentially not a French art for art's sake writer. The fact seems to be that one has to wait for Whistler and Wilde before one discovers an attitude as uncompromisingly esthetic as that of Coleridge or Keats. Miss Rosenblatt does not deny this interim of Victorian compromise, but she fails to give it the emphasis it deserves.

Doubtless Miss Rosenblatt is right in stressing the looseness with which the term was used in the criticism and illustrated in the art of nineteenth century England. But it is a pity that she falls a victim to it. For with this absence of precision as an excuse, she gives up the attempt of M. Cassagne to discriminate like a philosopher, and, under the guise of a literary historian, virtually writes a series of critical essays on a certain group of English men of letters. After her chapter of general definition and a second devoted to the esthetics of Romanticism, in which the portion devoted to Coleridge is inadequate and that on Keats quesses the most brilliant part of her volume, Miss Rosenblatt abandons the attempt to clarify the meaning of her term by using works of art as illustration, and instead turns to the broader subject of evaluating the total output of a series of writers among whom Rossetti, Swinburne, Pater, Stevenson, Whistler and Wilde are conspicuous. But, though she has read an extraordinary amount, her book is not valuable as literary history. After her preliminary discussion of the first users of the term, she has discovered no new factual material; and she has not given new form to the old. Nor is her book a treatise upon a particular esthetic problem, since after her engagement with Miss Egan, she becomes summary in her reference to esthetic principles. But there is nevertheless too much literary history for her chapters upon individual authors to be impressive as literary criticism. She does not leave herself room enough to develop a convincing critical analysis. She has passed into the realm of opinion where, hampered by her confusion of aims, she has not succeeded in saying anything impressive. I find the chapter on Swinburne a welcome reminder of his lapse into conservatism in his later life. But the definition of Pater as an esthetic mystic seems to me to apply rather to Rossetti, and as applied to Pater, to reflect that very vagueness of meaning which Miss Rosenblatt has found altogether too characteristic of the art for art's sake movement in England. I had rather she had chosen to illustrate Pater's own lapses into what seems to me vagueness rather than mysticism by a detailed analysis of the difference between his search for "le mot juste" and Flaubert's, which should have been the pivotal point of her chapter instead of a passing allusion. But one condones much out of pleasure at discovering an English scholar who combines with a conscientious accumulation of fact a recognition of the importance of esthetic values.

EDWIN BERRY BURGUM

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Milton's Editors and Commentators from Patrick Hume to Henry John Todd (1695-1801). By ANTS ORAS. University of Tartu (Dorpat), Esthonia, 1931. Pp. 381.

One of the aspects of the great Milton vogue in the eighteenth century, the enormous development of commentary on the poet's works, had as yet received little attention. Mr. Ants Oras has traced its evolution from the appearance of Patrick Hume's *Annotations on Milton's Paradise Lost* to the Variorum Edition of Todd in 1801. With great industry and care he has sifted the material and in spite of its miscellaneous character he has succeeded in presenting a clear exposition of the rise and growth of Milton scholarship. This growth runs parallel with the dissolution of the neo-classic creed; it is therefore natural that Milton annotation reflects two entirely different ways of approach which manifest themselves in the treatment of the text and in the discussions of the main characteristics of Milton's language, style, and versification. On one hand we find extreme dogmatism, exemplified in Bentley, and to a less degree in Patrick Hume and Newton, on the other hand a type of criticism, less shackled by preconceived standards and aiming at a genuine understanding and interpretation of the poet's artistic qualities. The chief representative of the latter attitude is Thomas Warton in his edition of the minor poems (1785), but his method had already been foreshadowed in Zachary Pearce's reply to Bentley and in Thyer's and Warburton's contributions to Newton's edition. Mr. Oras's book is instructive for two reasons: it supplies additional evidence of the deep admiration Milton's poetry inspired, even in the early years of the century, and at the same time it clearly illustrates the limitations to which all the critics of the period were subject: the strong ethical bent, the want of historical perspective and historical tolerance, the inability to appreciate romance, and others.

I have one or two objections. Mr. Oras sees a certain inconsistency between Richardson's definition of poetry as *Ornament*, and his assertion that its end is "to please and enrich the Imagination." To me it seems that this editor's opinion is in complete accordance with the prevailing conception of art: the function of the imagination continued to be looked upon as a mere means of adornment to which Hobbes had degraded it. (Cf. Pope's line: "True wit is Nature to advantage dress'd.") Nor do I agree with Mr. Oras's high opinion of Warburton, who is represented by him as "one of the subtlest commentators on Milton in the whole century," and "an extreme advocate of imagination and originality." Warburton's notes on Pope's *Essay on Criticism* leave no doubt that he allows the imaginative faculty the same narrow sphere as had been done by Hobbes and Locke, and from one of his letters to Hurd

we know that he called Young "the finest writer of nonsense" because he did not know that "original composition consisted in the manner." Moreover in another letter to the same correspondent he expresses his satisfaction at the appearance of Lauder's essay, because "it is likely enough to mortify all the silly admirers of Milton, who deserve to be laughed at."

But these objections, and perhaps a few others that might be raised against the author's remarks on the theory of imitation of nature (pp. 142, 143), do not detract materially from the value of Mr. Oras's study, which makes an important contribution to the history of Milton's influence in the eighteenth century. Its usefulness is enhanced by the addition of an index of more than twenty pages.

A. BOSKER

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BRIEF MENTION

Medium Aevum, vol. 1, May, 1932, No. 1. Published for the Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature by BASIL BLACKWELL. Oxford. Pp. iv + 80. 6 s. This new periodical is to appear three times a year. It differs from the American journal *Speculum* in that it is limited to philological and linguistic studies. The first number consists of an editorial, five articles and eight reviews. From the contents of the number, it would seem that *Medium Aevum* will be concerned chiefly with the vernaculars of the Middle Ages, rather than with mediaeval Latin. We welcome the new journal, which, if one may judge by its first number, will maintain a high standard, and we wish for it every success.

K. M.

Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, vol. XIII (1931). Pp. 332. The present volume is made up of 11 studies in the mediaeval and modern fields; no linguistic studies are included. The broad sense in which the anonymous editors take the term *philology* is sufficiently indicated by the inclusion of an elaborate and informing treatise on Shrove Tuesday football. This breadth of interpretation is traditional at Harvard, it is true, but the editors none the less are to be commended for maintaining it in the face of a persistent effort in many quarters to turn *philology* into a synonym for *linguistics*. The volume as a whole lives up to the high reputation of its series, recently revived greatly to the profit of American scholarship.

K. M.

Tara: A Pagan Sanctuary of Ancient Ireland. By R. A. S. MACALISTER. New York, 1931. Pp. 208. \$3.00. This authoritative monograph begins with an elaborate and detailed account, historical and descriptive, of the site of Tara (pp. 1-81); 16 maps, plans and photographs serve to visualize the explanations given in the text. The remaining five chapters deal respectively with the beginning, the gods, the kings, the assemblies and the ending of Tara. The whole is presented in a flowing and eminently readable narrative, attractive to lay and learned alike. The book may safely be recommended to anyone interested in the history of ancient Ireland. K. M.

The Romance of Tristram and Ysolt. By THOMAS OF BRITAIN. Translated . . . by R. S. LOOMIS. Revised edition. New York, 1931. Pp. xxviii + 294. \$1.50. The revision of the 1923 edition is most marked in the introduction, which has been almost completely rewritten. A number of minor changes have also been made in the translation itself. The volume in its present form remains a popular rather than a learned work, but it may be used with profit in survey courses in medieval literature. K. M.

Beowulfstudien (Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 74). Von JOHANNES HOOPS. Heidelberg, 1932. Pp. viii + 140. RM 7.50. This important volume deserves an extended notice, but since it is of an exegetical character one's comments would have to take the form of discussion of details, a method of procedure which limitations of space here forbid. Let it suffice to say, then, that every Beowulfian ought to own a copy of this useful and illuminating book. K. M.

CORRESPONDENCE

BENJAMIN ALLEN. Although Benjamin Allen, 1789-1829, has received notice as an American poet of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, he has been overlooked as a writer of prose fiction. There are in the Library of Congress the title pages of three unrecorded works by Allen: *The Parents' Counsellor or Dangerous Moroseness*, Philadelphia, 1825; *General Stevens or The Fancy Dress Ball*, Philadelphia, 1828; and *Living Manners or The Secret of Happiness*, Philadelphia, 1828. The first of these is certainly prose fiction (there is a copy of the book in the Library of Congress) and the others very probably are. However *General Stevens* and *Living Manners* are not listed in the union catalogue at the Library

of Congress, which records the rare books in various American libraries. I shall be grateful if readers of *MLN.* will ascertain whether these books are in the libraries of their respective institutions, and communicate their findings.

BRANCH SPALDING

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VALENTINE AND ORSON. I am most grateful to Mr. A. H. Krappe for his extended notice of my *Valentine and Orson* in *MLN.*, XLVII, 493 ff. I regret only that we do not see eye to eye on all questions. The folklore material presented by Mr. Krappe is similar to, and I think nearly all identical with, that collected by Mr. J. Rendel Harris, in the writings to which both Mr. Krappe and I have made reference. Mr. Krappe notes that I reject Mr. Harris' derivation of *Valentine and Orson* directly from "an ancient twin-tale," but omits to tell why. May I quote from my book, page 99? "It is possible, of course, as Mr. Harris supposes, that there existed an ancient tale of exposed, beast-suckled, contrasted, and quarreling twins, of which our author made use; only, we have no proof of the existence of such a tale in any medieval form." Confronted by a late romance—*Valentin und Namelos*—obviously (as Mr. Krappe admits) a compilation from diverse sources, I preferred to find the source of the main story in a folk-tale recorded in Europe as early as 1550 (centuries earlier in Asia), and to regard those portions of it having to do with the contrast and separation of the brothers as a natural development from a widespread and extant body of medieval story, as set forth in the pages following—a body of story represented by the Eustace legend, *La Belle Helene*, *Octavian*, *Parzival*, *Maugis d'Aigremont*, *Merlin*, *Generides*, and *Tristan de Nanteuil*. If now, as Mr. Krappe thinks, *Valentin und Namelos* rests upon "universal superstitions," what of these other stories? Was each of them independent of all the others, and have they no connection but the common basis of superstition? Is it not more reasonable to derive a late romance from a romantic tradition represented in extant earlier romances, than to derive it from superstitions whose existence we infer from Greek myths and modern folk-tales? If so, one more tale from the North American Indians, or a dozen more, cannot alter the case. In such a matter one can only balance probabilities, but if I remain of the same opinion, I trust it is no treason, either to the revered names of Tylor and Frazer or to the laws of common sense.

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BEOWULF AND THE ÆNEID. In answer to Mr. Jones' review (*MLN.*, April, 1932) of my "Comparative Study of *Beowulf* and the *Æneid*," I wish to make two comments upon his almost unexceptionable report. Mr. Jones remarks in paragraph three, "In discussing the medieval Vergil,

for example, he should have leaned more heavily on Comparetti, perhaps less on Zappert."—I believe most readers of Comparetti's *Vergil in the Middle Ages* will recall that the author devotes comparatively little space to the discussion of Vergil's early popularity in Britain. All that he did offer on this head was of course quite pertinent to my problem, and I was glad to refer to his study as often as occasion permitted. It may here be remarked that Comparetti is not to be accepted without reservation, as will appear to anyone investigating the reliability of his comments upon a MS of Vergil made by Alcuin (or under his direction), which is said to be at the library of Beine. I have made two visits to the city in an effort to discover the MS, which would be a very significant link between Vergil and the English scholar. A letter (dated August 7, 1930) from the head-librarian of the Stadt-Bibliothek finally informed me thus: "Die Berner Stadtbibliothek besitzt keine Virgil-Handschrift, die auf Alkuin zurückgeht. Comparetti muss sich irren; jedenfalls findet sich in den *Analekten* C. W. Mullers keine derartige Angabe." Sandys in his *History of Classical Scholarship* (page 476) repeats in good faith this statement from Comparetti about the Alcuin manuscript. Zappert, one of the earliest scholars to interest himself in the question of Vergil's influence in the Middle Ages, I referred to sparingly; but I have found no reason to believe that his statements have been greatly discounted by later investigation. Finally, I regret that my comment on Bede's activity in bringing books into England gave the impression that he journeyed abroad to get them. Browne, from whose *Venerable Bede* (page 7) I quote, remarks on page 9 that Bede travelled but little, almost certainly not out of England. Mr. Jones' other remarks I accept with due thankfulness and remain his debtor for further bibliographical pointers.

TOM BURNS HABER

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M. JACQUES-HENRY BORNECQUE, FILS DU PROFESSEUR BORNECQUE, préparant actuellement une thèse sur *Alphonse DAUDET*, sa vie et son œuvre, serait particulièrement obligé à ceux de nos lecteurs possédant des documents (autographes, lettres, portraits, souvenirs de tout genre)—et qui accepteraient de lui faire confiance—de bien vouloir l'en avertir: *Rue de Vaugirard, 164, Paris (15^e)*.

LA SOCIÉTÉ DES AMIS DU PRINCE DE LIGNE is preparing to publish his correspondence and requests that photostatic copies of any letters in the possession of readers of *MLN*, or of institutions with which they may be connected be sent to Félicien Leuridant, Palais des Académies, Brussels. M. Leuridant writes that he will be glad to defray the expense incurred.

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THE UPRISING OF THE COMMONS IN SIDNEY'S *ARCADIA*

Critical opinion since Greenlaw has gravitated toward a general rather than a specific allegorical interpretation of Sidney's *Arcadia*.¹ Nevertheless, the nature of textual changes in certain passages in the revised *Arcadia* confirms the belief that Sidney occasionally had specific allegorical intention apart from motives of structure or style. Such a passage occurs in the uprising of the Arcadian commons in Book II.²

According to the original version of the story, the Arcadians resent the retirement of their prince, Basilius, from public life. Imagining that Pyrocles, who is really suitor to the princess Philoclea, is seeking control of the government, they rise in revolt and attack the royal lodge. The heroic effort of Pyrocles and his friend Dorus keeps them at bay in front of the lodge until the royal family is safe inside. Temporarily thwarted, the mob begins incendiary operations in order to force an entrance. The narrative breaks off unexpectedly at this point to tell "what raging motion was the beginning of this Tumulte."

Meanwhile, in the face of immediate personal danger, Pyrocles, the subject of their wrath, astonishes the mob by rushing out of the lodge and gaining the judgment seat before they can stop him.

¹ Edwin Greenlaw, "Sidney's *Arcadia* as an Example of Elizabethan Allegory," *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, 1913, pp. 327-37; Edwin Greenlaw, "The Captivity Episode in Sidney's *Arcadia*," *Manly Anniversary Studies*, Chicago, 1923, pp. 54-63; R. W. Zandvoort, *Sidney's Arcadia: A Comparison of the Two Versions*, Amsterdam, 1929, pp. 120-35, 154-159; Albert Feuillerat, rev. of Zandvoort's *Sidney's Arcadia*, *MLN.*, March, 1931, pp. 189-91; T. P. Harrison, Jr., "The Relations of Spenser and Sidney," *PMLA.*, XLV, 1930, 729-30.

² Works, ed. Feuillerat, I, 321-3; IV, 120-1.

He assures the Arcadians that their fear of foreign enemies is groundless, and offers himself, the detested stranger, as a sacrifice to them to save those inside the lodge. They are now willing to listen to any proposals he may make, and while they hesitate, visibly mollified, he offers the king's pardon to those who will show their loyalty to Basilius by turning "theyre backes to the gate, with theyre weapons bent ageanst suche as woulde hurt the sacred person of the Duke." His clemency wins most of them over except for a few of the ringleaders, who take to the woods distrusting the sincerity of the offer.

In the revised *Arcadia*, however, at the moment when the mob appears to be swayed by the words of Pyrocles, a new character, Clinias, appears.³ He is a "verbal craftie coward" with a superficial learning and an actor's training in "slidingnesse of language," and is presently discovered to be a spy of Basilius's arch-enemy, Cecropia, and "one of the chieftest make-bates" of the rebellion. "Perceiving the flood of their furie began to ebbe, he thought it policie to take the first of the tide, so that no man cried lowder then he upon Basilius." This desertion of Clinias angers a farmer close by, who strikes at him and thus precipitates a riot between the loyal and disloyal factions and the flight of the rebel party.

Basilius, who does not suspect Clinias's dishonesty, asks for an explanation of the cause of the insurrection. Clinias's speech in answer is substantially the same explanation as the one in the old *Arcadia*, with the addition of numerous assurances that his part with the mob has been one solely of protest at their misconduct. But besides these additions there are certain deletions and substitutions that give the passage a further significance. (Portions deleted from the old *Arcadia* are placed in italics; portions added in the new *Arcadia* in square brackets; where the two versions correspond except for unimportant differences, I have followed the old version.)

At the lengthe *the Princes person*

[your sacred person (alas why did I live to heare it? alas how do I breath to utter it? But your comandement doth not onely enioine obedience, but give me force: your sacred person (I say)]

³ Works, I, 319.

fell to bee theyre Table-talk,
and to speake lycencyously of that,
was a tickling poynte of Corage to
them,

a proude worde did swell in theyre stomackes, and disdaynefull reproches to great persons had putt on a shadowe of greatenes in theyre litle myndes. Till at lengthe the very unbrydeled use of wordes having increased fyer to theyre myndes (whiche thoughte theyre knouledg notable bycause they had at all no knouledg, to Condempne theyre owne wante of knowledge) they discended

[(O never to be forgotten presumption)]

to a direct myslyke of *the Dukes* [your] living from among them. Whereuppon yt were tedyous to wryte theyre farr fetched Constructions, but the Some was *hee* [you] Disdayned them, and what were the shewes of *his* [your] estate, yf theyre Armes meyntheyned *hym* [you] noté who woulde calle *hym* [you] *Duke* [a Prince,] yf *hee* [you] had not a people? When certeyne of them of wretched estates, and worse myndes (whose fortunes, chaunge coulde not empayre) begann to say,

a Straunge Woman had now possest
theyre Prince and government.
Arcadians were too playne headed
to give the Prince Counseyll, what
neede from henceforward to feare
forreyne enemyes, synce they were
conquered withoute stroke stryking,
theyre secrettes opened, theyre
tresures abused, them selves try-
unphed over, and never overthrowen

[that your government was to be looked into; how the great treasures (you had levied among them) had bene spent; why none but great men & gentlemen could be admitted into counsel, that the commons (forsooth) were to plain headed to say their opinions: but yet their blood & sweat must maintain all. Who could tell whether you were not betrayed in this place, where you lived? nay whether you did live or no? Therefore that it was time to come & see; and if you were here, to know]

Yf Arcadia grewe Loathsome in *the Dukes* [your] sighte why *did hee*
not ridd hym self [you did not ridde your self] of the truble, there would not want those shoulde take so fayre a Comber in good part, since the Contry was theyres, and that the governement was an adherent to the Contry: whye shoulde they

that needed not to bee partakers of [not consider of the one, as well
the daunger, bee partakers with the as inhabite the other?]
Cause of the Daunger.

Nay rather (sayde they) let us begynn that, which all Arcadia will followe, lett us deliver oure Prince from

forreyne handes,

[daunger of practises,]

and oure selves from the wante of a Prince? Lett us *bee the first* to doo that whiche all the Rest thinke? Lett yt bee sayde *the Phagionians* [we onely] are they which are not astonished with vayne Tytles, that have theyre force, but in oure forces? Lastly, to have saide and hearde somuche was as *punishable*, [dangerous] as to have attempted, and to attempt they had the

glorious shewe of Comon Wealth
with them.

[name of glorious liberty with
them.]

These wordes beyng spoken, like a furyous storme tooke holde presently of theyre well enclyned braynes,

[What I, and some other of the honester sort could do, was no more, then if with a puffe of breathe, one should goe about to make a saile goe against a mightie wall. So generall grewe this madnes among them,]

there needed no Drumm, where eche man cryed, eche spake to other, that spake as fast to hym, and the Disagreeing sounde of so many voyces was the onely token of theyre unmeete agreement: . . .

Basilius, completely won over to Clinias, commissions him to discover if there is "any further depth in this matter." He also sends two shepherds,—one to Philanax, another to "other principal noblemen and cities thereabouts, to make through-inquirie of this uprore." Meanwhile, Clinias "hasted away, with mind to tell Cecropia that she was to take some speedie resolution, or els it were daunger those examinations would both discover, & ruine her."

It is at once obvious that Sidney has revised with an eye to increasing the dramatic effectiveness of the episode. The characters all take on a new animation; the whole scene is fitted by a number of small hints concerning Clinias into the larger plan of the plot. It is quite as obvious that the fancy butchery of the commons is a revision on grounds of style. But his revisions in the passage which describes the causes of the popular uprising cannot be so explained. In the original version, Sidney gives the explanation as his own opinion; in the revised version, it not only becomes Clinias's scornful denial of his own part in the whole affair, told with

embellishments designed to clear him of guilt, but, contrary to his usual practice, Sidney has refashioned the passage line by line in such a way as to change its character: (1) There is an emphatic repudiation in the revision, of the excuses the commons make for rebellion. (2) Direct reference to licentious slander of the prince by the commons is repudiated or omitted. (3) All references to foreign danger have been omitted. (4) The discontent of the commons has arisen in the old version from a foreign source, in the new version from an internal source.

These revisions coincide significantly with Sidney's withdrawal in 1580 from active opposition to the French marriage, and with his consequent effort to disengage himself from connection with the popular tide of resentment which had risen to its height during Alençon's visit to England in August 1579.⁴ There were several reasons for this change of attitude. Throughout the year 1579, it was well understood that Sidney's party at court under the leadership of Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham were using indirect means to excite the populace against the match. Behind the violent language of the Puritan clergy, behind the posted notices, behind the written petitions sent to the queen was the hand of Leicester.⁵

But Sidney had no desire to be classed as a demagogue. His stigmatization of Clinias is proof enough of that. Nor was he a lover of the mob; without authorized leadership, they were "a many-headed multitude"; and although he was in agreement with their cause, he had the example of John Stubbs's punishment for the *Gaping Gulf* to demonstrate the danger of scandalous utterances against the French alliance. Consequently, in his letter to the Queen in January, 1580, "touching hir mariage with Monsieur," while reiterating the popular warnings of the loss of her estate and personal liberty through a foreign alliance, he firmly condemned without refuting, "the abominable speeches that certaine hellish minded people have uttered."⁶ And at the same time, he recom-

⁴ Zandvoort, who has gathered all the available evidence, sets 1580 as the probable date for revision. *Op. cit.*, pp. 5-7.

⁵ State Papers, Cal. Span., pp. 659, 692, 702; Cal. Ven., p. 623.

⁶ Works, III, 59. "For my part when I heere some loste wretche hath defiled such a name with his mouthe, I consider the right nature of blasphemy, whose unbridled sowle doth delighe to teare that which generally is accompted most high & holy." Sidney's interest in the matter is shown in January, 1581, in his appointment on a special committee in

mended to her the adverse opinion of her own council, "renowned all over Christendome for their well tempred minds. Lett those in whome you finde truste & to whome you have committed trust in your weighty affaires, be held up in the eyes of your subjectes."⁷ His letter was on the one hand a warning to overzealous Protestants, and on the other, a defense of the Protestant opposition at court.⁸

Even those removed from the court circle recognized the danger in opposing the Queen's will. Villiers, secretary to the Prince of Orange, begged Davison, in view of the Queen's action against Stubbs, to warn his friends against further opposition.⁹ And

Parliament to frame an act against seditious words and rumors uttered against the Queen's most excellent majesty. Section 4 specifies death and forfeiture of goods to anyone who "shall advisedly & with malicious intent against our said sovereign lady, devise, & write, print, or set forth any manner of book, rime, ballad, letter or writing, containing any false, seditious, & slanderous matter, to the defamation of the queen's majesty that now is." *Stat Realm.*, Eliz., 23, cap. 2.

⁷ Conyers Read quotes Sir Edward Stafford's letter in *Cal. France*, xii, fo. 133: "I am more than half afraid that he is made but a stale to take a bird withal." ("Walsingham and Burghley in Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxviii, 1913, 43-4. Languet to Sidney, October 22, 1580: "I suspected that you had been urged to write by persons who either did not know into what peril they were thrusting you, or did not care for your danger, provided they effected their own object. Since, however, you were ordered to write as you did by those whom you were bound to obey, no fair-judging man can blame you for putting forth freely what you thought good for your country, or even for exaggerating some circumstances in order to convince them of what you judged expedient.")

⁸ Works, III, 58. Letter to the Queen: "So that if your subjectes doe at this present looke to any after chaunce, it is but as the Pilote doth to the shipp boate if his shipp should perishe, driven by extremity to the one, but as long as he can, as his life tendring th'other. And this I say not onely for the lovely partes which be in you, but even for their owne sakes, since they must nedes forsee what tempest threateneth them." Cf. *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* (1579), possibly written by Languet or Duplessis Mornay, friends of Sidney, which argues that when the captain loses his course, underofficers should steady the ship, but that common persons should not of themselves resist their sovereign. *A Defense of Liberty against Tyrants*, ed. Laski, London, 1924, pp. 204 ff., 210 ff.

⁹ *Cal. Foreign*, Nov. 28, 1579: "The way to pacify kings is not to oppose them, or to announce by writings, signatures, or remarks that one does not approve their doings, it is necessary to be humble, or at least to hold one's tongue."

Languet, while admiring Sidney's courage in admonishing the Queen, recommended a more temperate course:

But you must take care not to go so far that the unpopularity of your conduct be more than you can bear. Old men generally make an unfair estimate of the character of the young, because they think it a disgrace to be outdone by them in counsel. Reflect that you may possibly be deserted by most of those who now think with you. For I do not doubt there will be many who will run to the safe side of the vessel, when they find you are unsuccessful in resisting the Queen's will, or that she is seriously offended at your opposition. . . . When you find that your opposition only draws on you dislike and aversion, and that neither your country, your friends, nor your self derive any advantage from it, I advise you to give way to necessity, and reserve yourself for better times; for time itself will bring you occasions and means of serving your country."¹⁰

However effective these prophetic warnings were, the Protestant faction at court early in 1580 had submitted to the Queen's will with regard to the marriage.¹¹ Sidney retired from court and stayed away until the autumn, in spite of the Queen's inquiries for him and his realization that the common people entertained false suspicions of him.¹² A letter from Languet, dated March 12, 1580, sufficiently reveals his change of mind toward Alençon:

I wonder why the Duke of Anjou has conceived this dislike of you. If he hates you only because you opposed him in England, he will soon be reconciled to you, and it will be unnecessary for you to say more than that you acted, not from ill-will towards him, but for the good of your country. You gain neither advantage nor honour by quarrelling with men of his rank.¹³

And in October, he wrote again:

About Anjou's coming to you, and his marriage, I think as I always have thought. But if he shall come hither, and you wish to be reconciled

¹⁰ Bradley, W. A., *The Correspondence of Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet*, Boston, 1912, pp. 187-8.

¹¹ Cal. Span., Mendoza to the King, Jan. 13, 1580; Lodge's *Illustrations*, II, 223, Archbishop of York to the Earl of Shrewsbury, March 5, 1580. Cf. also Edwin Greenlaw, "Spenser and the Earl of Leicester," *PMLA.*, xxv (1910), 554-557. The increased peril of Spanish invasion had made the French marriage appear to be "her most safetie." Leicester supervised a general muster beginning on March 16. Meanwhile, cases of libels against the Queen continued to come before the Privy Council. Cf. *Acts Priv. Coun.*, 1579-80, pp. 357, 367, 368, 405.

¹² Works, III, 129, 133; Languet to Sidney, Sept. 24, Oct. 22.

¹³ Bradley, pp. 195-6.

to him, nothing will be easier. The Prince of Orange, whom doubtless he will esteem and regard as a father, will be able to do it better than anyone else. St. Aldegonde, Duplessis, and Villers are most friendly to you; they will surely have much influence with him, and will do anything to serve you. And if others should fail, perhaps I could do something in the matter, for when I was with him last summer, he conversed with me in as friendly a manner as yourself.¹⁴

When in November, Alençon made his second visit to England, Sidney took an active part in the festivities. The letter of remonstrance was apparently his single public act of disapproval of a course that appeared to him gravely dangerous to the state and the Protestant cause. After that time, he suppressed whatever personal feeling remained and shaped his actions to conform to the Queen's wishes.

But far more dangerous to his personal reputation than the letter to the Queen was the interpretation that could be made of the original *Arcadia* in circulation among his friends at court. Here, in the drunken talk of the Arcadians, was a grimmer likeness of the situation of 1579; Englishmen, like Arcadians, had slandered their prince, had threatened rebellion over the prospect of a stranger's possessing their secrets, draining the treasury, conquering the country without opposition; and, if necessary, they, too, would have taken the government into their own hands rather than leave their prince to foreigners. Such ideas bear a close, at times a verbal resemblance, to the forbidden *Gaping Gulf*:

And can it be saufe that a stranger & a Frenchman, should as owner possesse our Queene, the chiefe officer in England, our most precious rych treasure. . . . The king, hys brother, & hys mother have some other meanyng agaynst the church, state, & person of our prince, even to have an eye in the heade of our Courte, & a hand in the heart of this realm, to worke our ruin & theyr great hatreds. . . . They seeke, like horse-leaches, by sucking upon us to fill theyr beggarly purses to the satisfieng of theyr bottomlesse expence. . . . I humbly therefore besech the Queene & al her wise, valiant & good men, rather to keepe away the cause of this danger then to trouble themselves with provision that in comming he should not hurt.

These were words prohibited from circulation by royal edict in September, 1579. But in 1580, Alençon had left the country, Leicester and his party had withdrawn opposition to the match,

¹⁴ Bradley, pp. 206-7.

the fever of the commons had cooled, and it is reasonable to suppose that Sidney in revising had followed the wiser course, and substituted innocuous phrases for those that were most clearly allusive. It is this apparent care to conceal in the revised version the cause of the Arcadian uprising that leads to the assumption that Sidney was protesting against the French marriage in the original version of the *Arcadia*.

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A MANUSCRIPT COPY OF SPENSER'S *HYMNES*

Harleian MS 6910, a well-known anthology of Elizabethan verse compiled ca. 1596,¹ contains hitherto unrecorded copies of Spenser's *Hymne in Honour of Beautie* and the *Hymne of Heauenly Beautie*, printed in 1596. The first is uncatalogued, and the second is listed² only under the first line of the poem, "Rapt with the rage of myne owne rauisht thought."³ Both poems are copied in abbreviated versions, with no mention of titles or author, and with no indications that parts are omitted.

The *Hymne of Beautie* (fols. 117^v-119^r) omits the prologue and begins with line 29, "What tyme this worlds great workmaster did cast"; drops two stanzas, lines 50-63, without great violence to the context; and stops with line 161, a not impossible ending. The admonition to "ye faire Dames, the worlds deare ornaments" and the exposition of the philosophy and operation of love are missing. The entire MS version is not half so long as the familiar printed text. Aside from numerous differences in spelling, the only changes from the readings of the 1596 quarto are "them most comely" for "them as comely" in line 33, "then it" for "it then" in line 110, and "those" for "these" in line 120.

The version of the *Hymne of Heauenly Beautie* (fols. 127^v-130^r) is less abrupt. Lines 1-112 are given without omission; lines 113-154, six stanzas enlarging on the awfulness of the attributes of

¹ The MS is dated 1596 on fol. 74^v, at the end of a transcript of Spenser's *Complaints*.

² *Catalogue of the Harleian MSS in the British Museum*, 4 vols., 1808-12, III, 447.

³ The spelling of the MS is followed in quotations from it.

God, are dropped silently; and the poem stops with line 231, again a possible ending:

Ah gentle Muse thou art too weake and faynt,
The purtraict of so heauenly hew to paynt.

The omitted lines (232-301) complete the ecstatic account of Sapience. Variants are more numerous than in the *Hymne of Beautie*: line 22, with th'easie, *Q*; with easye, *MS*; 38, flitting, *Q*, fleeting, *MS*; 43, whereof, *Q*; thereof, *MS*; 64, these, *Q*; those, *MS*; 75, those likewise, *Q*; likewise those, *MS*; 168, thereon do, *Q*; do thereon, *MS*; 204, her face, *Q*; that face, *MS*; 225, How then dare I, *Q*; How dare then I,⁴ *MS*; 226 diuine a wight, *Q*; diuine a thing,⁵ *MS*. There is nothing in this list beyond explanation as an error in transcription; but the variant in line 170, defective in the quarto, is more worthy of record. The several versions of line 170 are:

Is may thousand times more cleare, (1596 quarto)
Is manie thousand tymes exceeding cleare, (Harl. MS 6910)
Is many thousand times more bright, more cleare, (1611 folio *).

In contrast to this correction, the *MS* follows the quarto in making line 165 an Alexandrine:

... the darke
The darke and dampish aire, wherby all things are red.

On the evidence of the *Hymnes* alone, one might conjecture that the *MS* versions were copied from an early draft and represent a genuine stage in the development of the poems.⁷ The evidence of

⁴ This variant is hardly significant: after the word "dare" an "I" is deleted, as though the writer had noted the omission of "then" before "dare" in time to correct the error by making a slight alteration.

⁵ A curious variant, in that it destroys the rhyme. Imperfect rhyme in cases where the rhyme word readily suggests itself is not unusual in Spenser: in his edition of the *Faerie Queene* (I, pp. vii-ix) J. C. Smith notes nine instances of this phenomenon.

⁶ J. C. Smith (*Spenser's Minor Poems*, ed. Ernest de Sélincourt, p. 523) suggests that Spenser wrote "thousand thousand," that the quarto dropped one "thousand" accidentally, and that the folio emended the resulting defective line by adding "more bright" on its own authority.

⁷ In the case of Spenser, such a possibility always demands investigation because of the frequent references by Spenser and his friends to his poems in manuscript,—e. g., the dedication of the *Hymnes*, referring to "copies

other poems in the MS supports the alternative explanation, that the copyist simply chose to omit certain parts of the *Hymnes*, when he transcribed the printed text. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the point.

The first and longest item in the MS is a copy of Spenser's *Complaints* (fols. 1-74^v), at the end of which is written "Finis 1596." After checking its readings of difficult or varying passages, De Sélincourt decided that the MS appeared to be a careful transcript of the 1591 quarto as represented by the Alfred Huth copy.⁸ The MS follows the "Huth quarto" in its errors (e. g., *Muiopotmos* 196, the dropping of "Dull") and makes a few independent corrections,⁹ along with some found in the 1611 folio. But its adherence to the quarto when the folio has supplied an obvious correction and its general agreement with the quarto in spelling show that "its occasional agreement with the folio is accidental."

Further examination of the MS discloses nothing that would invalidate De Sélincourt's explanation of the poems as copies of the printed text.¹⁰ The arrangement of the poems, which varies from the printed order indicated by the numbers in parentheses, is as follows: *Mother Hubberds Tale* (4); *Teares of the Muses* (2); *Virgils Gnat* (3); *Muiopotmos* (6); *Ruines of Time* (1); *Ruines of Rome* (5); *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie* (7); *Visions of*

formerly scattered abroad" of "those two Hymnes of earthly or naturall love and beautie."

⁸ *Spenser's Minor Poems*, pp. xviii-xix.

⁹ De Sélincourt's summary contains two errors: the MS reads (correctly) "worlds" in *Ruines of Time* 574, not "words" as in the Huth quarto; and it reads (as the quarto, incorrectly) "billowe" in *Virgils Gnat* 575, not "billowes". The heavy stroke of the letter *d* slants sharply to the left and obscures the *l* in "worlds" (and very commonly in other cases where *d* follows *l*). Further, the MS alters the "raime" of the Huth quarto in *Teares of the Muses* 435 to an equally meaningless "raine". But these errors in detail do not affect De Sélincourt's conclusions; other instances of the adherence of the MS to the Huth quarto are readily available, e. g., *Muiopotmos* 250, "displacing for "dispacing", and line 354, "Enfestred" for "Enfestred".

¹⁰ It is theoretically possible that the MS and the uncorrected printed text as represented by the Huth quarto have a common origin; but such a theory is untenable in view of the copyist's willingness to correct obvious errors elsewhere in the *Complaints*.

Bellay (8); *Visions of Petrarch* (9). Since several of the poems begin on a verso, the arrangement is not an accident of binding. The text of the dedications is omitted, and only the names of the patrons are recorded. Similarly, the last half of the envoy to the *Ruines of Time* (lines 680-86), in which the poet again addresses the Countess of Pembroke, is omitted. The fourth vision of the last group in the *Ruines of Time* (lines 631-44) and the sixth sonnet in the *Visions of Bellay* are dropped silently, and in each case the omissions are concealed by renumbering the stanzas which follow.

Although the evidence of the *Complaints* transcript weakens any argument for the independent authority of the MS *Hymnes*, the treatment of Thomas Sackville's *Induction*¹¹ is a closer and more damaging parallel to the method of copying the *Hymnes*. In this case alterations are necessary to make the context read smoothly when passages are omitted. For example, lines 68-70 are dropped, and line 71 is changed from "And strait forth stalking with redoubled pace" to "I went on stalking with redoubled pace." The omission of a stanza, lines 169-75, requires an alteration in line 176 from "I shall thee guyde first to the griesly lake" to "I shall the shew (quoth she) the griesly lake." The most striking analogy is the omission of lines 400-476, a pageant-like description of scenes of war. Apparently the copyist discarded the passage as an amplification out of proportion to the space devoted to the other allegorical figures, just as he discarded passages in the *Hymnes* that could be dropped without making the abbreviated form unintelligible. This version of the *Induction* stops with line 525, four stanzas short of the end,¹² and the last two lines in the MS are revised to make an ending:

. . . when I for feare agast
And well nie dead wth grief, fled from her all in hast.

Finally, a collation of the text shows that the MS *Induction* agrees

¹¹ Fols. 107r-113r; catalogued under its first line. In the first part of the poem, with few exceptions, the seven-line stanzas are copied in pairs as fourteen-line stanzas; but the practice is abandoned and the usual form followed after line 224.

¹² Stanzas 79-103 of the *Complaynt of Henry Duke of Buckingham* occur in the MS (fols. 102r-104r) quite apart from the *Induction*.

generally with the edition of 1587 as represented by Haslewood's variant readings.¹³

It would be tedious and unnecessary to adduce the evidence of other poems which I have been able to identify. In nearly all cases they were in print before or about 1596; and since the 1593 date cannot be applied with certainty to the entire MS, a later date of printing for any poem would not necessarily establish the independence of the MS version.¹⁴

One other Spenserian fragment in the MS (fol. 165^r) is an extract from *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, the famous description of the sea in lines 204-11. The brief passage is quoted without title or author, and again the treatment is by no means unusual.¹⁵ For example, four stanzas (20-23) of *The Wilfull Fall of the blacke Smith* from the *Mirror for Magistrates* are quoted without ascription of any sort (fol. 101^v); and the extract is followed immediately, as though it were an entirely independent verse, by the seventh stanza.

On the evidence of the *Complaints*, of the *Induction*, and of other poems in the MS, I conclude that the copies of Spenser's *Hymne in Honour of Beautie* and the *Hymne of Heauenly Beautie* in Harleian MS 6910 are abbreviated copies of the printed text.

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DID SPENSER DIE IN POVERTY?

De Sélincourt is in accord with all the modern biographers of Spenser when he says in his Introduction to the one volume Oxford edition of Spenser's *Works* (p. xxxviii): "He left Cork upon the 9th of December and before the 24th he was in London." The poet

¹³ *Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Joseph Haslewood, 3 vols., London, 1815, II, 309-32.

¹⁴ The MS does present interesting variants in lyrics of the courtly poets, a kind of verse for which it is well-known; e. g., Sir Philip Sidney, "In a groue most riche of shade" (fols. 171^r-172^v, "finis P.S."), and "A neighbour myne not long ago there was" (fols. 173^v-175^r, "finis P.S."). Cf. also Thomas Campion, *Works*, ed. Percival Vivian, Oxford, 1909, pp. 356-57, 366-67.

¹⁵ The MS contains many such brief extracts, but I have not recognized any other Spenserian fragments.

carried with him a letter from Sir Thomas Norreys to the Privy Council dated from Cork the 9th of December and "sent by the hand of Edmund Spenser, the Poet." This dispatch is endorsed "Received at Whitehall 24 Dec., 1598." These documents, with Norreys' letter of December 21, in which he refers to his former dispatch "sent by Mr. Spenser," are all preserved with the *Irish Papers* at the Public Record Office in London.

Although this evidence seems about as definite as such things can ever be, there is a slight error in the deduction. A study of the documents in the Public Record Office reveals the fact that Spenser carried with him when he left Cork two letters, one to the Privy Council and one to Sir Robert Cecil. In volume 203 of the *Irish Papers*, item 24, is a letter from Norreys to Cecil, dated "at Corke 24^o January, 1598." It reads:

Right honorable: Since my last by Mr. Spenser, heare hath happened so little mattir, as I hold not fit to trouble yo^r Ho: therwth, but humbly crave to give leave to refer you to my Ioynt lrs to their Lls.

Norreys' last letter to Cecil is dated "At Corke xij Decem: 1598" and is endorsed "R C: Whitehall 24 Decem:" (*S.P.* 63, vol. 202, pt. 4, item 23). It is quite evident, then, that this letter was carried by Spenser along with the letter to the Privy Council; therefore Spenser left Cork on or shortly after December 13, instead of the 9th, and arrived in London on or about December 24.

On January 16, 1598/9¹ the poet died in King Street, Westminster. Ben Jonson states in his *Conversations with Drummond* (1619)

That the Irish having rob'd Spenser's goods and burnt his house and a little child new born, he and his wyfe escaped; and after he died for lake of bread in King Street, and refused 20 pieces sent to him by my Lord of Essex and said, He was sorrie he had no time to spend them.

This statement is usually discredited by biographers from Todd to Henley. There is, however, much supporting evidence. The sober historian, Camden, says that Spenser returned to England poor, "in Angliam *inops* reversus." In the *Return from Parnassus* (acted 1606), the "soile," that is England, is described as "Denying maintenance for his deare relief" and as "Scarce deigning to

¹ Cf. W. I. Zeitler, "The Date of Spenser's Death," *MLN.*, XLIII, 322-4; Zeitler argues that the date was January 13.

shut up his dying eye." Fletcher in his *Purple Island* (1633) says "Poorly (poore man) he liv'd; poorly (poore man) he died." Robert Johnston in his *Historia Rerum Britannicarum* (1655, p. 249) says of Spenser: "Ubi (Hiberniam) à Praedonibus Laribus ejectus, & Bonis spoliatus, Inops in Angliam redijt." Joseph Hall, in his address to Bishop Bedell on his imitation of Spenser, *A Protestant Memorial*, not published until 1713, but written about 1606, gives this support to Jonson's statement:

Thine be his [Spenser's] verse: not his reward be thine!
 Ah! me, that after unbeseeing care
 And secret want which bred his last misfare,
 His relicks dear obscurely tomb'd lie
 Under unwritten stones, that who goes by
 Cannot once read, Lo! here doth Collin lie!

Hall says definitely that Spenser died from want: "And secret want which bred his last misfare." But the strongest support for Jonson is to be found in an unpublished poem now in the Royal MSS (17. B. XV) at the British Museum, *Tritons' Triumphet*, by John Lane, dated 1621. Lane has the following reference to Spenser's death:

Whither quoth shee [muse] to England Damus said.
 To England! quoth shee, no· that place me traied, [betrayed]
 So that none theare loves mee, w^{ch} I knowe by proof,
 how they from my deere *Spencer* stood aloof
 When verbale drones of virtuous merit scant
 suffred that gentile poet die of want:
 one onlie knowinge generositie,
 and findenge he woold starre [starve] for modestie,
 him sent in greatest sicknes, crownes good score,
 so *Robert Essex* did (honors decore).
 Nathless of pinge grieffe, and wantes decaid
 hee may thank that stout Earle, yet thus him said,
 the medicine comes too late to the pacient!
 he died. And so woold I, if thither went!
 Alas! was that his ende, quoth Damus, tho,
 I pittie him, yet heare of this I know,
 he ha on him bestow'd a funeral
 after the rites of Laureat Coronal
 At that Tripova laugh'd, naie swore these serive
 To dandle poets dead, yeat leave a live
 ne had that rose vppon binn imploid,
 but for my lovinge frend *Lodowick Lloyd*.²

² This poem is wrongly ascribed by Carpenter to Lodowick Lloyd (*Refer-*

Lane, we notice, tells the same story as Jonson and adds that his friend Lodowick Lloyd, was responsible for Spenser's funeral, which was at the expense of Essex.

We have, here, then, the testimony of four of Spenser's contemporaries, Ben Jonson, Joseph Hall, John Lane, and the author of the *Return from Parnassus*, that he died of want. Camden, Fletcher, and Johnston further testify that he died in poverty. With the exception of Dean Church, Spenser's biographers are united in denying this evidence. They do not wish to believe it; therefore they do not. They cite the pension, his fees as messenger, his salary as Sheriff of Cork, and his powerful friends. Where, they say, were Raleigh, Essex, and the Queen herself, when this gentle poet was starving to death? They forget that we have no record of the payment of the pension and that there is a contemporary rumour that Spenser never received it. Spenser had just been appointed Sheriff, if indeed he had received the appointment. Again, there is no record of his actual appointment. Likewise, there is no evidence that he received any fee as messenger for Norreys. That his friends did not come to his rescue is attributed by Lane to Spenser's modesty. He was no beggar. Moreover, those were busy times at court and it is quite understandable that Spenser's plight was overlooked in the press of business.

But all the biographers ignore the fact that Spenser himself has left us a description of his condition at this time. The most neglected of all Spenser's writings is his "Briefe Note of Ireland," which he presented to the Queen on his arrival from Ireland about December 24, 1598. It is preserved at the Record Office in the *Irish Papers* (vol. 202, pt. 4, item 59) and has been printed by Grosart in volume I of his edition. My transcript is from the original.

To the Queene.

Out of the ashes of disolacion and wastnes of this your wretched Realme of Ireland [thus far in *Italic hand*]. Vouchsafe moste mightie Emperesse our dred soveraigne to receive the Voices of a few moste vnhappie Ghostes, of whome is nothinge but the ghost nowe left wch lie buried in the bottome of oblivion farr from the light of yo^r gracious sunshine. . . .

ence Guide, p. 243), and quoted inaccurately by Collier (I, cli.), though ascribed to Lane. Grosart (I, 238) makes light of it, especially the rhyming of "want" with "scant." Lane could not have got this from Jonson's *Conversations with Drummond*, for they were not printed until 1711.

[P. 5 of the MS and 197 of the Volume]

And going straight vpon the English as they dwelt disparsed before they could assemble themslues spoiled them all, there houses sacked and them selues forced to flie away for safetie, so many as they could catch they hewed and massacred miserablie the rest leaving all behinde them fledd wth their wives and children to such porte townes as were next them where they yet remaine like most pittifull creatures naked and comfortles lying vnder the towne walls and begging aboute all the streetes daily expecting when the last extremity shalbe lade vpon them. Could yo^r Moste Meifull eyes so but sene pte of the image of these o^r most ruefull calamities they would melt with remorse to se so manie soules of yo^r faithfull subiects brought hither to inhabit this yo^r land of the w^{ch} many were the last day men of good substance and abilitie to live, others of verie able bodies to serue yo^r Mat^e nowe suddainly become so wretched wights and miserable out casts of the worlde as that none of the countrie people here vouchsafeth to comiserate but rather to scorne and approbriouslie revile them as people abandoned of all helpe and hope and exposed to extreme miserie. / . . .

[P. 7 of MS and 198 of the Volume.]

. . . But in the meane season wee poore wrech^es w^{ch} nowe bear the burden of all ou sights [oversights] power out o^r moste humble and pittious^e plainte vnto yo^r moste excellent Mat^e that it may please you to caste yo^r graciouse minde vnto the carrfull regarde of o^r Miseries w^{ch} being quite banished out of o^r inhabitaces and the lands vpon w^{ch} wee haue spent all the small porcon of o^r abilities in building and erecting such trades of husbandries as wee haue betaken have nowe nothing left but to cry vnto you for tymelie aide before wee be brought to vtter distruction and o^r wretched liues (w^{ch} onelie now remaine vnto vs []) be made the pray of doggs and sauage wilde beasts. / . . .

The last part of this selection describes Spenser's condition exactly. We cannot escape the personal note. He had spent all he had in building the houses and making the improvements on his land required in his grant. The Irish rebels had burned his houses and all his possessions and he, with others, was forced to fly to Cork, penniless and devoid of any means of living, where they were "suddenly become so wretched wights and miserable outcasts of the worlde as that none of the Countrie people here vouchsafeth to comiserate but rather to scorne and approbriouslie revile them as people abandoned of all helpe and hope and exposed to extreme miserie." If we do not get help from the Queen, he says later, "We poore wrech^es . . . [will] be brought to utter distruction and our wretched liues (which onelie now remaine vnto vs) be made the pray of doggs and sauage wilde beasts."

For Spenser himself this is a true prophecy, for on January 16

(13?), little more than a fortnight after delivering this petition, he died in extreme poverty, and most likely from the effects of the rebellion. That he starved to death is hard to believe, but that he died from neglect and a broken heart from this neglect is clearly indicated in the evidence detailed above.

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SPENSER'S USE OF THE PERFECTIVE PREFIX

Some years ago in discussing Spenser's linguistics in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, the present writer noted that all of the twenty cases in the poem of the old Germanic prefix ge- (y-) were syntactically and etymologically correct.¹ Spenser uses this prefix widely: leaving out *ago* (ygone etc.), which of course was a commonplace of Elizabethan speech and not a part of his archaistic style, he employs it, regularly in the form y-,² ninety-nine times in the *Faerie Queene*; twenty times in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, four times in *Colin Clout*, and once each in the *Ruins*, in *Mother Hubbard's Tale* and in the *Visions of Petrarch*: that is 126 examples in all. Like his M. E. models, he was by no means consistent in its use; and out of some sixty cases in the *Faerie Queene* of the past participle of *bring*, for instance, only four scattered examples show the perfective prefix.³ Its use, however, was an occasional characteristic of his style from the very beginning to the end of his career;⁴ and some examination of this matter should throw light on his knowledge of Middle English and on his general interest in linguistics.

¹ See *JEGPh*, XVIII, 556, especially note 51, and B. R. McElderry, Jr., *PMLA*, XLVII, 156-157.

² Rarely as a-, as in *apaid*. See Osgood's *Concordance*. *Apaid* is cited in *NED*. in Robert of Gloucester.

³ The verbs with which he most commonly employs it are, *yclad* (var. *yclodeth*), used 20 times, and *yborn* (var. *yborne*), used twelve.

⁴ In the *Faerie Queene*, the cases seem to be distributed as follows: Book I, 26; Book II, 12; Book III, 26; Book IV, 17; Book V, 8; Book VI, 6; Book VIII (two cantos) 2. This seems to show a decline as his style grew less archaic and more realistic (Cf. Margaret Nicholson, *SP.*, XXI, 382 *et seq.*).

Ninety-seven of the cases of the perfective prefix in Spenser occur in past participles of O. N. or O. E. origin, for which M. E. descendants having the prefix are cited in *NED*.⁵ These are unquestionably correct. Four cases in which Spenser uses the prefix with the imperfect tense come from verbs that originally contained it throughout their entire conjugation, and that should therefore be allowed: *yclepe*(d),⁶ *ydrad*,⁷ *yshend*,⁸ and *ywrought*;⁹ and four past participles, likewise derived from such verbs, are likewise correct, although the perfective prefix does not seem to appear in the participle of the uncompounded form: *ybrent*,¹⁰ *ycond*,¹¹ *ylincked*,¹² and *yslaked*.¹³ Seven of the remaining examples, although *NED*. records no past participle in *y-*, *ge-* or the like, seem to come from regularly inflected M. E. verbs of O. E. or O. N. origin; and so one seems justified in assuming the existence of forms with the prefix.¹⁴ In two other cases, *NED*. lists the prefix only with the strong form of the past participle, and not, as Spenser uses it, with the weak;¹⁵ but this seems hardly significant. In five cases, moreover, in which Spenser added this Germanic prefix to words of Romance origin, M. E. usage bears him out by using the verbs in question with native inflectional forms: *ycovered*,¹⁶ *ycrouned*,¹⁷ *ymounted*,¹⁸ and *ystabled*.¹⁹ *Ytost* is of uncertain origin: but its use earlier in the century seems to put

⁵ I include the variant *yclothed* as well as *yclad* on the basis of *ycladed* in the *Lind. Gosp.*, Mark v, 15.

⁶ Cited as an infinitive in the *Durham Ritual* in *NED*.

⁷ Cf. O. E. *adredan*.

⁸ Cf. O. E. *gesciendan*.

⁹ Cf. O. E. *ge-wyrcean*.

¹⁰ Cf. M. E. *ȝ-brennen*. The past participle *ibrend* is cited by Strattmann, s. v.

¹¹ Cf. O. E. *on-cunnen*?

¹² Cf. O. E. *gehlencian*, cited by Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, s. v.

¹³ Cf. O. E. *aslacian*.

¹⁴ *Yfed*, *yfostered*, *yfraught*, *ykindled*, *ymixt* (Skeat and *NED*. disagree), *yrapt*, and *yriv'd*.

¹⁵ *Yfretted*, and *yearv'd*.

¹⁶ Probably from *acover*, an obs. cognate of *cover*, with which it was confused.

¹⁷ *I-crouned* appears in M. E.

¹⁸ Chaucer uses the infinitive *mounten* (*House of Fame*, II, 445).

¹⁹ *Y-stablyd* cited in *NED*., c. 1380.

the burden of proof on whoever would show that the form was unjustified. Thus, of Spenser's 126 examples of the perfective prefix, the vast majority are undoubtedly correct; and as many as 120 would seem to be justifiable.

The six dubious cases that remain fall into two groups: in four, Spenser uses the prefix with the imperfect tense of verbs that do not seem to have carried it throughout their conjugations: ybuilded, yglaunst, yrent, and yshrilled; and, in two cases, he added it to past participles to which it did not belong; yclowded and yplaste; but even these forms may have had justification in Mediæval manuscripts to which he had access. Indeed, his use of the perfective prefix is surprisingly correct,²⁰ especially in the *Shepheardes Calender* and the earlier works; and his reading of Middle English must have been not only wide, as scholars have always supposed, but also minute and detailed, with the same close interest in language *per se* that he shows in the diction of the *Shepheardes Calender*,²¹ in the etymologies of his *Present State of Ireland*²² and in his coinage of classical proper names in the *Faerie Queene* itself.²³

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THE 1758 EDITIONS OF *THE FAERIE QUEENE*

Three editions of *The Faerie Queene* are dated 1758. They are an octavo based upon the text of the poem in John Hughes' version of Spenser's *Works* in 1715, a quarto in two volumes elaborately annotated by John Upton, both Tonson publications, and an octavo in four volumes edited by Ralph Church for William Faden.¹ Since the texts of the two last named are the first to be annotated, it is of some significance that neither editor refers to the work of the other. In his preface Church, however, alludes to the first: "Within these few months *The Faerie Queene* has appeared . . . in a new form in two Volumes Octavo."² He had not considered it

²⁰ Cf. Miss Pope, *PMLA.*, xli, 607 *et seq.*

²¹ See the present writer, *JEGPh.*, xviii, 556 *et seq.*

²² See the present writer, *Mod. Phil.*, xvii, 471 *et seq.*

²³ See the present writer, *PMLA.*, xlvii, 97 *et seq.*

¹ The second volume of Church's edition is dated 1759.

² *The Faerie Queene*, ed. Church, i. ix.

"minutely" for "three fourths" of his own was already "printed off." *The Daily Advertiser* noted the publication of the Tonson octavo on April 13, 1758,³ with a description and the announcement of its sale price of ten shillings which it may be observed was considerably less than the guinea for which the other two sold.⁴

A *Letter Concerning a New Edition of Spenser's Faerie Queene* (1751) heralded John Upton's quarto.⁵ If the Tonsons had secured the right to it before they published their octavo,⁶ it is difficult to understand why they printed so inferior a work only a few months prior unless they feared Upton's would not be ready before Church's text was on sale.⁷ Be that as it may, on December 7, 1758, *The Daily Advertiser* stated that "some time in January next" *The Faerie Queene* would be printed "with notes critical and explanatory" by Ralph Church,⁸ and on January 16 printed a second announcement to the effect that Church's text would appear on the following Monday. This last was repeated on four successive days, and publication advertised on January 22, 1759. Meanwhile on January 13, the same daily had announced the appearance of the poem "with a glossary and notes, critical and explanatory" by John Upton.⁹ Thus there were only nine days between the dates of the two most valuable eighteenth-century editions of *The Faerie Queene*, a sufficient reason for neither Upton nor Church referring to the work of the other.

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³ The notice was reprinted on April 14 and 15.

⁴ A "few" copies of Upton's edition printed "on large paper" were advertised at a guinea and a half. Competition likely reduced the price for the proposals announced that a "few" would be printed "on superfine paper" at "two guineas and a half," all others to be sold at "one guinea and a half."

⁵ The date of the proposals for Upton's *Faerie Queene* does not appear in printing. In a copy in the Harvard University library the year "1755" has been supplied on the title page, by some one unknown, in long hand.

⁶ Upton's *Letter* was printed for "G. Hawkins at Milton's Head in Fleet Street," not for the Tonsons.

⁷ It is not improbable there was a demand for a cheap edition, however, for in the middle years of the century Spenser was not a drug in the bookseller's market.

⁸ *The London Chronicle* printed the announcement on the same day.

⁹ Notice was taken of the edition again on January 16 and 17.

SPENSER'S CYMOCLES

Cymocles, of the second book of *The Faerie Queene*, is said to derive his name from *κῦμα*, meaning *the dashing of waves*, or *breakers*. His brother Pyrocles (*πῦρ*, *fire*), however, is fiery by nature; and their common grandfather is Phlegeton, "whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage." Figures taken from fire are often applied to Cymocles: the "close fire" (2. 5. 34. 7) of lust; "inflamed" (37.8); "heat" (38.4); "kindled" (2. 6. 2. 3); "flamed mind" (8.6); "molten heart" (27.5); "the brond of his conceived ire" (27.6); and the "hastie heat of his revenge" (40.9). It seems that his passions are those of heat. This is clearer, and his relation to his closely associated fiery brother is more evident, if his name is derived from *καῖμα*, meaning *burning*, *glow*, especially *the burning heat of the sun*.

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BACON A SOURCE FOR DRUMMOND

Previous investigations of the literary indebtedness of William Drummond of Hawthornden have shown that Drummond, in composing his prose meditation on death, *A Cypress Grove*, borrowed freely from a variety of sources: Pico della Mirandola's *Heptaplus*,¹ Montaigne's *Essais*,² Charron's *De la Sagesse*,³ Ringhieri's *Dialoghi della vita et della morte*,⁴ and Donne's *Anniversaries*.⁵ But Drummond's dependence upon other writers seems to have been even greater than this list indicates, since there is good reason for believing that he levied also upon Bacon's essay *Of Death*.

¹ See W. C. Ward, *The Poems of William Drummond of Hawthornden* (London, 1894), I, lxxvii; II, 275.

² See A. H. Upham, *The French Influence in English Literature from the Accession of Elizabeth to the Restoration* (New York, 1908), pp. 293 ff., 545 ff.; and L. E. Kastner, *The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden* (Manchester, 1913), II, 345 ff.

³ See Kastner, *ibid.*

⁴ See Kastner, *ibid.*

⁵ See M. Muriel Gray, "Drummond and Donne," *TLS.*, April 8, 1920, p. 225; and G. S. Greene, "Drummond's Borrowing from Donne," *PQ.*, XI (January, 1932), pp. 26 ff.

The opening sentence of Bacon's essay runs thus: ⁶

Men feare death, as Children feare to goe in the darke: and as that naturall feare in Children is encreased with tales; so is the other.

Drummond, in describing the universal fear of death, uses the same comparison, expressed in virtually the same words: ⁷

That is ever terrible which is unknown; so do little children fear to go in the dark, and their fear is increased with tales.

There are several other resemblances between the two essays. In both death is likened, in its naturalness, to birth; ⁸ in both death is said to be free from bodily pain because the most vital parts are not the most sensitive; ⁹ in both death is described as terrible, not in itself, but in the contemplation of its cause and in its accompaniments. In the expression of this last thought, moreover, there is a corresponding verbal similarity: ¹⁰

Certainly the feare of death *in contemplation of the cause* of it, and the issue of it, is religious: but the feare of it, for it selfe, is weake. . . . And to speake as a Philosopher or *naturall* man, it was well said, *Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipsa*. Grones, and Conuulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends *weeping*, and Blackes and *obsequies*, and the like, show *death terrible*.
(Bacon, *Of Death*)

Death . . . nor painful is nor evil, except *in contemplation of the cause*
. . . (Drummond, *A Cypress Grove*) ¹¹

Though it cannot well and altogether be denied but that *death naturally* is *terrible* and to be abhorred . . . yet I have often thought that even *naturally*, to a mind by only *nature* resolved and prepared, it is *more terrible* in conceit than in verity . . . and that the marble colours of

⁶ This and my other citation from Bacon are from the text of the 1612 edition of the *Essays* as reprinted by Spedding, Ellis, and Heath in *The Works of Francis Bacon* (New York, 1864), XII, 316 ff. The edition of 1612 was the only one available to Drummond when he wrote his *Cypresse Grove*, which was first published in 1623; the second edition of Bacon's *Of Death* did not appear until 1625.

⁷ Text of Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 256.

⁸ See Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 244, 277; and Spedding, Ellis, and Heath, *op. cit.*, XII, 317.

⁹ See Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 254; and Spedding, Ellis, and Heath, *op. cit.*, XII, 317.

¹⁰ Italics mine throughout.

¹¹ Text of Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 276-7.

obsequies, weeping, and funeral pomp . . . did add much more ghastliness unto it than otherwise it hath. (Drummond, *A Cypress Grove*)¹²

These resemblances in thought and in diction seem too close and too pervasive to be attributed to mere coincidence; they strongly suggest, in themselves, that Drummond borrowed from Bacon. As evidence for this belief they become even more convincing when supported, as they are, by the positive knowledge that Drummond, when he wrote his *Cypress Grove*,¹³ had read Bacon's *Essays*, in the edition in which *Of Death* was first published, the edition of 1612. In the record which he himself kept of the books he read, under the caption "Books red by me anno 1612," Drummond made the entry "Beacon's Essayes."¹⁴

The essay *Of Death* is so brief, particularly in the form in which it appeared in 1612, that it afforded but scant opportunity for Drummond to make upon it further levies than those already suggested. For that reason the resemblances here pointed out, though few in number, become, perhaps, the more cogent as evidence of Drummond's borrowing from Bacon.

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SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF RICHARD STEELE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE

Among the Newcastle Papers in the British Museum there are a dozen letters, until now unpublished, which Steele wrote to the Pelhams—ten to the Duke of Newcastle and two to his brother, Henry Pelham.¹ These letters, which extend over the entire period

¹² Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 241-2.

¹³ Though published in 1623, *A Cypress Grove* was apparently written in 1620; see Bishop Sage, in *The Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh, 1711), p. ii; and David Masson, *Drummond of Hawthornden: The Story of his Life and Writings* (London, 1873), pp. 121, 127.

¹⁴ David Laing, *Archaeologia Scotica* (Edinburgh, 1857), IV, 76. In the same year Drummond recorded that he had read "Becon, Booke of Learning, to the King."

¹ Add MSS. 32, 685.

of the Duke's patronage (1714-1724), add a few more details to our picture of Steele and his patron.

Our knowledge of their relationship has been limited. Steele said outright in a letter written to Newcastle in December, 1719, (the only one known hitherto)² and again in his diary for April, 1721, that he was indebted to Newcastle for election to Parliament for Boroughbridge (1715). The dedication to Newcastle of his *Political Writings* in 1715 and two or three addresses which he wrote that same year for presentation by Newcastle to the King are further evidence of their alliance. But aside from two other bits of information—a note addressed to Prue in 1715 from Claremont, the Duke's magnificent house near Hampton Court, and Steele's mention to her in 1717 of being in attendance upon Newcastle who was "in the chair at Kitt-Katt"—we have known nothing more of their association except what could be gleaned from documents relating to their quarrel between 1718 and 1721 over Steele's patent for the theatre.

The first four letters of this group, written in December, 1714, and January, 1715, are about Steele's election at Boroughbridge, one of the pocket-boroughs of Newcastle, then Lord Clare, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Our uncertainty as to the time when Newcastle's patronage began is definitely cleared up by the letter dated December 14. One biographer of Steele states that he was indebted to Newcastle for his election from Stockbridge, Dorset, in the autumn of 1713;³ and a recent writer on Newcastle believes that Steele expressed dissatisfaction with his patron as early as June, 1713.⁴ It appears certain, however, from the wording of

² The original of this letter is in the Pengelly Papers. It is printed in G. A. Aitken, *Life of Richard Steele* (1889), II, 222.

³ Henry R. Montgomery, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Richard Steele* (1865), II, 18.

⁴ Stebelton H. Nulle, *Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle: His Early Political Career 1693-1724* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931), 18. The letter which Mr. Nulle cites in support of his statement and from which he quotes: "I am going out of your dependence, and will tell you with the freedom of an indifferent man that it is impossible for anyone who thinks, or has any public spirit, not to tremble at seeing his country in its present circumstances in the hands of so daring a genius as yours"—was not written to young Pelham, as Mr. Nulle believes; but was a draft of the famous letter which Steele sent on June 4, 1713 to Robert Harley,

the December letter that Newcastle made his first overture to Steele in the winter of 1714.

Of course they must have been political acquaintances for a year or so before this time, as they were both members of the Hanover Club, organized in 1712 or 1713 to promote the interests of the Hanoverian Succession.⁵ Moreover, the events of the preceding months, centering around the death of Anne and the accession of George, had no doubt strengthened the ties between them. For one thing, their new Whig appointments had brought them together. Newcastle had been made Lord-Lieutenant of Middlesex, and Steele one of his deputy lieutenants. Even so, however, Steele seems somewhat surprised and somewhat cautious in the first letter at the advances made by the ambitious, twenty-one-year-old Pelham, a man of great wealth and a peer of the realm, who had only taken his seat in the House of Lords on the first of August and who in October had been made Lord Clare. It speaks well for Newcastle's political sagacity that as he began his career and made his plans for the coming important election, in which he was to control no fewer than eighteen or twenty seats,⁶ he sought the help of the best party writer the Whigs had. From this first letter, there is little doubt—and this is worthy of note—that he and not Steele made the solicitation.

In December when the correspondence began, Lord Clare seems to have been directing his campaign from Halland, his country seat in Sussex, where Steele addresses him. The first letter was sent from the apartments of Mr. Jessop, who was a member for Aldborough, the other of Clare's Yorkshire boroughs. Mr. Wilkinson, mentioned in the third letter, was elected with Steele on February 2 for Boroughbridge.⁷

Earl of Oxford. The original of this letter is in the Lansdowne MSS 1236 (B.M.). Steele himself printed it in his *Apology* (1714). The various drafts of it, which Aitkin examined, are in the Blenheim MSS. See Aitken, *op. cit.*, I, 388-9. That Mr. Nulle has seen the Steele letters printed in this article is indicated by his reference to them, p. 18 n.

⁵ John Oldmixon, *History of England* (1735), III, 509.

⁶ I am indebted to Mr. Nulle for this and for other biographical information about Newcastle.

⁷ Steele's account of the election proceedings is given in his letters to Prue: January 27 to February 4. See Aitken, *op. cit.*, II, 56-7.

Decbr 14 1714
From Mr. Jessop's
Essex-street

My Lord

I have received your Lordship's Generous offer. I am extremely at a losse how to expresse my self on such a surprise. The offers, in this kind, which have been made to Me are very precarious, and uncertain. I am mightily perplexed to say something on this occasion which should be very well worth repeating, but indeed I am too much moved at your Goodnesse to be able to say more than that I shall endeavour to answer Your inclinations on all incidents, and approve my self, My Lord, Y^r Lordship's Most Obliged Most Obedient Humble Servant

December 18th 1714
S^t James's Street

My Lord

I have this Evening visited Mr Jessop, who communicated to Me Y^r Lordship's satisfaction in the Choice You had made of Me to be a Candidate at Burrough-Bridge. I write this post to Mr. Bayliffe to acquaint Him with my Ambition to serve them, and intend to sett out for that place on Wednesday. I am told the Present Parliament will be dissolved on the 3^d of next month, and the Writs for a new one bear teste of the 8th of the same.

The Opportunity of acting with uprightness in the Legislature is the most desirable Station in Humane life, and I know I shall expresse my Gratitude to you in the best manner by behaving my self with strict integrity.

I am sorry I can promise You no other Qualities, but very glad I serve a Patron who thinks that the Greatest, tho' He Himself is possessed of every other also. I am, My Lord, Y^r Lordship's Most Obliged Most Obedient and Most Humble Servant

December 21st 1714
S^t James's Street

My Honoured Lord

A letter from Mr. Wilkinson says it would be necessary that something appeared under y^r Lordship's hand expressing that you wish Me chosen at Burrough-Bridge. If your Lordship pleases to write one that I might show addressed to Me or to Mr. Wilkinson concerning Me or to the Bayliffe and Corporation in Guarded terms, Please to enclose it to Mr. Jessop who will send it after Me. I am, With all duty My Dear Lord Y^r Obliged & devoted Servant

The Parliament will go near to Live out its time at least will not be dissolved as soon as was thought.

Jan: 29th 1714[-5]
Burroughbridge

My Lord

The Precept for Electing Members in the Corporation arrived Here yesterday & the day of Choice is appointed, which is to be Wednesday next. Whatever time it takes (which everybody says will be favourable) I

am equally obliged to You, and am with all imaginable Gratitude and Duty, My Lord, Y^r Lordships Most Obedient Most Devoted Humble Servant To the Right Honourable the Earle of Clare at Halend in Sussex

The next two letters, written during the anxious summer months preceding the rebellion, when read between the lines, picture Steele at work against Jacobitism under the patronage of Newcastle, upon whom, the letters reveal, his dependence was much greater than has been thought. The point of particular interest in the letter of May 25 is the reference to a payment of 500 pounds, very probably the money which we know was secretly paid him from the Treasury funds, in August, for "special services."⁸ The exact nature of these services, "so painful, so anxious, and so Unacceptable," must still remain in doubt; but it seems likely that they were related to the plans of the Ministry for breaking up the threatened rebellion and that they were directed by Lord Clare. All during the spring, Clare as Lord-Lieutenant of Middlesex had been very busy suppressing riots and Jacobite demonstrations, and he was now preparing to organize the militia. Steele, no doubt, as his deputy and as a justice of the peace, had assisted him in these activities and also in spreading propaganda on loyalty to the Hanoverian King. On April 8, on the occasion when Steele was knighted, they had assured the King in an address, written by Steele and presented by Clare, of the loyalty of Middlesex; Steele had just published two pieces of Hanoverian propaganda—his collected *Political Writings*, dedicated to Lord Clare, and the *Account of the State of Roman Catholick Religion*; and he was now planning an elaborate entertainment to be given three days later (May 28) at his private theatre in honor of the King's birthday.⁹ Apparently, from the following letter, he felt that before

⁸ In the Report of the Secret Committee of 1742 (*Journal of the House of Commons*, xxiv, 328) it is stated that, on August 27, 1715, 500 pounds was paid to Leonard Welsted for special services. Welsted, a government clerk—and a friend of Steele's—afterwards declared that he had received the money for the use of Steele (*Biographia Britannica*, 1763, vi, 3830 n). Steele confirmed Welsted's statement in a letter to Prue on August 14, 1715. See Aitken, *op. cit.*, II, 73.

⁹ Steele continued his party writing against Jacobitism into the spring of 1716: the *Englishman* (second series: July 11 to November 21 1715); *A Letter from the Earl of Mar* (September 30, 1715); a few papers in *Town Talk* (December 17, 1715 to February 13, 1716); *The British Sub-*

engaging upon some more arduous task—the signs of approaching trouble were becoming ominous—he should receive compensation; for Steele was earning his living by his pen.

May 25th 1715
S^t James's Street

My Lord

Since I saw You last I have waited upon the noble Lord whome you commanded Me to Attend. I am very far from a mercenary man but I have devoted my time and Cares to the publick without regard to my Self and Family almost to Old Age, so that I am necessitated to turn my thoughts home.

I know I am reckoned, in Generall, an ill manager, and know also that it is made a Bar against doing for Me, but I think very unjustly, supposing I really were such, for whatever I do with it as much as I deserve should be done for Me. The Detail of your Humble Servant's Merit is as follows.

I Quitted in the late Reign the office of Gazetteer which was three hundred a year and I was out of it four years, the Stamp-Office and a Pension of 100 l. p. Annum which makes four hundred a year, I was out of three years, and my going into Parliament and being turned out cost Me six hundred pounds which in the whole amounts to three thousand pounds. I do not insist upon what offers I have refused, nor the losse of an Acceptable Character by chusing a Side, nor do account in my pretentions the distresses, reproaches, and the like which I have passed through in Generall. I lay all this before Y^r Lordship not as I expect to be paid the money I have mentioned, but as a reason why I will never hereafter do more than my part without knowing the terms I act upon and I think what I have said deserves a good establishment for life. As for my Patent for the Playhouse I shall make it appear next winter that it was a great Service to the Crown that I accepted it. In one word, My Lord, the purpose of this letter is to lay my dissatisfaction before You, and to declare on what foundation I will enter into the lists. I cannot turn so much time that way and be supported by assistants equall to the Work for lesse than a 1000 l. a Year. And before I enter upon the Argument I hope to receive 500 l. or be excused from so painfull, so anxious, and so Unacceptable a Service. I am My Lord with all Duty, Y^r Lordship's Most Obliged Most Devoted Humble Servant

Although by July 19 Steele had not yet received the desired 500 pounds and, as the next letter indicates, had become restive at the delay, he had undertaken the previous week a new piece of party

jects' Answer to the Pretender's Declaration (January, 1716); and the *Tea Table* (February 2). He assisted in January with the periodical, *Protestant Packet* (Aitken, II, 84) and he seems to have projected another, the *Hanover Post* (Aitken, II, 71).

writing, the *Englishman* (second series: July 11 to November 21, 1715) intended as anti-Jacobite propaganda. The first sentence of the letter implies—what has not been known before—that this periodical was undertaken upon the promises of Newcastle.

July 19th 1715
S^t James's Street

My Lord

It was upon Your Lordship's intimation to Me that I should be supported in it, that I have lately appeared in Publick as a Writer; But I find that care of me is not to be taken, except I passe through sollicitations, which will take up more of my time, and quiet of mind than it is Worth. I have Therefore desired My Lord Townshend to excuse my going on in the affair which I had undertaken, since the part of the ministry is not performed to Me. I hope you will be so Generous as to excuse this Justice to myself and beleive Me to be, With the utmost Gratitude, My Lord, Y^r Lordship's Most Obliged Most Obedient Humble Servant

At this point, affairs rapidly became critical. The day after, July 20, a dispatch reached Stanhope from Stair in Paris announcing the Pretender's scheme for a descent upon England;¹⁰ and in the face of this immediate crisis in a cause for which Steele had worked to his utmost, there is every reason to suppose that he would be loyal enough to continue without pay. He must have had a considerable share in the vigorous activities of the next few weeks. His *Englishman* was appearing twice weekly. On August 15, he and Wilkinson, introduced by Lord Clare, addressed an expression of loyalty to the King from Boroughbridge; and he was very likely his patron's spokesman on July 29 in an address to George from the lieutenancy of Middlesex.¹¹ Lord Clare was created Marquis of Clare and Duke of Newcastle on August 11. A fortnight later, Steele's modest payment of 500 pounds was entered in the Treasury accounts.

Although it has always been assumed in discussions of this payment¹² that Walpole was Steele's benefactor, there is no reason to believe that he was solely responsible for the honorarium—if

¹⁰ Basil Williams, *Stanhope: A Study in Eighteenth-century War and Diplomacy* (Oxford, 1932), p. 175.

¹¹ A portion of the address is given in Oldmixon, *op. cit.*, III, 604.

¹² For example, John Nichols, *Works of Leonard Welsted* (1787), p. xxii; Aitken, *op. cit.*, II, 72-3; D. H. Stevens, *Party Politics and English Journalism 1702-42* (1916), 84.

indeed he was responsible at all. As he was Paymaster of the Forces (he was not promoted to First Lord of the Treasury until October 11), the record would be entered in his accounts. Clearly, from the letters, Lord Townshend, Secretary of State for the North, had been consulted by Steele, at the suggestion of Newcastle. And Stanhope, the other Secretary—to whom the year preceding he had dedicated the collected edition of the first *Englishman*—was as friendly to Steele as Walpole was and at this juncture had more power. They had stood one on either side of him at his trial before the Commons a year and a half before when he had suffered for the cause for which just now they were still working together harmoniously. Nevertheless, however friendly the Ministry may have been to him, it seems very clear from these letters, read in the light of passing events, that Steele looked to Newcastle to press his interests.¹³

The next letter, written three years later, is another thread not only in the narrative of Steele and Newcastle but in that of Steele, Addison, and Tickell. It is well known that the change of ministry in April, 1717, in which Newcastle became Lord Chamberlain and Addison Secretary for the South with Tickell as one of his Under-Secretaries, marked the beginning of the break between Steele and his patron as well as that between Steele and Addison. The rift in the relations of Steele and Newcastle may possibly have begun as early as the spring of 1716 when Steele—inconsistently in view of his Hanoverian loyalties, but in the light of his steadfast principle of showing mercy to the miserable consistently enough—was unwilling to work ruthlessly for the impeachment and execution of the Jacobite lords.¹⁴ At any rate when Newcastle became Lord Chamberlain, he demanded—as Steele tactfully put it, “from a generous design of making every office and authority the better for your wearing”—that Steele resign his patent for the theatre and

¹³ It is doubtless worthy of note that Steele's friend, Welsted, to whom the money was paid for his use, was a protégé of Newcastle, who had secured a place for him in 1715 in the office of one of the Secretaries. Nichols, *op. cit.*, p. x.

¹⁴ Steele was one of the petitioners to the House of Commons on behalf of the condemned lords, and he spoke on the subject. His views were expressed also in his pamphlet: *A Letter to a Member . . . Concerning the Condemned Lords* (March 6, 1716).

accept a license in its place.¹⁵ Steele refused to comply and petitioned the King for protection. For over a year, then, before this letter was written, there had been discord between the players and Newcastle. The supposition that Newcastle interfered in the management of their affairs is borne out by the incident which can now be pieced together by means of this letter and the recently printed papers of Tickell.

The Drury Lane players were getting ready to present a group of plays before the King in the Great Hall at Hampton Court.¹⁶ Steele, as Governor, had written a prologue for the opening play; and Wilks had it learned when Steele was informed at the last moment that Newcastle, presumably as Lord Chamberlain, had requested Tickell to write one for the occasion. As Steele was naturally somewhat jealous of Tickell, who now had first place in the affections of Addison, this action of the Duke must have been a thrust, whether or not it was so intended. Steele, however, judging from this letter, was conciliatory in his proposed arrangement and, according to his usual custom in speaking of fellow-writers, praised Tickell's prologue generously. Tickell, it appears from Addison's recently printed letters, had submitted his prologue to Addison, who was drinking the waters at Bristol, and was now scrutinizing it daily in the light of his and Dr. Smalridge's eulogistic criticism.¹⁷ The sequel may be inferred from the *Theatre*, where Steele printed his prologue "written by the Governor of the

¹⁵ See Steele's public letter to Newcastle printed in the *Theatre*, No. 8 (January 26, 1720).

¹⁶ Seven plays were given there before the King, September 23 to October 22, 1718:—*Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber* (Ed. Lowe, 1889), II, 208 and Ernest Law, *History of Hampton Court* (1891), III, 222.

¹⁷ Richard Eustace Tickell, *Thomas Tickell and the Eighteenth Century Poets* (1931). The papers pertinent here are three letters from Addison to Tickell, two dated September, 20 and 22, the third undated, pp. 70-1; and the prologue, p. 231, very clearly, from the phrasing, that referred to in Addison's letters and doubtless that referred to in Steele's letter to Newcastle. Mr. Tickell conjectures that the prologue was intended for presentation in Christ Church, Oxford. But there can be no doubt that the old hall mentioned is that of Hampton Court.

In this old Hall, say Holinshed and Stowe,
Proud Wolsey din'd two hundred years ago.
The Comick Muse now rears her Cheerful head
Where Monks grew fat and rosy Abbots fed.

Comedians and intended to be spoken when they acted at Hampton Court and began with a Comedy." There he states that "he cannot pretend it was rejected, because it was not vouchsafed to be read."¹⁸ So the young Duke must have had his way.

My Lord

Before I knew that Mr Tickell had the Honour of your Grace's Commands to write a Prologue, I thought it my Duty to prepare one for the Occasion. Mr Wilks was perfect in this, when that very agreeable and Elegant peice of Tickell's came to His hands. As this has something solemn and respectful in it, I fancy it might be a Prologue, and His a very pleasing desert to finish the entertainment. But I do assure Your Grace I do not say this out of any arrogance of an Elder Poet but I submit this and things of much greater moment to Me, unreservedly to Your Grace. However, I thought it concern'd Me to Show, in a Circumstance wherein I have the happiness to be particularly under your command that I would omit no opportunity of appearing, My Lord, Y^r Grace's Most Obedient and Most Devoted Humble Ser^{nt}

Sep^r 21st 1718

The Duke of Newcastle

In October, very shortly after the preceding letter was written, the conflict of Steele and his fellow-managers with the Lord Chamberlain, from whose authority they claimed to be exempt, became critical; and Newcastle appealed to the Attorney-general for support.¹⁹ From that time, the breach between Steele and his patron steadily widened. The Duke's disapproval of the management of the theatre and his resented interference were implied by Cibber in the Dedication of *Ximena* to Steele (September 19, 1719) and were later aired openly by Steele in his periodical the *Theatre* (January 2 to April 5, 1720) and in his pamphlet *The State of the Case between the Lord Chamberlain . . . and Sir Richard Steele* (March 29, 1720). From subsequent events there can be no doubt of Newcastle's ill-humor with his man Steele for active opposition during the whole of 1719 to the Peerage Bill, then pending.²⁰ The following letter, with its hints as to the nature of their dis-

¹⁸ *Theatre*, No. 13 (February 13, 1720).

¹⁹ Lord Chamberlain's Records, Warrant Book No. 25, p. 142, cited by Aitken, *op. cit.*, II, 188.

²⁰ Steele's views were expressed in the *Plebeian* (March 14 to April 6, 1719); the *Joint and Humble Address . . . Concerning the Intended Bill of Peerage* (May 2, 1719); *A Letter to the Earl of Oxford* (December 8, 1719). He spoke against the Bill and moved its rejection.

cord, indicates that Steele was well aware a month before the final break—which coincided with the defeat of this Bill—of Newcastle's plans for his dismissal from the theatre management.

My Lord

I understand, by Mr Booth, that your Grace has demanded an Account of the Charge of the Play-House. He, accordingly, will lay before You the Grosse Sum of Our last Year's Charge, and Give Y^r Grace the reasons which I humbly Offer to convince Y^r Grace how Impracticable it is to lay open the Severall particulars of the Sallaries.

If your Grace desires this only to know what might be an Equivalent to dispose of me out of the Way, and put the direction of the Theatre into more acceptable hands I take this occasion to acquaint Your Grace that after the Actors, who are Partners with Me in the income, are Satisfied, You will have but very little trouble with Me, and find that I shall rejoice in an Opportunity of Showing with how disinterested a zeal I am My Lord, Y^r Grace's Most Obedient Most Devoted Humble Ser^{mt}

Nov:br 8th 1719

As the course of their quarrel, at its height in January, 1720, is well known, it is unnecessary to retell the story here.²¹ The Duke had grounds for disaffection. Steele had refused utterly to show the compliance demanded by his patron in party affairs; and for months, engrossed in the promotion of his Fish Pool Scheme, he had neglected his duties as Commissioner of Forfeitures. Without doubt, also, the finances of the theatre under his ill-management were becoming involved; and it may be that his personal fault of living beyond his means Newcastle found hard to forgive, although he too was recklessly extravagant. On the other hand, Steele and his fellow-managers were constantly hampered by the fussy interference of the young, inexperienced Duke, who now as in his later career, was jealous of his authority. Steele's position in their disagreement over the theatre was that the affairs of the players could be best handled by themselves; and in party matters he seems always to have acted independently, according to his convictions.

²¹ Briefly, Newcastle silenced Cibber on December 19; from January 2 to April 5, Steele was publishing the *Theatre* in vindication of his actions; Serjeant Pengelly advised, on January 20, that Steele's license be revoked; Steele petitioned the King on the 22nd; Newcastle revoked the license on the 23rd and on the 25th silenced the players; on the 27th a new license was granted to Wilks, Cibber, and Booth. On March 29, Steele published the *State of the Case*.

From the following letters to Pelham, Newcastle's brother and secretary, it appears that several months after his dismissal Steele was still pursuing his rights,²² although nothing came of his efforts until May, 1721, when Newcastle, probably at the order of Walpole, issued a warrant reinstating him at the theatre.

Sr

As you deliver'd Me a Verball message to forbid Me writing to the Duke of Newcastle Himself you will pardon Me that I give you this Trouble, which is to desire you would Obtain for Me His Grace's direct Answer whether He will recall the order of Silence which He sent to Drury-lane upon a pretence of the King's revocation of all Authorities Granted by His Majestie for Acting Plays.

I told You when You Brought the message that I should be always ready, when the Duke should please to Alter his mind to receive His Grace's commands, but if My Lord insists to keep Me out of my right I must plainly tell You, that is, His Grace by You, that the right of Petitioning the King in Council the Parliament sitting, or the Judges in Westminster-Hall shall be Utterly taken from Me before I will Suffer my very Good Lord to send my Children a Starving. I am, Sr Yr Most Obedient & Most Humble Ser^{nt}

May 27th 1720

Mr. Pelham

Sr

I writ to you Yesterday to desire You would procure Me the Duke of Newcastle's positive answer whether He would revoke the silence, He tooke upon Him to impose upon the Players acting under the Patent Granted by His Majesty to Me. If I do not hear from You before twelve of Clock on Monday I shall take it for granted that His Grace thinks fitt to persist in His Cruelty, and will call to my Aid against it the Justice of the nation. I have so great remaining kindnesse for Him, that I could meet His Freindship on my Knees, but if he has not magnanimity enough to retract His errour, I doubt not but to make Him feel some part of the Anguish He has given Me. I am, Sr Yr Most Obedient Humble Ser^{nt}

May 28 1720

In the following letter dated a few months after his reinstatement, Steele writes respectfully and somewhat anxiously of affairs at the theatre, to which, he implies, the Duke had become indifferent.

²² See Aitken, *op. cit.*, II, 261, for the draft of a letter which Steele said he sent to Pelham on April 5, 1721.

My Lord

I presum'd to trouble your Grace some time since concerning Mr. Walker who had engag'd Himself to the other House, tho He is a Sworn Servant to His Majesty in the King's Theatre, and is in Debt to the Company, as well as having very particular obligations at a very well known Circumstance of distresse in His Life.

Your Grace has two methods practis'd in the Office, either to order the offender to return, or Silence Him. What you will please to do in it, your Grace, at your Leisure, will determine; but indeed our affairs are in a doubtfull way, for want of Your Influence and Protection.

But I am oblig'd to Address Your Grace, at present, upon further cause of Complaint against the proceedings of the other House; For either from some fancy that by Printing Theatre Royall they hope to evade the punishment may fall upon deserters, or that they intend a reall insult on the Kings Authority (which they have notoriously and frequently done in Licentious Allusions in their prologue, Epilogues and other incidents) or whatever is their motive they have, in their Bills presumed to write *Theatre Royall*.

I will not trouble your Grace with many Arguments why more especially in this case than any other the Word Royall should be appropriated to the King on the Throne, but shall only, at present, Leave it to Y^r Grace's consideration, how many matters which seem light may be drawn into greater moment and Consequence from any the Least Ambiguity on publick occasions, when You reflect that the Crowd Assemble themselves even in their Pleasures, according to their inclinations in Politicall Affairs.

I hope Your Grace will not imagine I speake wholly from my interest in this case, if I repeat to you that it will be matter of Scandal to the Sober part of our Audience, who are most Zealous for His Majesties' Service, if those who remarkably Urge Particular Circumstances in Plays, to the Disadvantage of the Government, should be Protected, or Shelter'd in that Practise By the Use of the Kings Own Name. I am, My Lord Your Grace's Most Oblig'd and Most Devoted Humble Servant

Sep^r 21, 1721

His Grace My Lord Chamberlain

It is not clear what the final courteous letter to the Lord Chamberlain refers to. Steele's political alliance with Newcastle was now at an end, for in the meantime (March, 1722) he had been elected to Parliament for Wendover through the influence of his early patron, Lord Sunderland.²³ The letter has an air of sadness in its confused wording and illegibility. Steele was broken in health and in spirit. Lady Steele had died in 1718, Addison in

²³ Two letters addressed by Steele to Sunderland from Wendover are among the Blenheim papers. Aitken, *op. cit.*, II, 273.

1719, Steele's son Eugene in 1723, and several old friends recently, among them in 1722 Lord Sunderland and Marlborough. He himself had been very ill. At this time, also, his financial affairs were at a crisis. His own "Bubble," the Fish Pool, from which he had hoped to make a fortune, had burst. His share of the theatre proceeds was heavily mortgaged, and his suit with the other managers was pending.²⁴ Aware of the uncertainty of his health, he was now preparing to make a final arrangement for the payment of his debts and to retire permanently into Wales. With Newcastle, the picture is entirely different. Exactly a month hence, the Duke was to be appointed Secretary of State for the South and, his ten years of apprenticeship finished, was to begin auspiciously his long career. Doubtless, Steele had little to hope for now from the Duke's patronage—hence the sincerity of the apology in his letter "for many things that dwell upon my thoughts." His words imply his gratitude for past rather than his bid for future kindnesses and his regret for the recriminations which had marred the dignity and good will of their relationship.

My Lord

I am under Great indisposition and therefore cannot write so much as I would to Apologize to Y^r Grace for many things that dwell upon my thoughts, but the business of this is only to acquaint Your Lordship that I am presenting[?] the inclosed petition by my Lord Townshend's favour, and to let Y^r Grace know that there shall be what Clauses you think fitt to subject[?] the Honour[?] to Y^r Office. I am, My Lord Y^r Grace's Most Oblig'd Most Obedient Humble Servant

March 3^d 1723-4

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle

These letters, then, are of interest in that they add a few particulars to our knowledge of Steele during the period of Newcastle's patronage: the time when it began; the fact that Newcastle made the solicitation; the extent of Steele's dependence upon his patron, especially in 1715; and the conditions under which the second *Englishman* was projected. They substantiate Steele's statements about the wrangle over the theatre and confirm our impressions of the Duke's injudicious interference. There is nothing in them to discredit Newcastle. Their courtesy and

²⁴ It began in September, 1725 and lasted until 1728. Cibber's *Apology* (Ed. Lowe), II, 196-208 and Aitken, II, 303-317.

restraint are a credit to Steele. Obviously, he was not lacking in gratitude to his patron, nor did he subserviently give up his independence in conviction and action.

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MORE SMOLLETT LETTERS

During the years since the editing of Smollett's correspondence in 1926 by Professor Edward S. Noyes, other lost letters which he hoped might come to light have been disappointingly few, and except for one additional letter¹ brought out by Professor Noyes in 1927 none whatever appear to have been published. In view of the rarity of Smollett's manuscripts it is desirable to make available the following material consisting of (1) a record of a lost letter and (2) two complete letters here first printed.

The first of these is found in a *Catalogue of Autograph Letters and MSS. of the Late F. Naylor*² . . . sold 27 July ff., 1885:

Item 900

"Smollett (Tobias) Novelist, died 1771 A. L. S. 1749 1 p. 8vo rare"
Sold to Harvey for £4/18/-

If this "item" could be found it might be of unusual interest since there are no published letters for the year 1749.

The following undated letter³ of Smollett written to Mr. Hunter, Surgeon, at his House in Covent Garden is in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California:

Mr Professor,

Louttit⁴ was with me on Saturday last, earnestly soliciting my Interest with Dr Pitcairn,⁵ in behalf of his Boy who is (it seems) a miserable object, afflicted with scorbutic, lep'rous, or scrophulous ulcers, for which

¹ "Another Smollett Letter" in *MLN.*, XLII (1927), 231 ff.

² British Museum Sales Catalogues.

³ I am indebted to the courtesy of the Director of Research, Dr. Max Farrand, for consent to publish this letter. The superscription reads, "To Mr Hunter—Surgeon at his House Covent Garden."

⁴ It is impossible to be certain from the MS. whether Smollett wrote Louttit or Louttet. I am unable to identify this person.

⁵ William Pitcairn, M.D. (1711-1791) Physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital 1750-1790.

he desires the child should be admitted into Bartholomew's Hospital. Such Admission would be an act of charity (I'm afraid) on more accounts than One; & I doubt not but the Doctor out of his own humanity, will be ready to befriend him, especially when recommended by you.

Louttit has been advised to have Recourse to the Doctor, by a Gentleman belonging to the Hospital, who assures him that the Boy will be admitted, should our Friend make a Point of it, tho' otherwise, objections might be made to his Reception on account of the Circumstances of the Disease—in the Name of God, use your Influence with the Doctor; for Louttit is very clamorous & importunate, & will consider the favour as an indelible obligation—as you will probably see him soon, take some method of letting me know whether or not the Boy can be admitted on Wednesday which, I hear is the Doctors taking in day.

Yours

T^s Smollett

Whence all those petulant queries upon the Margins of Smellies Manuscript? ⁶ have we not Hiren here? ⁷

Another unpublished letter ⁸ by Smollett, written at Bath, May 18, 1768, is addressed to Rob^t Cotton, Esq., at his House in Crown Court, Westminster, London. This Robert Cotton was Robert Salusbury Cotton, F.R.S. and A.S.,⁹ an apothecary residing in Crown Court, who died in 1790. In 1744 he married Alison Robertson, daughter of James Robertson of Glasgow. Smollett's acquaintance with the Cottons may have extended back to his university period or to the days when he set up his sign as physician

⁶ There is some evidence that Smollett, as well as Dr. William Hunter (undoubtedly the Mr. Hunter to whom the letter was addressed) assisted Dr. William Smellie in preparing for the press his *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Midwifery*, which was published in 1751. Smellie presented Hunter with a copy of this volume. (See Dr. John Glaister's *Dr. William Smellie and His Contemporaries*, Glasgow, 1894, p. 120.) I believe, therefore, that Smollett was referring to the manuscript of Smellie's *Treatise*. If this is a correct inference, the letter must be dated c. 1750.

⁷ This phrase, an echo of Pistol's clowning in *King Henry IV Part Two* (II, iv, 179 and 193) was employed by Smollett in *Roderick Random* (end of ch. 46). As used in this letter it appears to signify: have we not full editorial powers?

⁸ For permission to publish this letter I am indebted to the kindness of the owner, Reginald Blunt, Esq. of Chelsea, London, who has loaned it to the Chelsea Public Library.

⁹ See Mr. Reginald Blunt's *Memoirs of Gerald Blunt of Chelsea, His Family and Forebears . . . including . . . Forssteen and Cotton Memorials by Jane Mary Craig*. London, 1911, p. 278.

on Downing Street in 1744. Cotton was a collector of shells, ores, coins, and other curiosities; perhaps he was the R. S. Cotton who, along with Smollett, was listed as a benefactor of Don Saltero's, Chelsea. This letter¹⁰ is most characteristic of Smollett's informal friendly side, and in its curious lore of contemporary natural science it displays the novelist's fund of ready information:

Dear Sir

I have a very gratefull sense of your Kindness to Miss Curry¹¹ when she was lately in London; & think myself much obliged to you and good Mrs. Cotton for all your expressions of Friendship and Regard I shall never forget the chearfull Hours I have passed in your Company; & I regret very much my being at Such a Distance as not only interrupts our Society but prevents me from offering my advice, such as it is, to Mrs. Cotton, in the state of whose Health I take a Sincere Concern.

You desire to know the method of converting the white of an Egg into a substance resembling amber. You have nothing to do but to peel off the white of a hard boiled egg & let it lie upon some shelf for four or five months, when by the Influence of the air, it becomes of the colour & consistence of amber, & may (like it) be chipped & used in fineering.¹² I have often thought that by incorporating a number of whites together & dropping into them a drop or two of the oil of amber, one might procure a large mass & model it into different shapes, for Snuff boxes, Cane Heads etc.; & this being properly consolidated by boiling & afterwards left to dry, would have not only the appearance & Consistence, but even the Smell of genuine amber. Perhaps this Process may require many repeated Experiments before it is brought to Perfection: but as you have a Turn for natural curiosities, I know you will not begrudge your Labour, especially as it is attended with very little Expencc; & will not take up much of your Time. I hear Mrs. Cotton intends to try the Effect of a Sea Voyage to Newcastle, & I very much approve of her Intention: for, I know nothing more likely to set her up. Pray, remember me to our friend Halford¹³ who I hear is still in a single state. if I had a little

¹⁰ This letter is copied from the manuscript at the Chelsea Public Library. The superscription reads, "To Robt Cotton Esq at his House in Crown Court Westminster London." On the cover is written, perhaps in Cotton's hand, "From Dr Smollet May 18, 1768."

¹¹ Miss Curry was probably Anne Curry, or a younger sister or niece of Anne Curry, wife of George W. Renner, a loyal friend of the Smolletts in Italy. Renner died in 1791, and his wife, in 1811. Mrs. Renner was a beneficiary in the will of Smollett as well as in the will of Anne Smollett.

¹² Veneering.

¹³ Possibly Oakley Halford, who lived at No. 3 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, 1748-1781. See Walter H. Godfrey's, *The Parish of Chelsea* (Part I) . . . *Being the Second Volume of the Survey of London* . . . [c. 1909], p. 36.

Health and spirits I would write a Ballad upon him intituled *the old Batchelor's Ditty*. If he will clap on a Bag wig & a bit of Lace & come down to Bath, it shall go hard but I will buckle him for Life. Here is his neighbor Major Macdonald;¹⁴ but, he does not seem to profit much by the waters: yet he is fat and fair, & his Tongue goes as fast as ever—I shall be very happy to hear from you when you are at Leisure. My wife & Miss Curry & Fanny¹⁵ join me in our best wishes for you & Mrs. Cotton & Family.—I desire you will keep out of these cursed Riots,¹⁶ & believe that I am with very great Esteem and affection

My dear Sir

Your very humble servt.

T^s Smollett.

Bath May 18 1768

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AN EARLY EDITION OF B. M. CAREW

"The Accomplish'd Vagabond, or, The compleat Mumper: Exemplify'd in the Bold & artful Enterprizes, & merry Pranks, of Bampfylde Carew, The notorious Dog-stealer . . . Exon: Printed by A. and S. Brice; by whom sold; and may also be had of Mess. Score, Thorn, and Tozer, Booksellers, in the same City. MDCCXLV. Price Sixpence,"—The existence of this edition of the notorious Devonshire stroller, first attested to by Lowndes, has been frequently called into question:¹ A copy, possibly unique, is now in the Dickson Collection of Fielding (Yale University Library), where it is bound in a volume with a group of other

In a letter to Alexander Reid in 1763 Smollett referred to Halford as a personal friend.

¹⁴ A Major M'Donald appears on the list of the benefactors of Don Saltero's, Chelsea. See Godfrey's *The Parish of Chelsea* (Part I), p. 63.

¹⁵ Probably Frances Lascelles, granddaughter of Mrs. Leaver, and beneficiary in her will along with Elizabeth Smollett, her cousin. She may have come with her grandmother to Chelsea, and after the death of Mrs. Leaver (1762) and of Elizabeth (1763), she very probably continued to live with the Smolletts. A Miss C—— is alluded to in the *Travels*.

¹⁶ The newspapers for May, 1768 published accounts of the attempts of rioters to free Wilkes from the Kings Bench Prison.

¹ See article on Bampfylde Moore Carew in *DNB*, also *The King of the Beggars, Bampfylde-Moore Carew*, ed. C. H. Wilkinson, Oxford, 1931, p. xix.

eighteenth century pamphlets.² As has been surmised, Lowndes was incorrect, though this may have been an error of the printer rather than of the bibliographer, in assigning the place of publication to Oxon.

Published in the same year and at the same place as the first account of Carew,³ this volume was evidently designed to profit by the popularity of the earlier work. The poor grade of paper, its lack of ornaments and of a preface, the small type—which allows fifty-one lines to the page—the cheaper price, all point towards a piracy.

There are important differences in the text, despite the fact that practically all the adventures are found in the same order as in the *Life*. Description is cut to a minimum, many new cant terms are made use of, and there are numerous uncomplimentary references to the author of the *Life*, who presented Carew as a hero and did not scruple to associate worthy people with him in the performance of his rogue's tricks. Names are frequently objected to and sometimes entirely omitted. When the author of the *Accomplish'd Vagabond* reaches the adventure in which Lord Weymouth of Maiden-Bradley (Wiltshire) personates a beggar, he breaks out into open skepticism, and calls it "*too romantic, and improbable, to obtain full credit.*"

The scathing allusions of this author to the original seem to point either to a personal quarrel between the booksellers or to an unusual degree of virtue in the *Vagabond's* chronicler—whose sense of fitness forced him to retell the story, placing the "hero" in his true colours. Certainly, the final paragraph bears eloquent testimony to some such feeling.

[Carew] was accordingly transported to *Maryland*. . . . During his Voyage thither he dictated an Account of his Transactions, to the Tenor of this our Narrative. What has been since *prepared for the Press*, as call'd, that is augmented with Embellishments, such as they are! by some who have pretended to have wrote his LIFE: which is too much a wretched pack of Impertinence, and a Libel against the Fame of many Honourable Persons, whilst in Effect an Encomium on a Monster of Wickedness hardly fellow'd. Tho' we are in Haste to finish this our Undertaking, yet we

² This volume contains also a copy of another early edition: *An Apology for the Life of Bampfylde-Moore Carew*, London, 1749.

³ *Life and Adventures of Bampfylde-Moore Carew*. . . . Exon: Printed by the Farleys for Joseph Drew . . . 1745. Price Two Shillings.

can't let the Conclusion of the immoral Performance aforesaid Escape uncensur'd; it asserting, as in Justice to the manifold Malefactor, that he did no *real* Mischief to any Man;—When as his whole Life, from his Youth upward to the Time of his last Commitment, was an uninterrupted Series of doing abundant real Mischief to Mankind in general.

The men who were responsible for this book seem to have been fairly well known; at least there are references to two of them in Nichol's *Literary Anecdotes*. The death of "the Veteran" Andrew Brice is recorded for 7 November, 1773.⁴ In the long article by Richard Gough on the "Progress of Selling Books by Catalogues"⁵ which Nichols thought worthy of a place in his opus,⁶ the bookseller Edward Score of Exeter finds a place; for 1774, there is a record of his sale of the library of Andrew Brice, and—a piquant bit—for 1775, his sale of the library of the "Rev. Mr. Rayner, Master of Tiverton School," under whose tutelage the young B. M. Carew received his brief education.

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A POSSIBLE SOURCE FOR *A TALE OF A TUB*

Gottsched's *Nöthiger Vorrath zur Geschichte der deutschen Dramatischen Dichtkunst oder Verzeichnis* (Leipzig, 1757, 1765) was, as far as I can ascertain, the first work to call attention to a possible influence of the romance, *Der Eislebische Christliche Ritter, Ein Reformationsspiel* (Martin Rinckhart, 1613), on Swift's *A Tale of a Tub*. In 1785 the preliminary dissertation of Junker and Liebault's *Théâtre Allemand* also suggested the possibility that Swift owed much to the German writer. The next year a writer in *The Monthly Review or Literary Journal* (London, vol. 74) commented on this suggestion and decided that it carried "strong lines of probability." Since 1786 no French or English scholars seem to have noted the problem.

Der Ritter was edited in 1883 by Dr. Carl Müller who found no conclusive proof of influence on the *Tale of a Tub* and who believed it very unlikely that Swift could have seen the German

⁴ *Lit. Anec.*, III, 718.

⁵ *Gentleman's Magazine*, LVII, LXIV.

⁶ *Lit. Anec.*, III, 608-693.

play, since it had been quite neglected, even in Germany. The following résumé of *Der Ritter* is taken from *The Monthly Review*:

A certain king, named Emanuel, had three sons, Pseudo-Peter, Martin, and John; of whom the eldest traveled in Italy, the second into Germany, and the third into Switzerland. During their absence the father dies, after having made a will, in which he leaves his kingdom to his three sons and prescribes to them the rules and method they were to follow in governing their subjects. The eldest son, on his return home, takes possession of the kingdom, as if it belonged to him alone, treats his subjects with the greatest cruelty, and shows no regard to his father's will. Soon after this Martin returns, and, shocked at the repeated acts of violence committed by his brother, he accosts him with the most serious remonstrances, which Pseudo-Peter treats with indignation and contempt. In the midst of this contest, the youngest brother arrives from Switzerland, and, instead of accommodating matters, puts all into confusion by his impetuosity and petulance; at one time rejecting the testament as null and void, and at another interpreting its contents in the strangest manner. Finding, however, that this turbulent method of proceeding only served to prolong the contest, he bethought himself of an expedient for deciding it; this was, to dig up the body of their deceased father, and to set it up as a mark at which the three brothers were to shoot successively, in consequence of a previous agreement, that he who touched it nearest the heart should be the sole possessor of the disputed kingdom. Pseudo-Peter consented to this proposal, but it was opposed by Martin, who respected his father's remains, and hence the contest became more violent than ever. Martin's generous opposition to the proposal of his brothers rendered him the object of their aversion, and they persecuted him with unrelenting cruelty; but by an act of divine justice, the deceased father was exhibited in a formidable apparition to his three sons, and chastising the eldest and youngest with cruel torments, rewarded the filial affection of Martin, by putting the crown upon his head.

Altho the German play is unique in the proposed shooting match, the ghost, and the final victory of Martin and his being crowned as lawful heir, both works have certain marked similarities in plot and in characterization of the brothers.

Der Ritter may have become known in England through a French résumé. Junker and Liebault's *Théâtre Allemand* cites the following title: *Le Chevalier chretien d'Eisleben jolie comédie spirituelle ou l'on trouve l'Histoire de Luther et celle des deux grands ennemis le Pape et Calvin*. Not only is the French rendition of the German title indicative of a French adaptation of the original, but the French date of publication is given as 1623, rather than as 1613, when the German work appeared. Until it is conclusively

proven that the basic details of plot and characterization of both *Der Ritter* and *A Tale of a Tub* are traceable to common sources, or that there were similar satiric allegories more readily available to Swift, I believe that we must admit the possibility that there is a real problem in the similarities between the German and the English tales of the Three Brothers.

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REVIEWS

The Works of Edmund Spenser, A Variorum Edition. Edited by EDWIN GREENLAW, CHARLES GROSVENOR OSGOOD, FREDERICK MORGAN PADELDFORD.

The Faerie Queene, Book I, FREDERICK MORGAN PADELDFORD, Special Editor. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1932. Pp. xii + 558. \$6.00.

This, as the second title indicates, is the first volume of the Variorum Edition of Spenser's work, planned by the late Professor Greenlaw and now issued under the direction of Professors Osgood and Padelford—assisted by Dr. Heffner and Dr. Strathmann of Johns Hopkins. The aim of the editors has been to bring together the results of the work done by scholars English, American, French and German, on the text, the sources, and the interpretation of Spenser's poems—especially the *Faerie Queene* with which this edition begins. We may quote from the Preface: "The critical study of Spenser began early in the eighteenth century. The eighteenth century editors and commentators, though inclined to take undue liberties with the text, and though somewhat influenced by 'classical' standards, laid a substantial foundation of scholarship, especially in showing the indebtedness of the poet to classical writers, to the medieval romances, and to the Italian poets. The Romantic Period contributed less by way of accurate scholarship but much by way of sympathetic criticism. The modern school, trained in methods of careful research, has accumulated a rich store of special studies and produced many good editions." A glance at the bibliography will show what a large share in this later work falls to the credit of American scholarship. As in the work on Chaucer the torch has, during the past fifty or sixty years, passed

from German and English to American scholars, so, one might say, since the eighteenth century critics laid down the pen the most fruitful additions to what they had done have been made by American students. This is specially true regarding the quest of sources and the endeavor after interpretation. In appreciative criticism no American writer seems to me to have added so well to the criticism of Hazlitt, Lamb, Scott and others as that great French critic, Emile Legouis.

An exhaustive criticism of the first volume will require more prolonged study than the present writer has been able to give to it. I will confine my article to some comments on the format of the book, and on the contents under the three heads of text, sources, and interpretation. The book is admirably produced—well printed, good paper, and with that “excellent thing” in books (not always achieved by American publications) no undue weight. Considering how much has been got into the volume in the shape of text, commentary, appendixes (some nine in number not including that on the text) it is surprising that the volume is so agreeable to use, so manageable in the hand, as well as pleasing to the eye.

The text “follows in the main the edition of 1596, departing from it only when there is a very strong presumption of error . . . the special editor is responsible for the readings finally adopted.” For variant readings a student must look, not to the foot of the page as in Smith’s edition (Oxford, 1909), which arrangement would have injured the appearance of the page, but to a Textual Appendix supplied by Doctors Heffner and Strathmann. Here a student will find several things requiring his attention, in the first place an interesting Introduction indicating the source and the methods used in this edition; secondly, on the mutual relation of the early Quartos, the relations of 1590 and 1596; on the variants presented by different copies of the same edition; and lastly, on the changes in spelling and punctuation made in successive editions. This is followed by a list of Variant Readings and that by some Critical Notes on the text. Any one who studies the text in detail has accordingly to keep his finger in two places—the variant readings and the critical notes in which some of these variants are discussed. It is a difficult task to make any such list of variants exhaustive. We have compared in the First Canto the lists given here with the footnotes in Smith. The Variorum gives a more complete record of variants in spelling and punctuation, yet misses some which Smith has recorded (assuming Smith’s accuracy, I have not the original editions at hand). In XX 4 ‘vildly’ becomes ‘vilely’ in 1609, as so often in later seventeenth century editions of older texts. In XXI 6 ‘t’avale’ is recorded by the Variorum but not that it was corrected into ‘to avale’ in F. E. But these are trifles. On the whole, the Variorum record is the more complete, and extends to the text of later editors.

On the question of spelling the editors come to the conclusion that the variations in the editions are due to the printers, "but that frequently the compositor was influenced by the copy" from which he was setting up whether manuscript in 1590, or the edition of 1590 in 1596. This is in keeping with what we know of Elizabethan and later practice. Milton's works, prose and verse, give evidence of a continuous conflict between the wishes of the author and the practice of the printer. There is one feature, however, of the printing of the *Faerie Queene* which seems to me to point to the intention of the poet—the care which is taken to emphasize the rhyme by the form in which the closing words are spelled—'spide' 'aside'; 'farre' 'warre'; 'springing fast' 'such peril past'; 'slight' 'quight' 'hight'.

Coming to Spenser's sources we consider this is undoubtedly the region in which American scholarship has done its most fruitful work, has made the most material additions to the work of the eighteenth century editors. We feel quite unable in a brief review to do justice to the mass of information and conjecture scattered through the notes or collected in Appendix IV, *Sources of Book I*, which deals with the legend of St. George, Una and her lamb, Gareth and the legend of the Fair Unknown, lions in romances, the Holy Grail, etc., etc. A later Appendix VIII deals with the Platonic Element in Spenser's poetry. Here one feels some reference might have been made to Professor J. A. Stewart's interesting essay on Platonism and English Poetry (*English Literature and the Classics*, Oxford, 1912); and in a subsequent volume consideration should be given to Mr. A. E. Taylor's scepticism regarding Spenser's first hand knowledge of Plato. No scholar knows more about Plato than Taylor; and recent work on Chapman has shown how frequently we have been deceived regarding English poets' classical acquirements. Indeed Mr. Merritt Hughes has shown that Spenser had probably no first hand knowledge of Theocritus.

But it is when we come to criticism and interpretation that there is most room for difference of opinion. The tendency of American critics has on the whole been to take Spenser as allegorist and moralist more seriously than, with some exceptions as Professor de Selincourt, have recent critics English and French. "The Allegory will not bite you," said Hazlitt; but some later critics, as Jusserand and Yeats, have contended that it frequently does bite you and is always more or less of an intrusion. But before touching on this it is well to indicate what material our edition supplies for consideration of the poem and its intention spiritual and historical. Appendix I on the *Plan and Conduct of the Poem* deals with what has been said on this subject by writers from the older classical school to Courthope, de Selincourt, Cory, Greenlaw, Renwick and many others. This includes Jusserand's discussion of the virtues which Spenser intended to symbolize, and the

accuracy of his statement, in the letter to Raleigh, that Aristotle was his guide; also Cory's attempt, answered by Greenlaw, to regard the poem as an epic of the future of England under the Earl of Leicester. Some of all this was perhaps hardly worth the space allowed (but a Variorum edition must necessarily include a certain amount of dead wood); and some of it becomes irrelevant or at least impossible to determine in view of the fact that the poem was never finished, that the plan which Spenser outlined to Raleigh was still in the abstract. Spenser can hardly have found in Aristotle justification for a Book on Chastity or on Courtesy or on Constancy. The poem as it proceeded was evidently becoming more and more fluid. Appendix II deals with the general propriety of the Allegory, but the extracts are chosen entirely from Joseph Spence, Thomas Warton and that rather harum-scarum critic, John Wilson. It might have been well to include some of the criticism of more sceptical students such as Jusserand and Yeats. Appendix III deals with Spenser and Ariosto as artists quoting from Warton, Hazlitt and Courthope. This also I think might have been added to. Appendix V (following that on the sources referred to above) returns to the moral and spiritual allegory. Appendix VI deals with the historical allegory. A short Appendix IX discusses the Muse of the *Faerie Queene*—Clio or Calliope?

The fifth and sixth Appendixes (pp. 422-495) contain, it will thus be seen, the bulk of what comes under my third head, the interpretation of Spenser's complicated allegory, spiritual and historical. Here a student will find, selected and assembled in a manner fitted to save him from searching through many publications, the best of what has been written upon this subject from Sir Walter Scott's review of Todd's *Spenser*, and Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* up to the present day. Here he will find the various attempts which have been made to expound the significance of every character and every incident. The varieties of opinions expressed are a sufficient indication of the difficulty of the task; and a young student, bent on discovering a consistent allegory, might be advised, by way of caution, to read in the first place Professor Legouis' comment, cited at p. 273, on the speech of Despair with all its logical contradictions, and (what will probably be cited in a later volume) Professor Saurat's note on the contradictions for which Spenser is responsible in the description and philosophy of the Garden of Adonis (III, vi, 29 ff.). The French mind is not apt to befog itself with the sentimental moralizing which one detects in Ruskin's analysis (pp. 422-5), and in that of some of the later commentators. Still, Spenser did intend his poem to be a 'continued allegory,' and one must be grateful for the work of those who have endeavored to interpret it. Even when they are right, one feels that Spenser himself has failed to make his intention clear and poetically effective. The late Mr. Greenlaw, for example,

has an interesting note on the Fradubio incident in Canto II: "Red Crosse spiritually blinded meets with an experience which he fails to interpret." Yes, one thinks, that is probably the intention, but has Spenser really made it clear to us that Red Crosse is not a quite innocently misled person or implied clearly that he could and should have understood the significance of what he saw? Bunyan would have left us in no such uncertainty. The main outline of the spiritual allegory is clear enough and might be summed up in the favorite ejaculation of Ulster Protestants 'to Hell with the Pope!', but detailed interpretations are more difficult and are not always helpful to the appreciation of the poetry as such. Regarding the historical allusions there is still greater variety of opinion, witness the selections here made from the writings of Sir Walter Scott, J. E. Whitney, Lillian Winstanley, Professor Padelford, the late Mr. Greenlaw and others—to confine myself only to those whose speculations seem to me interesting and suggestive. Scott's short note (p. 450) represents one extreme, which would make the story symbolize the history of the Christian Church, if more closely of the Anglican Church. Mr. Greenlaw's very interesting and valuable note (pp. 485-95) represents the other extreme, which would confine the allusions definitely to the reign and the religious achievement of Elizabeth. Others maintain an intermediate position, taking the story to refer to the history of the Reformation in England from the reign of Henry VIII onwards. Is it not possible that there is an element of truth in both extremes? Historical allegory must, to be effective, deal with recent history, history likely to be still fresh in readers' minds; and for Spenser and his readers that will certainly mean Elizabeth first and foremost. Yet the history of Christianity has been, in the world as in the individual, a repetition of similar crises and developments. I have always thought that while there must be contemporary allusions such as Miss Winstanley and Mr. Greenlaw suggest, yet there may have been also in Spenser's mind the larger view of Christian history. His story tells what befell Faith when by Error separated from Truth, but also of the perils incurred by Truth, when deserted by Faith or the Visible Church. Is not Spenser touching on a question which must have haunted the Protestant minds—'if Rome be Anti Christ (as we maintain) what became of Truth during all those centuries of Roman supremacy'? In the lion which protects Una he seems to me to suggest that the natural instincts of the human heart were always on the side of truth. But in the story of Satyrs I have at times suspected that he entertained the thought, sometimes expressed, that even during the darkest ages of Roman superstition there had been in remoter districts, among the Waldenses for example, simple if imperfect witnesses to the truth which Protestantism brought again to light. But this is not the place to put forward fresh conjectures.

This volume supplies the requisite materials for all further discussion of the subject. It is a great achievement of American scholarship, both in its production at this difficult time, and in the evidence it bears to the large part that the American scholars have borne in all recent work on Spenser. One can but hope that it will receive the welcome it deserves and find a place in every library.

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Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory. By EDWIN GREENLAW.

Johns Hopkins Monographs in Literary History, vol. II.

Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1932. Pp.

ix + 220. \$2.00.

Two of the four essays in this volume are reprints of articles by Professor Greenlaw which appeared some twenty years ago, but are still of the first importance to students of Spenser. Here they are united with his final Spenserian investigations in a book of extraordinary unity. Two-thirds of the material is new, and the previously unpublished essays stand first, as they ought logically to do. Their central thesis was adumbrated by Dr. Ray Heffner's article on "Spenser's Allegory in Book I of *The Faerie Queene*" (*SP.*, April, 1930), and Dr. Heffner's long association with Professor Greenlaw makes him the proper editor for this posthumous volume.

The first essay traces the controversy over the historicity of Arthur and of the Trojan derivation of the Britons from Polydore Virgil's aspersion of Geoffrey of Monmouth in 1534 to the decision of Camden and Speed at least to "give leave to antiquity, who sometimes mingles falsehoods with truths, to make the beginnings of policies seem more honorable." With a wealth of contemporary evidence Professor Greenlaw indicates the practical significance in Tudor history of Cadwallader's prophecy that,

Part of our blood, in highest pompe,
Shall Englands glorie be.

Then he studies the penetration of the theme into literature as the fulfilment of the prophecies of Merlin began to interest Warner, Churchyard and Drayton, and as it entered into early drama and into the *Mirroure for Magistrates*. Finally, he interprets the Arthurian legend as it appeared to an Elizabethan who had seen it moralized in the *Mirroure*, accepted as fact by many historians, and lifted to the level of prophetic rhapsody by the poets. For Englishmen in the closing years of the sixteenth century there would have been no difficulty in accepting a romance in which "Rome

was once more conquered, by a new Arthur, whose return was to be mystically expressed, a continued allegory or dark conceit."

The interpretation in this chapter blazes new trails, and it is no less valid than it is original. It sometimes deviates into controversy, but hardly in a way to imperil its conclusions. The thesis that Arthur was anglicized during the later Middle Ages, which is advanced by Sir E. K. Chambers in *Arthur of Britain*, Professor Greenlaw observes is "the direct opposite" of his doctrine. To the present reviewer the opposition seems as far from being antipodal as it does to Professor Millican in *Spenser and the Table Round*. In that slightly more recent study, which brings amazing confirmation to Professor Greenlaw at almost every point, and which is—by the author's confession—largely indebted to him, Sir Edmund's theory polarizes with all the other evidence which proves the importance of the Arthurian ferment in the *Faerie Queene*.

More serious is Professor Greenlaw's difference with those who believe that the decline of interest in Arthurian romance, as distinguished from the prestige of Arthur in history and prophecy, was due to Puritan prejudices in the sixteenth century. Ascham's remark about murder and bold bawdry in Malory has been overstressed and narrowly interpreted, but it has some representative value for the times. An age as susceptible as Spenser's to Castiglione's doctrine was prone to the perennial notion that the recent past was grossly uncivilized. To some degree the faithful loves and the wars which make ambition virtue in Spenser, and even in Shakespeare, are an outgrowth of the prejudice in Ascham's remark. To Professor Greenlaw the primary motive for contempt of the Arthurian romances in Spenser's time seems to have been the fear of the writers opposed to Polydore Virgil and his sympathizers in "the battle of the books" that by accepting the historical Arthur they might seem to underwrite the irresponsibility of Geoffrey and Malory. Spenser's critical instincts as displayed in his treatment of chronicle history in both the *Faerie Queene* and the *Venus*, he observes, brought him into line with the antiquarians, who "were one with Polydore in rejecting the legendary tales of Chretien and Malory, but . . . insisted on the historic city of Arthur and the truth of the descent from Troy." Here Professor Greenlaw establishes a very important point; but his contention that Spenser not only avoids the great knights, but also the great scenes and motifs of Arthurian romance, should be checked against Miss Margaret Richter's evidence of the considerable extent to which such motifs appear in the *Faerie Queene*.¹

"Elizabethan Fact and Modern Fancy," the second essay, is pivoted between two controversial matters, the "new romanti-

¹ Miss Richter's doctoral thesis, still unpublished, is in the library of the Leland Stanford University.

cism" of Miss Winstanley and Miss Albright, who read an "epic of Europe" in Shakespeare and (secondarily) in Spenser, and the "cross-word puzzle" theory of Spenserian criticism. Incidentally, there are some trenchant thrusts at the enemies of such research as the book itself embodies. The first of the two central controversies is beside the central interest of the book, for the emphasis is entirely on Shakespeare. The strictures on Miss Winstanley's "epic of Europe" as she finds it in *Othello* and *Macbeth* are really very important, and they are eminently fair; but in a volume devoted to Spenser it is odd to find no mention of her skillful reading of an epic of Europe in the second book of the *Faerie Queene* by equating Guyon with Coligny.²

In the latter of the two controversies, Professor Greenlaw offers a challenge to all Spenserians. With a new emphasis he reasserts the fact which Warton first pointed out—and which many scholars, he himself among them, have contributed to establish—the fact that Spenser's allegory owes much to the masques. In opposition to the very general and idealistic political allegory in the masques of which we have record as having been shown to Elizabeth, and which, it is impossible to doubt, deeply influenced the *Faerie Queene*, he sets the criticism which makes of the poem a "cross-word puzzle" of "chronological events, major and minor persons, even bushes and trees." Instead of that method he urges one

that starts from no preconceived notion of what Spenser should or might have done, but from certain rather simple conceptions based on ascertained fact, and from these proceeds to inquire, so far as may be possible after so many years, concerning the historical allusions, which are the ornaments and graces, not the underlying structure, of the *Faerie Queene*.

To this the best answer is the retort that the ornaments and graces of the criticism of a poet correspond to those which he himself possesses. One of the minor ornaments of this book is the ingenious suggestion that in the Duke of Northumberland's claim for the treasure chest cast ashore in his jurisdiction in 1560, and in Parliament's refusal in 1566 to sanction Elizabeth's claim to the right to mine copper at Keswick, we may have the basis of Spenser's story of the quarrel of the brothers over the treasure chest cast ashore, in the Legend of Justice. Historical allusion is a factor in Spenser's art, and Professor Millican is right in saying that his "use of political allegory was in a way but a continuation of the medieval *roman à clef*." Attempts to construct historically complete interpretations of his allegory—such as Miss Winstanley's parallel of Guyon's adventures with those of Coligny, and Professor Padelford's study of the political and ecclesiastical allegory of Book I—must, as Miss Winstanley herself points out, overreach

² *The Faerie Queene*. Book II. Edited by Lillian Winstanley, 1922, introduction, pp. lxxii-lxxix.

themselves. Doubtless Professor Greenlaw is right in challenging their representation of Spenser's use of history in his poem. In *The Faerie Queene* history is apocalyptic; its pageant is much more arbitrary and symbolic than that in Hardy's *Dynasts*. But between the conception of *The Faerie Queene* as a *roman à clef* and the more just conception of it as an apocalyptic masque there must be some connection found. It has both qualities and they are both organic.

Readers who are familiar with Professor Greenlaw's articles on "Spenser and the Earl of Leicester" and "Spenser and British Imperialism" will be glad to find them under new titles here, and they will be grateful to Dr. Heffner for including in the Commentary the essential pages of "Spenser's Fairy Mythology." Although, as the title indicates, the book is not a complete treatment of its subject, it will be a permanent landmark in the study of Spenser's historical allegory. The fine conclusion to the last essay—which defends Spenser against the charge of vindictiveness in the *Legend of Justice* and in the *Veue*, and represents him as an enlightened patriot who stood with Walsingham and Raleigh against Burleigh in his conception of colonial policy—is a fit climax for the book.

The discovery of the evidence underlying Professor Greenlaw's interpretation of Spenser's political thought was a brilliant example of the kind of scholarly investigation for which he stood, and of which this book itself was intended, in part, as a justification. There are few more solid tributes to Spenser's fame than these essays, and there could be no better monuments to Professor Greenlaw himself.

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Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry. By DOUGLAS BUSH. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1932. Pp. x + 360. \$4.00.

A formidable title, with connotations of enormous labor and erudition, which in themselves would be no insurance against dullness. The labor and the erudition Dr. Bush has generously bestowed; but he never ceases to be amused with his task and lights up his matter with allusion or turn of phrase or quick and skilful generalization, at once delighting and teaching the reader in most approved Horatian way. "This volume attempts," he says,

to outline both the changing moral and intellectual conceptions of myth and the changing fashions in artistic treatment, for the two are of course inseparable. The cycle of taste is roughly parallel to that represented by the ancient writers already named: it begins with religious seriousness and ends with irreverent burlesque. We shall follow the poetic handling of

myth from the period of infant simplicity through that of adolescent exuberance to the mature and chastened splendor of the last poet of the English Renaissance, and, finally, sink by a logical anticlimax to the immature and unchaste travesties of the Restoration.

In brief Dr. Bush views mythology as an index in which may be read both the artistic temper of a generation, and the subtlest values in the creations of any poet.

Of late special studies in the debt of the moderns to the ancients have been accumulating like the leaves in Vallombrosa, and the book before us serves as a convenient and much-needed variorum of their findings. But it is far more than a *résumé*. With a preliminary survey of theories concerning mythology, as they were formed, expanded, varied, or contracted from latest pagan days, the author establishes certain focal centres of his observation—Spenser, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Chapman, Milton. About these is ordered a host of details, including considerations of various minor poets, lyric verse, translations, and allegory. Among other prevalent themes of the discussion is the impossibility of a sharp distinction between “Middle Ages” and Renaissance. “The medieval mind accepted the irrational if it came in the guise of religion, we accept the irrational if it comes in the guise of science; the difference is called progress. . . . A main effort of this book will be to show the persistence, for good and ill, of the medieval spirit.” For the Middle Age, as its realization of the ancient world increased, formulated its interpretation of ancient myth as essentially diabolical, or essentially allegorical, whether of nature, of history, of morals, or of the plan of salvation. These various interpretations are to be traced in the mythology of English poets as late as *Paradise Regained*. But the Renaissance tended to handle them with an easier and idler touch, content in scores of instances merely to retell, however skilfully, the old tales, or use them as so much *pastiche*, luxuriating in their inexhaustible beauty, without any more serious thought of their import. To Milton this tendency was a grave matter. He detected in it a form of his besetting sin as a learned poet, the sin of *accidia*, though he would hardly have called it that. Which perhaps accounts for his treatment of the last temptation in *Paradise Regained*, and for the comparative scantiness of mythological embellishment in his latest poems.

Perhaps Dr. Bush at times allows himself to be too much embarrassed with academic cant terms, such as classic, neo-classic, romantic. All treatment of ancient myth worth considering, probably all poetry, is romantic, and the sooner we give up these old wizened epithets for larger concepts and more valid distinctions, the better. He clearly has demonstrated his power to override them, especially in his closing paragraphs. If he had insisted throughout on the parallel above cited between the ancient “cycle of taste” and the modern, if he had for example explained the peculiar skill,

finish, and point of Milton's use of myth as high Alexandrianism, not only schooled in the best Alexandrian ideals, but coinciding with them in the moment at which they recur in the modern "cycle," he would, I cannot help thinking, have written more freely and comprehensively, more in his natural stride.

Two fine bibliographies conclude the volume, one of poetical texts, one of lucubrations. From the latter I miss only Miss Duckett's *Catullus in English Poetry*, 1925.

Young scholars, regardless of their special interest, should be acquainted with Dr. Bush's study. Its control of details, its sense of artistic values, its spirited humanity will stir their emulation—without melancholy. Everyone must hope that the author will continue his studies, through the fascinating succession from Gray to Tennyson, or for that matter, to Flecker and O'Neill.

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Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser. By HENRY GIBBONS LOTSPEICH. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932. Pp. x + 126. \$3.00.

Spiritualismus und Sensualismus in der englischen Barocklyrik. Von WERNER P. FRIEDERICH. Wien und Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1932. Pp. viii + 303. RM 14. (Wiener Beiträge, LVII Band.)

The Oxford Book of Sixteenth Century Verse. Chosen by E. K. CHAMBERS. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1932. Pp. xiii + 905. \$3.00.

Elizabethan scholars, while grateful for Miss Sawtelle's pioneer work on the sources of Spenser's classical mythology, wished for a book which would not only be more full and accurate, but would take much larger account of non-classical sources. That wish is very admirably fulfilled in Dr. Lotspeich's dissertation, which was done under the master of those who know mythology, Professor Osgood. It is similar in form to Professor Osgood's work on Milton; a general discussion is followed by a dictionary of Spenser's mythology. Since for most people the dictionary will remain a work of reference, and only a few will read it straight through (as I have done, with great interest), one might wish that Dr. Lotspeich had put more of his material into the shop window, though the twenty-six pages of introduction are sound and suggestive. He discusses Spenser's "equation of poetry and myth," an instinct that makes mythology an integral part of his thought and feeling, his

use of decorative allusion and simile, and especially his acceptance of myth as moralized by such mythographers as Boccaccio and Natalis Comes. Spenser not only makes specific use of these exponents of allegory, but constantly writes in the spirit of their work. Apart from its general value as a reliable source-book of Spenser's mythology, the chief single contribution of Dr. Lotspeich's dissertation is its precise relating of many passages to the *De Genealogia Deorum* and *Mythologiae*. He demonstrates what most modern scholars had suspected, though only a few, such as Professor Lemmi, had gone into the problem. Spenser appears to owe almost as much to the medieval allegorical tradition as Chapman, although the poetic results are generally very different. The more one has tried to explore the territory Dr. Lotspeich covers, the more one appreciates the competence and thoroughness of his investigation.

There is no room here for details, but, since a reviewer must always find a few notes in his brother's eye, some trifles may be mentioned. No one could ever consider all possible sources, but I think Seneca, directly and indirectly, had something to do with Elizabethan mythology. The order of Spenser's mythological sinners (*F. Q.*, I. v. 35) is said (p. 74) not to be paralleled in the classics; but see *Hercules Furens*, 750 ff. Phaedra kills herself with a knife (p. 70) in the *Hippolytus*. For Phlegethon as a fiery stream enveloping sinners (p. 100), see, for example, *Hippolytus*, 1227, *Thyestes*, 73. The note on the equating of nymphs and fairies (p. 92) might have included Dr. M. W. Latham's *The Elizabethan Fairies*. "Limbo lake" (p. 78) occurs in the *Gorgeous Gallery* (ed. Rollins, p. 81). I observe very few misprints: "Prosperina" (p. 14); "D. H." for "J. D." Cooke (p. 18); "Cimmeriam" (p. 47).

The sensuous and the spiritual appear in Spenser side by side; the senses of the poet are not dulled by the conscience of the preacher. Such an untroubled equilibrium could hardly be maintained in the more complex world of the seventeenth century. The optimism and naturalism of the humanists, says Dr. Friederich, which had been a revolt against medieval pessimism and asceticism, encountered in the Catholic Reformation a new affirmation of medieval religion. The manifestations of these conflicting tendencies in the secular and religious lyrics of the first half of the seventeenth century are the subject of Dr. Friederich's substantial volume. By "baroque" he understands chiefly the opposition between Ovidian paganism and the medieval fear of God. He devotes himself especially to seven poets. Donne, Herrick, and Vaughan give expression to the opposed impulses within them. Carew and Suckling represent predominantly the pagan naturalism of the courtier, Herbert and Crashaw the quest of self-denying holiness and the vision of the divine. The theme is one that never loses its fascination, and Dr. Friederich works out its implications and rami-

fications with a mature breadth of view and an amplitude of illustration that result in freshness and frequent illumination. The last seventy pages study the effects of the inner conflict on the substance and style of poetry.

Of anthologies of Elizabethan lyrics we have had almost too many. Sir Edmund Chambers' volume contains not only the great body of golden lyrics but such things as Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* and Davies' *Orchestra* in full, and ninety-six pages of Spenser. However, when one has given the title of the book, named the editor and the press, and said that it has nine hundred pages, complimentary remarks are superfluous.

DOUGLAS BUSH

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Spenser and the Table Round. By CHARLES BOWIE MILLICAN.

Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932. Pp. xv + 236.
\$2.50.

This book is particularly noteworthy as a collection of very important materials which throw light upon the political significance of the British legend in the reign of Elizabeth. It is especially valuable in its account of out-of-the-way sources; its excerpts from rare books, tracts, and poems; and its presentation of manuscript evidence not easily accessible. The Welsh references fill a very real need and bring considerable support to the thesis of the book. The notes, which are out of the way of the general reader by their position at the back of the book, prove to be some of the most fascinating pages to those interested in research, for they make a distinct contribution in themselves. One finds additional facts, new light on sources, and other matters of interest and importance, such as the clearing up of the identity of the Richard Robinsons in note 75, page 170.

Mr. Millican is advancing no new idea in developing the theme of the Tudor-British and seems somewhat to minimize the work of such scholars as A. E. Parsons, Lilian Winstanley, and Professor Edwin Greenlaw, whose masterly presentation of the subject in his "A Sixteenth Century Battle of Books" (see Millican, p. 4 and p. 147, note 5) was posthumously published in *Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory*. Our thanks go to Mr. Millican, however, for an accumulation of detailed evidence in corroboration of the important fact of the political use of the Arthurian story by the Tudors.

The relation of this wealth of source material to Spenser and the *Faerie Queene* is not always clearly shown. The "story" gets lost in the mass of evidence, and the significance of the facts presented

is not readily apparent. The connection with Spenser of the early background materials given in Chapter II, for example, needs pointing.

Chapter III is undoubtedly the best written section of the book. Here the reader's attention is kept directed towards Spenser, and the interpretation is adequately indicated, as on pages 68-9. The handling of the Harvey references, important in themselves, is an excellent illustration of what Mr. Millican can do when he will in subordinating individual details to his main trend of thought.

In spite of the seeming fullness of the proof of his argument in the chapters mentioned, Mr. Millican omits among other things one large and very rich field, that of pageantry. To supplement his discussion, one should refer to Mr. Ray Heffner's notes in Professor Greenlaw's *Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory* (pp. 172-80).

The subtitle of the book, "A Study in the Contemporaneous Background for Spenser's Use of the Arthurian Legend," leaves one unprepared for a discussion of the Stuart period and for mention of materials which belong to the time of the Commonwealth. Since there is a chapter on "The Early Stuart Period," however, the treatment should be more representative of conditions at this time. The chapter is the most disappointing in the volume. The richness of the period in British story, whether it be found in pageant, history, political and legal treatises, or literature, is not suggested by this study; and no interpretation, except a hangover from Tudor usage, is offered. In spite of the title of the chapter, Mr. Millican goes into the Commonwealth period to mention two manuscript epics. His hurried generalizations concerning these seem somewhat untimely in view of the fact that they are accessible also in the library of the Tudor and Stuart Club of the Johns Hopkins University, which secured them for the work on the Spenser Variorum edition and for use in other studies in preparation under the direction of Professor Greenlaw. In the brief space of a review it is impossible adequately to supplement the sparsity of material in Chapter V. I should like, however, to take issue with one comment. Since James constantly used his Tudor-British derivation to strengthen his claims to the throne and his popularity with his British subjects, the generalization that his "irritation at Drayton may have been in part due to the Tudor connection insisted upon for him" (p. 128) seems untenable. All the evidence is to the contrary. One thinks, of course, of the huge pyramid bearing this ancestry, which was used as a part of the coronation pageantry, the references in the complimentary speeches to James, in the other literature of the reign, and in the speech to parliament made by James himself. Such points as this should not be over-emphasized, however, in view of such interesting material as the quotations from

Sir George Buck—in manuscript—and from John Thornbrough's work (pp. 132-3).

This statement brings us back to the major contribution to scholarship made by Mr. Millican's study, the valuable and alluring gift of inaccessible source material.

ROBERTA FLORENCE BRINKLEY

Goucher College

Arthurian Legend in the Seventeenth Century. By ROBERTA FLORENCE BRINKLEY. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1932. Pp. 228. \$2.00.

This volume continues through the Seventeenth Century the study begun in Edwin Greenlaw's *Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory*; the main difference between the two is that Professor Greenlaw's book centers around Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, while the high spot of Miss Brinkley's is Sir Richard Blackmore's *Prince Arthur* and *King Arthur*. It is inevitable then that her book should have less interest for the student of literature, although for one interested primarily in the history of an idea it may have much. Miss Brinkley is concerned largely with the political use made of the Arthur story by the Tudors and the Stuarts to bolster up the royal claims, and the use made of the Saxon material by the Parliamentary party in opposition to them. Literary material is, of course, included, but most of it is political in its nature.

Miss Brinkley has done her work with care and I have found few errors in facts and none that is of any importance. On one point, however, I believe she has made a rather serious error in interpretation, and so has thrown her work out of proportion. She states repeatedly that the Tudors and Stuarts not only claimed but could establish a descent from King Arthur.¹ "Tracing their ancestry in a direct line back to King Arthur, the Tudors held . . ." (p. 1); "As a descendant of Cadwallader, able to trace his line back to King Arthur, Henry Tudor claimed . . ." (p. 2); "His [James's] ancestral line could be traced back from Arthur to Brute" (p. 20); "His ancestry went back to Arthur through the Stuart line also" (p. 16)—these are positive statements scarcely justified by the evidence. I doubt whether such a descent could be traced, and I feel certain that no reputable genealogist of the Tudor or Stuart period would have attempted to do it. The Welsh genealogies of the period are almost innumerable, but I have never found among them one that goes back to Arthur, although other

¹ This interpretation apparently comes from Professor Greenlaw, who held that opinion; he devotes several pages (*op. cit.*, 170-7) to evidence in support of his position, but I find nothing in any of the passages he cites that seems to bear the interpretation he puts upon them.

heroes of Geoffrey of Monmouth are not infrequently found. Apparently Arthur was looked upon as *sine genealogia, neque initium dierum, neque finem vitæ habens*, and was not accepted as historical by men who did not hesitate to accept Belinus, or Porrex, or Lear, or Brutus. The Tudors knew this well enough and were wise enough not to make any claim to Arthurian descent, although they were doubtless willing enough to gain what advantage they could from the romantic associations of the name.

What the Tudors actually did claim is a matter of record. Richard's taunt that Henry Tudor "of his ambitious and insatiable covetise incroacheth and usurpeth upon hym the name and title of royal estate of this roiaulme of England, whereunto he hath no maner of interest, right, title, or colour, as every man well knoweth," prompted Henry, when he became king, to send into Wales a commission to search out his pedigree. This commission associated with it the most eminent of the Welsh genealogists—men like Gutyn Owain and Sir John Leiav—and its report may be taken as representing the orthodox genealogy of the time. In it Henry's ancestry is traced back through forty-nine different lines. The main line runs through Ednyved Vychan, Coel Godebog, and Beli Mawr to Brutus, "of which Brute, King Henry the Seventh is lineally descended by issue-male, saving one woman [Regan, daughter of Lear], and is son to Brute in five score degrees," thus establishing a claim to the throne of Britain far older than that of the Plantagenets. Of the lines represented by the matches a few are carried back to King John, Edward Longshanks, Simon de Montfort Earl of Leicester, and other English barons, but the chief emphasis is upon the Welsh descents. These include Llewelyn the last prince of all Wales, the princely lines of South Wales, Gwynedd, and Powys (including the Glendower claim), Mervyn King of Man, Meyric Lord of Gwent, and the founders of about half of the tribes of North Wales. Some twenty or more of the lines are, or easily may be, carried back through Cadwallader the Blessed, "to whom King Henry the Seventh is son in the twenty-second degree." Among the persons included in these pedigrees we find Vortigern, Caradoc Vreichvras, Urien Rheged, Sandde Bryd Angel, Llywarch Hen, Maelgwn Gwynedd, Cunedda, and other more or less historical characters, but in not one of the forty-nine is Arthur mentioned, although obviously this would be the logical place to set forth any claim to descent from him. Miss Brinkley is hardly justified, therefore, in saying that in the period of the Tudors "upon the historicity of Arthur depended the right to the throne of England" and "the crown was staked upon the existence of Arthur, the king." If that had been so, the Tudors would have found few supporters among the educated and the influential.

JOHN J. PARRY

Sir Philip Sidney en France. Par ALBERT W. OSBORN. Paris: Champion, 1932. Pp. 172 + lvii. (Bibl. de la RLC.)

About half of this dissertation is devoted to French translations of the *Arcadia*. M. Ascoli (*La Grande-Bretagne*, Paris, Gamber, 1930, II, 135) had mentioned the existence in fragmentary form of the earliest of these, that made by Loiseau de Tourval about 1607-10. This, Mr. Osborn publishes for the first time. He also discusses in detail the translations made by Baudoin (1623-25) and by Geneviève Chappelain and a "Gentilhomme françois" (1624-25), correcting Mr. Lawton's conclusions in regard to them. Before this portion of his work are found a sketch of Sidney's life and of his relations with Frenchmen, and a study of the French literary influences exerted on him. In later chapters are given examples of Sidney's influence in France and of allusions to him, a number of which had not been previously pointed out. The book will be of service both to students of Sidney and to those who are interested in relations between England and France during the seventeenth century, although Sidney's influence was never great and it is hard to see that the course of French literature would have been materially altered, had he never lived. Mr. Osborn writes clearly and gives evidence of having covered his material exhaustively. I regret that to me he seems at times to have weighed his evidence hastily or with unfortunate bias. Of course, I may be prejudiced, as he disagrees with me on several occasions, but I will state the facts and ask the reader to judge for himself.

The first two examples of Du Bellay's influence (pp. 47-8) are far from convincing, supported as they are by no verbal similarities. Baro's name was not Théodore (p. 131), but Balthazar. On p. 151 Mr. Osborn seems to think that Boisrobert's *Folle Gageure* (1653) concerns contemporary conditions in England, but the dramatist laid his scene in the time of Elizabeth. On p. 141 he declares that I see in an episode of Frénicle's *Fidelle Bergère* (pub., 1634) "un souvenir de l'*Arcadie*" and criticizes me sharply for so doing. As a matter of fact I merely pointed out in my *History of French Dramatic Literature*, Part I, p. 391, a *resemblance* between them. If I had supposed that any serious scholar could have misunderstood me, I would have added that, while there may have been influence, the evidence was not sufficient to prove it. These are all minor matters, but two topics remain that require detailed discussion.

Certain plays of Alexandre Hardy are known to us only through the fact that Mahelot in his *Mémoire* gives their titles and their scenic requirements. One of these is called *Partenie*. It was written in two *journées*, the settings of both of which are not only described by Mahelot, but are accompanied by drawings of the

scenery (cf. my ed., pp. 75-6). Some years ago I suggested (*MLN.*, xxvii (1912), 131) that the play represented the story of Domitian's assassination by Parthenius, but I admitted that I had not established the fact, since certain properties mentioned by Mahelot were not satisfactorily accounted for. Now Mr. Osborn proposes what he considers a solution of the problem, namely, that Hardy derived the play from Baudoin's translation of the *Arcadia*. The title, which, as no definite article accompanies it, may be either masculine or feminine, would be derived from Parthenia, the heroine of an episode in Sidney's novel, and the objects mentioned by Mahelot would be explained by Hardy's use of other episodes from the same work, in which are found combats, the imprisonment of certain characters, the showing of a severed head in a basin, the fainting of Zelmane, the visit paid him by Philoclea in the early morning, and the celebration of Basilius's victory. But, while Hardy could easily have had access to Baudoin's translation of the *Arcadia* and have selected Parthenia as his heroine, there are a number of items left unexplained by Mr. Osborn. Mahelot's drawings show real prisons, whereas Sidney's princesses are detained in a château. To explain the presence of torches by the need of lighting the prison is unconvincing, for Mahelot often mentions prisons without *flambeaux* and no use of the latter is made by Sidney. While the lances, trumpets, *rondaches*, and *fleurets* might naturally accompany the representation of battles, the paper and the "masques pour se deguïser" are unexplained by Sidney's text, while Hardy mentions specifically "un rondache ou il y ayt un portraict,"¹ of which the nearest equivalent in the part of the *Arcadia* under consideration is a shield with a two-headed child painted on it, a peculiar device, hardly to be referred to merely by "portraict."² The suggested source would account for the palaces, closed bedroom, bed, and *teste feinte* of the second *journée*, but not for the *brancart*, *licol*, *poignard*, "fiolle pleine de vin ou d'eau" (for nobody gives such a drink to Zelmane when he faints), "drap pour un ombre" (for Philoclea does not disguise herself as a ghost), or "flames et socissons," to which Sidney makes no reference. Of course, Hardy, in composing his play, may have so altered his source that such objects were represented, but, with similar freedom for one's imagination, other sources could be proposed with equal appearance of probability. The only real evidence that Mr. Osborn has lies in the heroine's name and the use of a severed head in a basin.² This is too little to make his hypothesis more than an interesting suggestion. It may be better than mine,

¹ Contrast the precision of Mahelot's reference elsewhere (p. 70 of my ed.) to "un rondache ou il y ayt un tigre peint avecque sa devise."

² Severed heads are used elsewhere by Mahelot (*op. cit.*, pp. 73, 79, 82). Heads in basins were brought on the stage in La Serre's *Thomas Morus*, written too late to be mentioned by Mahelot.

but it is certainly far from justifying his boast (p. 145) that his reconstruction is complete and "vraisemblable jusque dans les détails."

A more important difference of opinion between Mr. Osborn and myself concerns what I consider the first example of the influence of English literature upon French.³ I showed in 1927 that Galaut's *Phalante*, a play written before the end of 1605, not only has the same plot as an episode of the *Arcadia*, but has in common with it four proper names, applied to corresponding persons, with the exception that *Phalante* has become the lover instead of the "bastard brother" of Hélène de Corinthe. Since Galaut was a boy when Sidney died, he could not have influenced the latter, and no common source has been discovered. The only objection that can be raised to my theory is that no translation of the *Arcadia* had been published when Galaut wrote and that we do not know how this native of Toulouse became acquainted with this English novel. But this objection is surely not a serious one, for there were Englishmen and Scotchmen in France—courtiers, refugees, Jesuits, etc.—who could have translated the episode orally for Galaut; the latter may, for all we know, have visited England; Sidney's fame in France was great; several English books, not literary in character, had been translated into French between 1578 and the end of the century. In short, it is more difficult to deny that Galaut had access to the *Arcadia* than to assume that he was acquainted with it. Nevertheless, Mr. Osborn, who cannot deny the close connection between the versions of Sidney and Galaut, is unwilling to accept my conclusions, insists that there must have been a common source, and even points out what, in his judgment, this source may have been.

He learned from Quérard⁴ that Antoine Du Verdier published at Lyons in 1567 a tragedy called *Philoxène*. He argues that, as Sidney and Du Verdier were both "gentilshommes ordinaires de la Chambre du roi," they must have been acquainted, that Sidney used Du Verdier's play as a source for the episode of Helen in the *Arcadia*, and that *Philoxène* was inserted into the book containing Galaut's works with its title changed to *Phalante*. Du Verdier would thus be both Sidney's source and the author of the play falsely attributed to Galaut, an important addition would be made to our knowledge of Sir Philip's origins, and the notion that English literary influence in France began as early as 1605 would be destroyed. Let us see on what foundations these interesting observations rest.

⁴ Instead of merely quoting Quérard, Mr. Osborn should have referred to Du Verdier's own biographical dictionary, which would have given him the same information.

³ Not "the French" as Mr. Osborn twice gives it (pp. 126 and 167) in citing my article, which appeared in *MLN*, XLII (1927), 71-77.

Now the fact is that Du Verdier's play is lost and that we have no information as to its plot. The title, which Mr. Osborn considers "fort singulier, peut-être unique," ought not to surprise anyone working in Renaissance literature, for Philoxenos was the name of at least a dozen Greeks mentioned in classical dictionaries and could easily have been formed by anyone with a rudimentary knowledge of the Greek language. Consequently the title tells us nothing about the contents of the play. To argue from title to plot recalls the pseudo-scholarship of a century ago and occasions surprise when found in a thesis accepted by the Sorbonne. Indeed, Mr. Osborn admits that it would be most daring, "même ridicule, d'affirmer que ce livre perdu est la source où Sidney et l'auteur de *Phalante* auraient tous les deux puisé," but he declares (p. 130) that his conjecture is as likely to be true as mine; he is so much pleased with it that he twice refers to it (pp. 13 and 64) before elaborating it, and he trusts to it enough to conclude (p. 163) that the *Arcadia* exerted no influence in France before 1624. But let us examine his other arguments.

Mr. Osborn thinks it very probable that Sidney and Du Verdier met at Paris when they were both gentlemen of the king's chamber, but, while he knows that Sidney, who first reached Paris in June, 1672, received this dignity on August 9th, and left Paris, never to return, a fortnight later, after St. Bartholomew's, he makes no effort to show when Du Verdier was similarly honored. Now we know that Du Verdier was "Gentilhomme ordinaire de la maison du Roi"⁵ in 1600, just before he died on September 25th of that year, but it is most improbable that he had held the position since 1672. Nearly complete lists of these officials in 1580 and 1600 are given by Voltaire,⁶ and no name mentioned in either occurs in the other. Du Verdier was probably appointed by his fellow southerner, Henri IV. If he held the office also in 1572, Mr. Osborn should prove it before attempting to base a theory on this supposition. At present we have no evidence that Du Verdier, whose homes were in and near Lyons, ever met Sidney. That the latter should ever have heard of his play, which is probably known by name to us only through the chance that Du Verdier was a biographer,⁷ is most improbable.

Finally, Mr. Osborn's effort to cast doubt upon the authenticity

⁵ This statement was made by his son in an addition published with Du Verdier's *Prosopographie* in 1604. It is cited in Rigoley de Juvigny's edition of Du Verdier's biographical dictionary.

⁶ Cf. *Œuvres* (Moland ed.), xxxii, 443, 445. Du Verdier's name is mentioned in neither list. This may be because he was appointed after the first and before the second was made out.

⁷ Even La Croix du Maine, who listed a number of Du Verdier's works in 1584, fails to mention it. Nicéron, the frères Parfaict, etc. give no evidence of ever having seen it. It did not form part of the Soleinne collection, for it appears only among the *desiderata* in Lacroix's *Catalogue de . . . Soleinne*, I, 156.

of Galaut's *Phalante* is equally unsupported by evidence. The person who published the play in 1611, six years after Galaut's death, entitled the collection in which it appeared "Recueil de diuers poemes et chans Royaux avec le commencement de la traduction de l'*Æneid* de I. Galaut Aduocat au Parlement de Tolose." Mr. Osborn thinks that because *Phalante* is not specifically mentioned, the play was probably not by Galaut, but the word "poemes" may easily include this play, written in verse, just as a tragi-comedy by Bernier de la Brousse was published in a book entitled *Œuvres poetiques* (1618); a *Pastourelle* by Isaac Du Ryer in *le Temps perdu* (1609); and *Isaac*, a play by Jean Rosier, in *Poemes françois* (1616). It is also most improbable that an obscure play of 1567 would be republished in 1611 and performed on the stage of that period. There is then no more reason to doubt a contemporary's attribution of *Phalante* to Galaut than there is to believe that Sidney made use of Du Verdier's play. If Mr. Osborn had been satisfied to state that he could not accept my theory until he found out how Galaut had access to the *Arcadia*, I could at least credit him with caution, but by stringing together this series of wild hypotheses he gives his readers cause to under-value some of his other statements. Personally, I am quite willing to accept M. Ascoli's conclusion (*op. cit.*, II, 132):

Avant même qu'elle n'eût été traduite en français, l'*Arcadie* semble avoir, je ne sais grâce à quels mystérieux intermédiaires, inspiré certains de nos auteurs. D'abord Jean Galaut . . . laissa parmi les œuvres qu'on publia en 1611, une tragédie de *Phalante*. La pièce était inspirée de cet épisode de l'*Arcadia* de 1590 où l'on voit, etc.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

The Urquhart-Le Motteux Translation of the Works of Francis Rabelais. Edited with an introduction and notes by ALBERT JAY NOCK and CATHERINE ROSE WILSON. Two volumes. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1931. Pp. clxx + 952. \$15.00.

François Rabelais. Par JEAN PLATTARD. Paris: Boivin et C^{ie}, 1932. Pp. 342. Fr. 36.

The Tale of Gargantua and King Arthur. By FRANÇOIS GIRAULT, edited by HUNTINGTON BROWN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932. Pp. xl + 132. \$1.50.

As it is an impossible task to translate Rabelais into modern English, Mr. Nock and Miss Wilson have wisely republished the famous Urquhart-Le Motteux translation, correcting its inaccurate

passages and illuminating it with the help of recent scholarship. In this way the flavor of the past has been combined with our present knowledge and we are given at the same time a French masterpiece and a monument of English seventeenth-century prose. The translation includes, not only the Five Books, but the *Pantagruelian Prognostication*, the *Sciomachia*, and several letters and other minor writings. The work is admirably printed and handsomely illustrated. It will become all lovers of Rabelais to "smell, feel, and have in estimation these fair, goodly books, stuffed with high conceptions."

For the notes and the long Introduction, a book in itself, the editors have drawn heavily upon French scholarship, especially that of M. Lefranc and his group, to whom an eloquent tribute is paid on p. 2, but Mr. Nock also uses his own judgment and differs with his guides more than once. He is quite justified in attacking M. Lefranc's interpretation of Rabelais as a propagandist for atheistic rationalism, but elsewhere one may follow him with less conviction. According to Mr. Nock, Rabelais was always the artist and the humorist, never descending to fight for a doctrine, but one may wonder whether his attitude was so Olympian where the Sorbonne or the *Dives Decretales* were concerned. Moreover Mr. Nock's picturesque prejudices lead at times to assertions that have little color of scholarship. He finds that in the United States "there is no interest in the practice of the humane life" (p. 190). His reference to "the inevitable upshot of the Protestant principle—the setting up of innumerable little, contentious and pettifogging organizations" (p. 39), is hardly consistent with his praise of Rabelais's provincial resistance to the "force of a levelling uniformitarianism" (p. 63). The remark on p. 48 about the rise of national literatures quite overlooks the importance of French medieval poetry. It is certainly misleading to say that Lope de Vega "established the art of the modern drama in Europe" (p. 24), or that competent modern prose developed later in France than in England (p. 145), or that at present "relatively few Frenchmen can read Rabelais" (p. 189).

Apart from such *obiter dicta* as these, Mr. Nock's Introduction furnishes an excellent guide to the uninitiated, while the initiated will enjoy his enthusiasm for Rabelais, whom he considers "one of the half-dozen writers whose spirit in a conspicuous way pervades and refreshes one's being, tempers, steadies, and sweetens it."

M. Plattard has rendered a very genuine service to the public by making easily accessible a synthesis of the conclusions to which he and other scholars have come in regard to Rabelais's life and times. No one is better prepared than he to give us authoritative statements on this subject and no reader will be disappointed by the book, which is clearly and entertainingly written, with ample notes the excellent discussion of the various *milieux* in which Rabelais

passed his life. While M. Plattard's point of view is in the main that of the group with which he has long been associated, he does not hesitate to combat M. Lefranc's views on the question of Rabelais's philosophical outlook (cf. pp. 161-2), or those of other scholars in regard to the authorship of the Fifth Book. In the latter case he is obliged to fall back, as he admits, on impressionistic criticism and to doubt the authenticity of all or portions of Chaps. 2, 3, 5, 7, 11, 12, 16, 24, and 25. Whether more definite conclusions may some day be established remains to be seen.

Dr. Brown's book is a reprint of two folk-tales, connected with Rabelais. The first, which takes up the major portion of the volume, is *les Croniques admirables du puissant Roy Gargantua*, first published about 1534, reprinted by Paul Lacroix in 1872. The other, reproduced in the appendix, is *Les grandes et inestimables Croniques du grant et enormz geant Gargantua*, first published in 1532 and already quite accessible in Marty-Laveaux's edition of Rabelais, Vol. iv. In the Introduction Dr. Brown gives good reason for his belief that a translation of the *Croniques admirables* was made in England in the sixteenth century and that it was better known to Elizabethan authors than was Rabelais himself. This is the chief contribution that he makes to knowledge of the subject. The texts have been carefully printed, but are somewhat disfigured by a curious use of accents that accords neither with sixteenth-century French accentuation, nor with modern, for he puts the grave accent on words like *trèsbien*, *trèsaise*, etc., without using a hyphen, and writes *-éz* where he should have written *-ez* or *-és*. Other mistakes are: *Pèlérinage* for *Pèlerinage* (p. xxiii), *revelé* for *révélé* (p. 28), *faée* for *faë* (p. 29), *ce cyant* for *ce oyant* (p. 50). In the Glossary *chausses* should not be defined as including the doublet, however feminine Molière's Chrysale thought it to "connoître un pourpoint d'avec un haut de chausse"; *esguillettes* does not mean "small rods," but *lacels*; and there are a number of words omitted that need explanation, such as *quant et* (p. 29, *avec*), *empulenty* (p. 44, *empuanti*), *finée* (p. 53, *finie*), *oues* (p. 66, *oies*).

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Samuel Johnson als Kritiker im Lichte von Pseudo-Klassizismus und Romantik. Von SIGYN CHRISTIANI. Leipzig, 1931. Pp. 120. (Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie, XVIII.)

This doctoral dissertation neatly deals the chief critical dicta of Johnson into two piles, the red cards representing his leanings towards romanticism, the black—and very black they are to the dealer—his pseudo-classical beliefs. To accomplish this six points

of contrast between the pseudo-classical age of enlightenment and the romantic age which followed, are offered by way of definition and Johnson's relation to each of these points is discussed. But the fundamental error of such a program is the common one of over-simplification: what is not black must be red—or reddish; what is opposed to or modifies strict pseudo-classicism must tend toward romanticism. Thus Johnson's repudiation of the rules is interpreted as a step toward romanticism. Surely it was no such thing. It represented a reaction in the name of common sense and common experience—which are not exactly romantic shibboleths—against the cramping pedantry of critics and playwrights. Again: pseudo-classicism is called the product of an aristocratic courtly culture; romanticism an outgrowth of the rise of the middle classes. There is obviously a considerable measure of truth to such a statement. Yet how then shall we account for the fact that a critical formalism which is generally called pseudo-classical was perhaps never more strictly upheld than by the middle-class Dick Minimis of the mid-eighteenth century? Or for the fact that bourgeois Richardson who is here labelled “romantic” was as staunch a believer in the didactic function of literature (a sign of pseudo-classicism) as Johnson himself?

Here then is simplification that breeds confusion and contradiction, for it does not take into account that modification of an earlier pseudo-classical period by Christianity as interpreted by the bourgeois mind, which colors the literature of the age of Johnson. An adequate study of Johnson's relation to that middle-class compromise is yet to be made, and would, I venture to predict, give far more illumination than those will-o'-the-wisps of criticism, pseudo-classicism and romanticism, are now capable of giving.

But it would be ungrateful to select this thesis for condemnation, when the error is so prevalent. The work is conscientiously done according to its program and is not without insight. It is always a service to call attention to the perpetual opposition of elements in Johnson's nature, however we may label them.

JOSEPH EPPS BROWN

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The Rhetoric of Aristotle: an expanded translation with supplementary examples for students of composition and public speaking. By LANE COOPER. New York and London: Appleton, 1932. Pp. xlviii + 259.

Those who have labored in the cause of the classics in American education have not always been professed classicists; and it is particularly worthy of remark that the pupils of the late Albert S.

Cook are among those who are now doing most to prove and perpetuate their influence upon our so-remote civilization. One of these is Professor Lane Cooper, whose translation of the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle now follows his earlier work on the *Poetics*. The method too is the same that he employed in that work. There are no notes; instead, many words, phrases, and longer passages are interpolated (always in brackets) into the text of the translation and to be read continuously with it, sometimes filling out transitions which Aristotle himself may have made clearer in his lectures than they are in the text, sometimes enlarging a laconic utterance, sometimes elucidating terms, and so on. It is a method not without its risks, and it would be intolerable in a work notable for style. But there seems to be no objection to it in the treatment of a scientific and practical treatise like the *Rhetoric*, at least when it is carried out by so competent a scholar; for one soon learns to trust Professor Cooper's thorough knowledge of the many problems that the work presents. It should be added that the addition of all the instruments for scholarly use (an excellent index, an analysis, etc.) gives this the character of a standard translation.

In a concise introduction Professor Cooper explains and justifies some features of the treatise and illustrates them by a study of a few famous passages of oratory, especially Lincoln's *Gettysburg Address*. His attention is directed here to the teacher and student of public speaking of the present time, and he displays a hearty zeal in attempting to prove that Aristotle's is the best rhetoric for their practical purposes, as do also a number of other scholars whom he quotes in commendation of the work. Yet the reader cannot but feel some doubts as to whether this is the right way to commend the greater part of the *Rhetoric*, namely Books One and Two, and especially those long portions devoted to what we should call psychology, the emotions, pains and pleasures, and what men consider the 'greater and less goods.' The original and novel part of Aristotle's treatment of the subject is found here: he probably meant by this method of study to recover rhetoric from the merely sensuous and empty beauty of the sophistic schools by attaching it to the realities of experience. Moreover, the acuteness of his analysis often shows itself here to marvelous advantage, as, for instance, in the discussions of anger, envy, and so on. But did Aristotle really believe that this is a *practical* approach to the art of public speaking? And if so, was he not guilty of the same error that we are aware of in, for example, Bacon's *Essays*, a work that was in fact much influenced by the *Rhetoric* and *Ethics*? That is to say, is he not misapplying the scientific method to a material that necessarily eludes it, and becoming impractical by too much confidence in the practical uses of intellectual analysis? Of course these are very ancient questions and would raise an old

controversy that Professor Cooper has no occasion to engage in. Yet it must be said that his method of defending the *Rhetoric* inevitably starts them up once more in his readers' minds.

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The Influence of the Latin Elegists on English Lyric Poetry, 1600-1650. By PAULINE AIKEN. Orono, Maine: University Press, 1932. (University of Maine Studies, Second Series, 22.)

After a brief and useful summary of the evolution of the elegy, and short accounts of each Roman elegist, Miss Aiken devotes most of her pages to details of correspondence between the verse of the ancients and the moderns which indicate their respective debit and credit. Matters of the lady's starry eyes, or heart of flint, of seizing the passing moment, of immortality through verse, are perhaps too general to be an index of special elegiac influence; but most of Miss Aiken's instances are well taken. She finds less use of the elegists in the great masters, Jonson and Donne, than in their disciples, especially those sealed of the Tribe of Ben. Of these Herrick alone is significant enough to occupy more than half her book.

Herrick's erotic verse drew most of its suggestions, among the elegists, from Ovid; his unerotic from Tibullus. As one reviews instance after instance, more than ever distinctly arises the image of the genial cleric warming and limbering his poetic energies from day to day with his bit of Latin poetry, grown long familiar from frequent conning, as one way of making his dull round of life at Dean Prior at least endurable. There is risk of misprision in supposing that this elegiac influence made for insincerity in Herrick, for loss of vigor and conviction. It is to miss the quality of divine play in the man and in his art, the infectious thrill with which he transformed gray British commonplace by touching it with a bit of the magic he caught from his poetic kinsmen of ancient Italy. In this exquisite play he was as sincere as ever poet was.

The elegiac metre was never much attuned to English. It was rather in theme, device, artifice, and temper that the Latin elegists came to life again in those Stuart days which were in many respects like their own.

For all such detailed studies as these the genuine humanist must be grateful. In her list of those relevant to her subject Miss Aiken omits J. B. Emperors' *The Catullian Influence in English Lyric Poetry ca. 1600-1650*.

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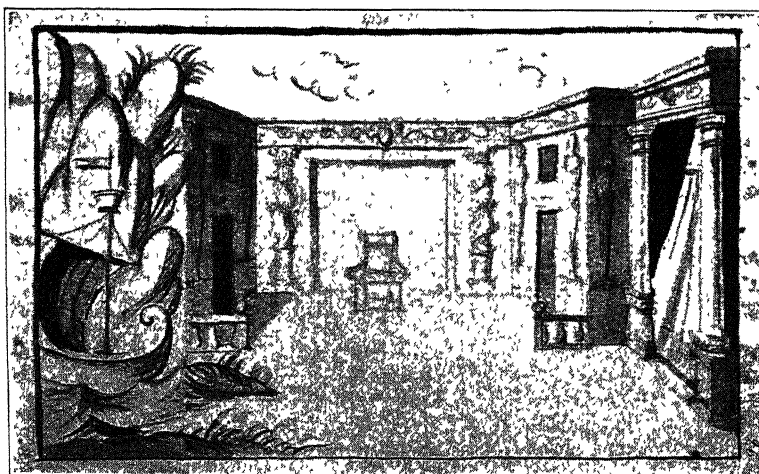
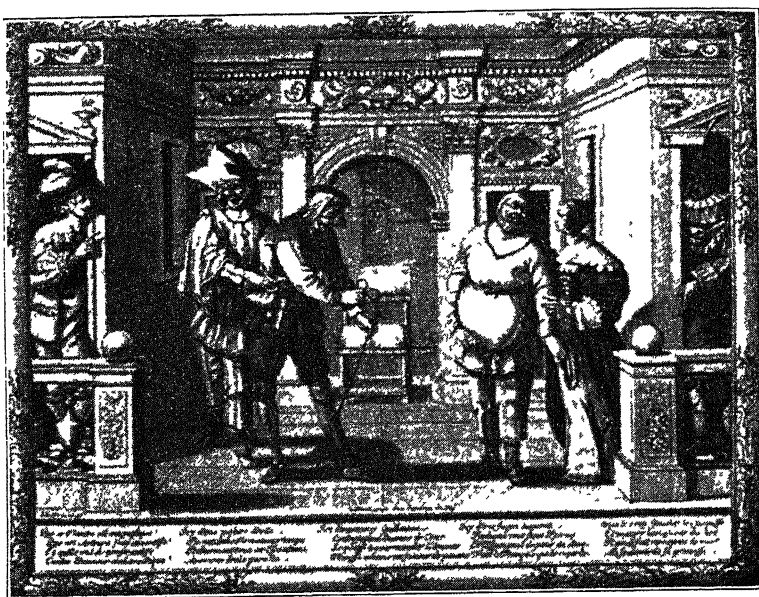
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Décor pour *La Folie de Clidamant*
Croquis de Mahelot

Modern Language Notes

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Number 5

A PROPOS D'UNE ESTAMPE D'ABRAHAM BOSSE ET DE L'HÔTEL DE BOURGOGNE

Les ouvrages illustrés se rapportant à l'ancien théâtre français ont presque tous reproduit la belle estampe d'Abraham Bosse représentant les comédiens de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne au début du XVII^e siècle. Nous y voyons figurer, dans le groupe central, de gauche à droite, les favoris du public parisien: Turlupin, Gautier-Garguille, Gros-Guillaume, puis une femme, probablement Perrine, femme de Gautier-Garguille et comédienne à l'Hôtel de Bourgogne. De chaque côté se trouvent deux personnages isolés, le *Français* et l'*Espagnol*, types conventionnels de la farce. Au fond, dans un cartouche, l'inscription: *Hôtel de Bourgogne*, nous indique bien dans quel théâtre se passe la scène.

Ces acteurs sont placés dans un décor dont l'architecture sévère et riche surprend un peu pour une simple farce. Beaucoup des annotateurs de cette gravure, renonçant à expliquer ce décor, se sont contentés de cette légende: *Les Farceurs Français au XVII^e siècle*. Mais ceux qui ont voulu l'expliquer, influencés peut-être par l'encadrement du dessin, qui, sur trois côtés au moins, peut représenter le cadre même d'une scène de théâtre, offrent une légende qui semble indiquer que notre illustration représente la totalité de la scène de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne. Nous lisons: *L'Hôtel de Bourgogne*, ou: *La scène de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne*, *Le décor du salon à l'Hôtel de Bourgogne*. Un ouvrage allemand nous explique: *Eine Vorstellung im Hôtel de Bourgogne*. Une reproduction de cette estampe, extraite d'un ouvrage publié en anglais, que nous venons de voir au Musée dramatique de l'Université Columbia, ajoute: *In the above picture is shown a part of the balustrade which kept the spectators in the pit from attacking the actors in moments of excitement*. Nous avons déjà trouvé cette idée dans une notice qui accom-

pagnait la même gravure publiée en France: *La balustrade, interrompue pour permettre aux acteurs de s'avancer jusque sur le devant du théâtre, séparait du parterre la scène fort peu élevée.*

On peut s'étonner à juste titre que les annotateurs de cette illustration, historiens du théâtre, manquent à tel point de précision et d'unité dans l'interprétation de notre estampe. Or, nous avons si peu de documents graphiques sur l'Hôtel de Bourgogne qu'il y aurait avantage à donner de cette estampe une interprétation plus précise. En l'examinant à la lumière des travaux de Rigal et de ceux plus récents du Professeur Lancaster et aussi en considérant la date de l'estampe, nous nous sommes demandé si elle ne représenterait pas vraisemblablement le compartiment du fond d'un des décors simultanés alors en usage à l'Hôtel de Bourgogne.

La dernière des cinq strophes de vers médiocres qui accompagnent l'estampe fait allusion à la mort récente d'un des acteurs, Gautier-Garguille:

*Mais le vray Gautier les surpasse,
Et malgré la rigueur du sort,
Il nous fait rire après sa mort,
Au souvenir de sa grimace.*

Or Gautier-Garguille mourut en décembre 1633; l'estampe a probablement été exécutée quelque temps avant sa mort et publiée quelque temps après.

Nous sommes donc en 1633. C'est la belle époque des décors simultanés, époque où les auteurs dramatiques faisaient passer l'action de leur drame d'un point du monde à l'autre bout avec une aisance qui nous déconcerterait aujourd'hui, ce qui nécessitait la représentation sur la scène d'éléments de décoration très disparates, ainsi d'un côté, une mer et un vaisseau, de l'autre côté, une chambre avec un lit;¹ au milieu, un élément de décoration plus soigné et d'un caractère plus noble, qui représentait généralement un beau palais. Cet élément soigné de la décoration était souvent séparé du reste de la scène par une balustrade. Nous retrouvons cette balustrade dans un grand nombre de croquis de Mahelot: *Parténie, la Moscovite, la Cornélie, le Roman de Paris* et d'autres.

¹ Décor pour *La Folie de Clidamant*, pièce perdue de Hardy, représentée vers 1632. Voir Henry Carrington Lancaster, *Le Mémoire de Mahelot, Laurent et d'autres décorateurs de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne et de la Comédie-Française au XVII^e siècle.*

Examinons le décor de l'estampe de Bosse : C'est la même disposition que dans certains palais des croquis de Mahelot, c'est la même balustrade, c'est ce fauteuil indiqué pour *la Folie de Clidamant* et qui figurait probablement dans les autres palais. Les dimensions des éléments de décoration de la gravure, la largeur et la hauteur des portes, indiquent encore la réalisation gênée, sur une scène déjà exiguë, d'une partie d'un projet de Mahelot, alors qu'il fallait laisser de la place à droite et à gauche pour les autres décors et aussi devant pour l'action.

Alors que la plupart des dessinateurs de cette époque déforment pour embellir et ont une tendance marquée à fausser certaines proportions au profit de certains effets, Abraham Bosse ne déforme pas, il peut enjoliver parfois, mais il garde dans toute son œuvre un sens précis de la perspective et un souci manifeste de l'exactitude des dimensions.

Dans son estampe, la perspective est celle qu'aurait l'artiste, debout, au niveau de ses personnages, mais à une certaine distance d'eux. C'est ainsi que Bosse a vu et réalisé sa composition. Si la scène de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne s'était terminée à la balustrade, Bosse eût vu son sujet du parterre et pris un plan de perspective beaucoup plus bas.

De plus, le plancher de la scène de cette estampe finit pauvrement : seule l'épaisseur de ce plancher s'y trouve figurée. Cela pouvait convenir à un théâtre ambulant, posé temporairement sur des tréteaux, mais non à un théâtre permanent, si soigné par ailleurs. Dans ce traitement du plancher, nous croyons voir un procédé d'architecte pour indiquer la coupe imaginaire d'un plan qui se continue en deçà des limites de l'illustration.

A. Bosse aurait donc représenté ses farceurs en haut et au milieu de la scène de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne, dans cette partie du décor que Mahelot indique ainsi dans son mémoire : *Au milieu du théâtre, il faut un beau palais.*

Il est facile de se représenter Bosse, raffiné de son époque et esprit déjà classique, posant ainsi ses personnages dans la partie de leur théâtre qui choquait le moins son goût d'artiste. Du reste, la joyeuse bande n'a-t-elle pas joué dans ces conditions, avant ou après la tragédie, les autres parties de la décoration laissées comme elles étaient, ou cachées par les rideaux dont on faisait usage à l'Hôtel de Bourgogne ?

Cette interprétation de l'estampe de Bosse nous donnerait quelques précisions sur l'exécution de l'un au moins de ces décors de Mahelot qui ne sont suggérés dans son mémoire que par des croquis d'une facture assez naïve. Elle nous permettrait en outre de vérifier les hypothèses déjà faites sur les dimensions de la scène de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne.

En jugeant des dimensions du palais de l'estampe de Bosse d'après la hauteur des personnages, nous pouvons raisonnablement donner à l'ouverture de ce palais une hauteur de trois mètres sur une largeur égale. Une profondeur de deux mètres donne, en maquette, l'effet de perspective indiqué par l'estampe. En cherchant maintenant dans le mémoire de Mahelot un élément de décoration dont la profondeur soit facilement déterminable, nous trouvons qu'il faut pour *La Folie de Clidamant*, d'un côté du théâtre et en avant du palais, *une belle chambre qui s'ouvre et ferme, où il y ait un lit bien paré avec des draps*, un lit dans lequel un acteur pouvait sûrement se coucher, mais un lit pas trop grand pour ne pas perdre de place. Donnons une profondeur de deux mètres à cette chambre figurée par des colonnes en toile peinte dont l'épaisseur est négligeable. A ces quatre mètres de la profondeur ainsi obtenue, il faut ajouter environ un mètre cinquante à répartir en avant et en arrière de la chambre, pour le jeu des "fermes," l'effet des voûtes d'air et surtout pour ménager, en avant, un court proscenium. De plus, derrière la porte du fond, il faut laisser un passage, d'au moins soixante-quinze centimètres, pour les entrées solennelles des rois de tragédie. Nous obtenons ainsi une profondeur totale de scène de six mètres vingt-cinq. C'est bien approximativement la dimension suggérée par le Professeur Lancaster: six mètres cinquante.²

Il est moins facile de déterminer la largeur de la scène. Mais en tenant compte de la dimension de l'ouverture du palais déjà obtenue, en s'inspirant des largeurs, des symétries et des équilibres suggérés par le croquis de Mahelot, puis en soumettant le problème à l'essai de la maquette,—c'est là le travail de laboratoire de l'étudiant de la scène,—nous obtenons une ouverture de scène de six à huit mètres.

Dans son ouvrage déjà cité, le Professeur Lancaster nous donne quinze mètres cinquante comme largeur probable de la salle, mais

² Voir, Henry Carrington Lancaster, *History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*. Part I, pp. 712-123.

la scène ne pouvait en occuper qu'une partie, ne fût-ce que pour ménager de chaque côté des décors la place nécessaire à la manœuvre de certaines "apparitions," celle du *vaisseau garni de mâts et de voiles* de *La Folie de Clidamant*, par exemple.

Les conclusions qu'on pourrait tirer de notre interprétation de l'estampe de Bosse ne sont donc pas incompatibles avec celles déjà formulées par les érudits du théâtre, elles sembleraient même les confirmer.

Cette interprétation d'une image et les conclusions que nous en tirons, ne peuvent intéresser les esprits graves qui ne considèrent le théâtre que sous son aspect exclusivement littéraire et philologique. Mais ceux qui savent que le théâtre est quelque chose de plus complexe qu'un texte pourront tirer quelque profit de cet essai de critique iconographique.

GASTON LOUIS MALÉCOT

Fayetteville, Pennsylvania

DEUX EPIGRAMMES DE BOILEAU

J'ai vu l'Agésilas.
Hélas?

Après l'Agésilas,
Hélas!
Mais après l'Attila,
Holà!

Pas d'épigrammes plus connues, ni plus souvent citées. A l'unanimité de la critique depuis deux siècles et demi elles caractérisent le déclin du grand Corneille, la dégringolade d'Agésilas en Attila. Cette interprétation m'a toujours choqué : ces épigrammes ainsi comprises jurent avec ce que nous savons des sentiments de Boileau envers Corneille¹ et elles m'ont toujours semblé signifier ceci :

¹ Est-il utile de rappeler le témoignage de Madame de Sévigné : "Vive donc notre vieil ami Corneille! Pardonnons-lui de méchants vers en faveur des divines et sublimes beautés qui nous transportent. Ce sont des traits de maître qui sont inimitables. *Despréaux en dit encore plus que moi.*" Lettre à Madame de Grignan du 16 mars 1672, c'est-à-dire cinq ans après Attila. Et faut-il citer les nombreux passages de Boileau lui-même où l'éloge de Corneille est clair? *Discours au Roi* (1665), v. 54; *Satire IX* (1667), v. 231-234; *Art Poétique* (1674), chant IV, v. 195-196; *Vers pour mettre au bas du portrait de M. Racine*; *Lettre à M. Perrault* (1701). Et quant au fameux vers : "De Corneille vieilli sais consoler Paris," il

J'ai vu l'Agésilas . . . mauvaise pièce, le public a murmuré, la pièce est tombée. Boileau en est attristé: "Hélas" Mais dès que paraît Attila, dès qu'il peut rendre justice à Corneille, Boileau écrit. Après l'Agésilas, hélas! (je l'ai dit, et je le répète) *mais* après l'Attila, Holà! (Bravo! Voilà bien notre grand Corneille!)

Cette interprétation me plaît, mais j'ai honte de me trouver seul contre toute la critique. . . . Quels sont donc les arguments en faveur de l'interprétation "classique"? Je relis nombre de commentaires, et chacun semble me confirmer de plus en plus dans mon point de vue. Marty-Laveaux dans sa Notice reconnaît que:

Le Registre de Lagrange constate que la pièce eut vingt représentations consécutives et trois autres encore dans la même année: *c'était pour le temps un véritable succès*² Cela n'empêcha point Boileau de faire cette épigramme si connue, si facile à retenir.

Après l'Agésilas,
Hélas!
Mais après l'Attila,
Holà!

qui est devenue dans la bouche de bien des amateurs, et même de beaucoup de critiques, une réponse sans réplique, une de ces fins de non-recevoir aussi décisives que le Tarte à la Crème du marquis dans la Critique de l'Ecole des Femmes.

Marty-Laveaux semble donc s'étonner, mais il accepte l'explication classique. Aurait-il été influencé par Voltaire qu'il cite dans la première ligne de sa Notice? J'ouvre le Commentaire de Voltaire, et j'y trouve au début de la Préface d'Attila la fameuse épigramme d'ailleurs incorrectement citée,³ et précédée de ces mots: "La plaisanterie de Despréaux devait l'avertir de ne plus travailler, ou de travailler avec plus de soin." Et Voltaire continue: "On connaît encore ces vers:

Peut aller au parterre attaquer Attila;
Et si le roi des Huns ne lui charme l'oreille,
Traiter de visigoths tous les vers de Corneille."

faut se rappeler qu'il est précédé de "*seul* de tant d'esprits" et est adressé à Racine pour le consoler, dans l'*Épître* VII qui date de 1677, c'est-à-dire trois ans après la dernière tragédie de Corneille: *Suréna*.

² "Attila aurait tenu l'affiche plus longtemps si la Duparc n'avait pas passé à l'Hôtel de Bourgogne à Pâques 1667." Lemaitre: *Racine*, p. 162.

³ "J'ai vu l'Agésilas," au lieu de "Après l'Agésilas."

Cette citation me rappelle qu'il y a en effet une autre "attaque" d'Attila par ce même Boileau, mais comment commence-t-elle donc? Voltaire n'a-t-il pas omis un vers assez intéressant? Il a omis le vers :

Un clerc, pour quinze sous, sans craindre le holà.

Un clerc, c'est-à-dire, d'après Gazier, "un petit commis, employé chez un notaire, chez un procureur." Cette omission me semble grosse de conséquences . . . je relis le passage complet, avec les quatre vers qui précèdent :

Tous les jours à la Cour un *sot* de qualité
Peut juger de *travers* avec impunité:
A *Malherbe*, à *Racan*, préférer *Théophile*,
Et le *clinqant* du Tasse à tout l'*or* de Virgile.
Un *clerc*, pour quinze sous, *sans craindre le holà*,
Peut aller au parterre attaquer Attila,⁴
Et, si le roi des Huns ne *lui* charme l'oreille,
Traiter de *visigoths* tous les vers de *Corneille*;⁵

et je me frotte les yeux, et je ne comprends plus. . . Est-ce là une attaque? Mais alors Boileau attaque Malherbe, Racan, Virgile! Ici encore *tous* les commentateurs sont d'accord: ce passage est un rappel de la fameuse épigramme,⁶ et une seconde condamnation d'Attila. J'avoue que ces vers me semblent très clairs, et les commentateurs me paraissent être comme hypnotisés par le Holà de l'épigramme mal compris. Cela ne viendrait-il pas en grande partie de la citation tronquée de Voltaire?

Voltaire cherche à élever Racine au-dessus de Corneille. Il commence sa Préface par les mots suivants :

Attila parut malheureusement la même année qu'Andromaque. La comparaison ne contribua pas à faire remonter Corneille à ce haut point de

* A rapprocher de :

Chacun le peut traiter de fat et d'ignorant:
C'est un *droit* qu'à la porte on *achète* en entrant.

L'Art Poétique, III.

⁵ Boileau, *Satire IX*, v. 173-180.

⁶ Je n'ose pas croire que le second hémistiché du cinquième vers cité soit la confirmation par Boileau lui-même de mon hypothèse, et veuille dire: sans craindre *mon* Holà, qui signifiait: Voilà le retour à la bonne tragédie.

gloire où il s'était élevé; il baissait, et Racine s'élevait: c'était alors le temps de la retraite; il devait prendre ce parti honorable.⁷

Voltaire nous dit lui-même: "Je traite Corneille tantôt comme un Dieu, tantôt comme un cheval de carrosse,"⁸ et: "Je lui donne des coups de pied dans le ventre, l'encensoir à la main."⁹ N'est-ce pas ici un de ces coups de pied? et n'en est-ce pas un second quand il dit un peu plus loin dans la même préface: "On a prétendu (car que ne prétend-on pas?)¹⁰ que Corneille avait regardé ces vers comme un éloge; mais quel poète trouvera jamais bon qu'on traite ses vers de visigoths . . ." Qui est cet *On*? C'est toujours le *clerc* du vers supprimé par Voltaire. Et Voltaire continue dans la Préface à sacrifier Corneille à Racine.

Marchant dans les traces de Voltaire, tous les commentateurs de ce passage de la *Satire* IX rappellent le Holà de Boileau, et semblent vouloir me donner tort, mais décidément ils le font de mauvaise grâce, et comme à regret.¹¹ Je lis dans l'édition de Saint-Surin: "Brossette pense que Despréaux a voulu rappeler deux épigrammes qu'il avait composées sur les tragédies d'Agésilas

⁷ Cette assertion même est réfutée par Marty-Laveaux qui la cite dans sa Notice et ajoute. "Tout en reconnaissant la justesse de ces réflexions un peu banales, on ne doit pas oublier qu'Andromaque ne fut jouée que huit mois après Attila, et ne put par conséquent entraver en rien le succès de cet ouvrage."

⁸ *Lettre à d'Argental*, 31 août, 1761.

⁹ *Lettre à l'Abbé d'Olivet*, citée dans *Boileau* de Montchesnay.

¹⁰ Voltaire dans cette parenthèse cherche naturellement à discréditer cet appui que Corneille donne à ma thèse et dont je parlerai plus tard.

¹¹ Plusieurs d'entre eux qui probablement n'ont pas lu les pièces en question, et n'en savent pas l'histoire, en arrivent à dire des choses au moins étranges:

Note d'Amar dans son édition des *Œuvres* de Boileau, à-propos d'Attila. "L'une des dernières pièces du grand Corneille jouée *sans succès*." Deschanel nous dit: "Mais la fable ni l'exécution d'Attila, roi des Huns ne répondirent au dessein grandiose. *L'œuvre sombra*." *Le Romantisme des Classiques*, Corneille, p. 253.

Gazier exagère quand il écrit dans son édition de Boileau: "Voilà le sens de cette épigramme: Quand on a vu jouer Agésilas on plaint Corneille d'être tombé si bas. Mais quand le poète ne comprenant pas la portée des critiques qui lui ont été faites continue et fait *plus mal encore*, il faut le *siffler*." (p. 277)

Et M. Lanson, qui sera d'un tout autre avis, plus tard quand il aura étudié Attila, nous dit, toujours suivant Boileau: "*l'erreur d'un grand homme, Attila*." (*Boileau*, p. 76)

et Attila. Cette allusion *s'il s'est proposé de la faire* était bien *peu digne de lui.*" Plus loin: "La manière dont ces vers sont encadrés pouvait fort bien tromper leur auteur [sic] sur l'intention du satirique, *si toutefois* elle était de ne pas épargner la vieillesse d'un grand homme." Me trompé-je, ou ces lignes donnent-elles vraiment une impression de malaise?

De même *tous* les critique s'accordent naturellement sur le sens à donner aux épigrammes, et je serais seul, seul contre deux siècles et demi de critique, si je ne m'étais trouvé un allié inattendu dans la personne même de Corneille: Attila était, dit-on, sa tragédie préférée,¹² et quant aux quatre vers de la satire IX Brossette nous dit: "M. Despréaux m'a dit que Corneille prenait ces quatre vers pour un trait de louange, de sorte qu'il les préférerait bonnement à ceux où M. Despréaux loue si bien le Cid."¹³ Et enfin c'est une louange encore que Corneille voyait dans les épigrammes:

Quelques gens ont reproché à M. Despréaux de s'être délassé de ses grands ouvrages par quelques petites poésies qui ne répondent pas toujours à sa haute réputation. On l'a surtout fort blâmé d'avoir laissé imprimer deux épigrammes très laconiques qu'il fit contre l'Agésilas et contre l'Attila du grand Corneille, quoique Chapelain les eût fort vantées sans savoir qui en était l'auteur. Ces deux épigrammes finissent par Hélas et par Holà. Les faux critiques, disait-il, se sont fort révoltés contre cette petite badinerie faute de savoir qu'il y a un sentiment renfermé dans ces deux mots. Corneille s'y méprit lui-même et les tourna à son avantage, comme si l'Auteur avait voulu dire que la première de ces deux pièces excitait parfaitement la Pitié, et que l'autre était le Non Plus Ultra de la Tragédie.¹⁴

Et ici une question assez grave se pose: nos commentateurs ont-ils lu nos deux tragédies? J'en doute fortement, et je suis heureux de découvrir que Faguet est convaincu que Voltaire en particulier ne les a pas lues:

Vers la fin de son travail sur Corneille Voltaire en avait assez de son entreprise et il n'a pas lu Tite et Bérénice, non pas plus qu'il n'a lu Agésilas ni Attila, ni Pulchérie, ni Suréna. Vous pouvez m'en croire absolument.¹⁵

¹² "Corneille a dit souvent que Attila était sa meilleure pièce." L'Abbé Dubos: *Réflexions critiques*, 2e partie, section XII, cité par M. Michaut: *La Bérénice de Racine*, p. 218.

¹³ *Correspondance entre Boileau-Despréaux et Brossette*, p. 554.

¹⁴ Montchesnay: *Bolaeana*, p. 373.

¹⁵ *Journal des Débats*, 22 juillet, 1907, Feuilleton Dramatique, cité dans *Mercur de France*, 15 avril 1928, p. 314.

Cette constatation est encourageante et va me donner une supériorité sur les autres commentateurs: je lis Agésilas, et je lis Attila. Et maintenant je suis sûr que Boileau n'a pas *pu* vouloir mettre Attila au-dessous d'Agésilas. Agésilas est vraiment une pièce détestable, et ce qui est plus important ici, détestable du point de vue de Boileau: songez d'abord qu'elle est en vers libres, une *tragédie en vers libres*! Et on dit que si Boileau n'a pas parlé de La Fontaine, c'est que les Fables sont en vers libres. "Hélas!" n'est certainement pas un jugement trop sévère pour une si dangereuse innovation de son ami. La tragédie d'Agésilas est écrite en vers libres, et le plus souvent ces vers sont comiques ou même grotesques. Je me contenterai de quelques citations:

Aglatide est d'humeur à rire de sa perte:
 Son esprit enjoué ne s'ébranle de rien.
 Pour l'autre, elle a, de vrai, l'âme un peu moins ouverte,
 Mais elle n'eut jamais de vouloir que le mien. v. 724-727

Ne croirait-on pas lire *Mélite*? Mais que dire de vers comme les suivants:

Mais s'il attendait là que mon tour arrivât
 Autorisât à ma conquête
 La flamme qu'en réserve il tenait toute prête, v. 820-822

et les deux vers qui terminent l'acte III:

Et nous verrons après s'il n'est point de milieu
 Entre le charmant et l'utile, v. 1285-86

et cette vraie "occasion":

Agésilas: Non; mais qui la pressait de choisir un époux?
Spiritidate: L'occasion d'un roi, Seigneur, est bien pressante.
 Les plus dignes objets ne l'ont pas chaque jour, v. 1770-72

et cette parodie de la volonté cornélienne:

Xénoclès: Il ne faut que vouloir: tout est possible aux rois.
Agésilas: Ah! si je pouvais tout, dans l'ardeur qui me presse
 Pour ces deux passions qui partagent mes vœux,
 Peut-être aurais-je la faiblesse
 D'obéir à toutes les deux. v. 1954-58

J'ai relevé beaucoup de vers presque aussi mauvais que ceux-ci, et je n'ai pas trouvé un seul beau vers digne de Corneille.

Je laisse de côté à dessein le sujet et l'action même de la pièce qui ne sont ni meilleurs ni pires que ceux d'Attila, mais il me faut dire quelques mots du dénouement, qui est tout-à-fait extraordinaire: c'est un pur et détestable dénouement de comédie: la tragédie se termine par un triple mariage:

Rendons nos cœurs, Madame, à des flammes si belles;
 Et tous ensemble allons préparer ce beau jour
 Qui par un *triple* hymen couronnera l'amour!

Ce que Corneille jeune n'avait osé faire dans sa comédie de *La Galerie du Palais*,¹⁶ Corneille vieillissant le fait dans sa tragédie d'Agésilas, qu'il n'appelle même pas une comédie héroïque. Le gémissement de Boileau est plus que pardonnable.

Et maintenant que vaut Attila? Oh! ce n'est pas une des grandes tragédies de Corneille, mais elle est nettement supérieure à Agésilas: et d'abord elle est tout entière en alexandrins, pour la plus grande joie, il me semble, de Boileau, et la plupart de ces alexandrins sont de la meilleure manière du vieux poète: les beaux passages sont trop longs pour être cités ici, mais en se reportant au texte on y trouvera par exemple un très bel écho du *Cid* dans le fameux portrait de Louis XIV et du Dauphin (vers 555-589) et on s'étonnera d'y lire de longs passages qui semblent écrits par le jeune rival de Corneille, et qui rappellent Andromaque (vers 462-468 et 769-796) ou annoncent Iphigénie (vers 671-682) ou évoquent Hippolyte:

Je veux, je tâche en vain d'éviter par la fuite
 Ce charme dominant qui marche à votre suite. v. 821-822

Le dénouement d'Agésilas est bien mauvais, celui d'Attila a généralement été considéré comme exécration, mais il se trouve au moins un critique qui le défend, et semble vouloir protéger Attila contre la seule attaque que ceux qui ont lu cette tragédie aient jamais dirigée contre elle:

Corneille, dit M. Lanson, n'a pas craint de choquer le goût ou les mœurs de ses contemporains par des traits historiques qu'il conservait: il a laissé deux femmes à Pompée, deux maris à Sophonisbe, il a fait mourir Attila d'un saignement de nez, il a envoyé Théodore à son étrange supplice . . . Quand on compare ces pièces de Corneille à celles où *Quinault* escamote si délicatement les données scabreuses ou révoltantes des sujets antiques, on conçoit que le public du XVII^e siècle ait concédé à Corneille la fidèle observation de l'histoire.¹⁷

¹⁶ *Chrysante*: Mon cœur est tout ravi de ce double hyménée.

Florice: Mais, afin que la joie en soit égale à tous,
 Faites encor celui de monsieur et de vous.

Chrysante: Outre l'âge en tous deux un peu trop refroidie,
 Cela sentirait trop sa *fin de comédie*.

Derniers vers de *La Galerie du Palais*.

¹⁷ Lanson: *Corneille*, p. 80.

Je remercie M. Lanson de nous avoir montré que Boileau pouvait ne pas trouver mauvaise même la moins bonne partie de notre tragédie.

La lecture de ces deux tragédies a été pour moi une révélation: Boileau n'a pas pu trouver *Attila* inférieur à *Agésilas*. C'est une bien meilleure pièce, et meilleure du point de vue de Boileau. Et je m'aperçois peu à peu en lisant les critiques d'*Attila* que tous sont de mon avis, et découvrent qu'*Attila* est une meilleure tragédie qu'*Agésilas* "malgré le Holà de Boileau."¹⁸

En interprétant le fameux Holà d'une autre façon, ne pourrait-on pas, comme je le voudrais, réconcilier Boileau et nos critiques? Holà, mot choisi évidemment pour la rime, a-t-il plus d'un sens? a-t-on jamais vu Holà signifier ce que je voudrais qu'il signifie? Je cherche dans Littré, qui, après avoir donné les significations habituelles du mot, hanté lui aussi et comme hypnotisé par la fameuse épigramme, crée un troisième sens, pour lequel il n'a qu'un exemple, appuyé sur une citation de cet exemple.¹⁹ N'y a-t-il pas là un curieux cas de suggestion? Les dictionnaires du XVII^e siècle ne citent pas Boileau. Je trouve dans le *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* (1694): "sert pour appeler, signifie: tout beau, c'est assez: "Holà, ne versez pas davantage d'eau. Holà Holà"; dans Furetière (1690): "Holà: Il suffit, arrêtez-vous: "Quand on fait des présents à un avaré il ne dit jamais: Holà, c'est assez"; dans Richelet (1728): "On se sert du mot Holà pour prier, ou pour commander d'*agir plus doucement*"; dans Ménage (1750): "Holà et *Alte là* sont synonymes"; et enfin dans le *Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue Française* (avant l'épigramme) de Godefroy un sens unique: "Commandement d'arrêt, s'est employé pour signifier cessation de poursuites, d'*hostilités*." N'est-ce pas tout ce que je cherche à faire dire à Holà: "J'ai attaqué Agésilas, Attila me force à cesser les hostilités." Et je n'ai même pas besoin d'un sens pourtant bien précieux pour moi, trouvé dans Bescherelle (1848): "Holà exprime

¹⁸ Voir en particulier: Hémon, *Cours de Littérature, Corneille*, p. 15; Brunetière, *Études Critiques*, VI, p. 145; Lanson, *Théâtre choisi de Corneille*, p. xvii, et *Esquisse d'une histoire de la tragédie française*, pp. 97, 98, 99; Faguet, *En lisant Corneille*, pp. 214-219; Dorchain: *Pierre Corneille*, p. 402.

¹⁹ "Il signifie aussi: qu'on l'arrête, qu'on l'empêche: "Après l'*Agésilas*, Hélas, Mais après l'*Attila*, Holà," et Voltaire: Lettre à d'Alembert, 101. 12 juillet 1762: "Attila est au-dessous des pièces de Dauchet, je m'en tiens au Holà de Boileau."

aussi l'étonnement, l'admiration." J'avais commencé cette étude sur une simple impression, je la termine sur une conviction : Si "Holà" veut dire cessation de poursuite, et peut exprimer l'étonnement, l'admiration ; si *Attila* est nettement supérieur à *Agésilas*, comme tous les critiques qui ont lu les deux pièces le reconnaissent ; si nous n'avons aucune preuve que Boileau a voulu condamner cette tragédie ; si au contraire le fameux passage de la *Satire IX*, que nous semblons comprendre pour la première fois, en fait l'éloge, et si Corneille lui-même est avec nous ; pourquoi accuser Boileau d'avoir manqué de jugement, et d'avoir attaqué Corneille si féroce-ment et si inutilement ? Boileau, je le répète, n'avait aucune raison de se montrer sévère pour *Attila*, tragédie dans laquelle Corneille revenait à l'alexandrin, revenait aux Romains, et qui était la première œuvre qu'il confiait à Molière. N'est-il pas plus raisonnable de penser que Boileau aimant et admirant Corneille avait été attristé par l'échec d'Agésilas, et que la première épigramme lui avait échappé, mais il ne l'a pas imprimée avant de pouvoir rendre justice à Corneille, à l'occasion du succès d'Attila, dans la seconde épigramme se terminant par Holà : J'avais dit Hélas !, pense Boileau, je ne peux pas le nier, mais maintenant que je peux dire Bravo, j'imprime le tout, et je m'empresse de faire allusion au succès d'Attila dans ma *Satire IX* (qui a été composée l'année même d'Attila).

Et ainsi la fin de Corneille est moins lamentable : ce n'est plus la dégringolade dont son ami se moque, et dont la critique depuis deux siècles et demi s'amuse, en citant la fameuse épigramme. Nous retrouvons le grand Corneille jusqu'au bout : il lutte et se renouvelle, faiblit quelquefois, mais sait triompher de nouveau.

Et Boileau lui aussi sort grandi de cette étude : ce n'est plus le critique injuste²⁰ qui frappe son vieil ami à coups redoublés, mais c'est l'admirateur fidèle qui est tout heureux de pouvoir féliciter et encourager le grand poète vieilli, dès qu'il en a l'occasion, aussi généreux à cette époque qu'il le sera plus tard quand il offrira d'abandonner sa pension pour faire rétablir celle du vieux Corneille.²¹

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²⁰ " Ses dernières tragédies, malgré les Hélas ! et les Holà ! intéressés de Boileau, ne méritent pas . . ." Gonzague Truc: *Jean Racine*, 1926, p. 60.

²¹ Lanson: *Boileau*, p. 13.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON VOLTAIRE FROM 1926 TO 1930

The bibliography which follows is intended as a supplement to *A Century of Voltaire study: a bibliography of writings on Voltaire, 1825-1925*, which appeared in 1929. It is limited to books and articles about Voltaire and does not include editions of his works except in certain cases where there is considerable critical material. All books and periodicals listed have been examined by the compiler, who is aware of the fact that there must be additional titles, especially in German, Italian, and Spanish, which were not available in the libraries visited. Scandinavian, Flemish, and Dutch sources are practically absent, because of their inaccessibility.

The classification of the material follows that used in the original bibliography with the exception of Part VI: Criticism of Individual Works, where the items have been arranged alphabetically by the author instead of by the title of Voltaire's work. All the correspondence has been grouped together, so that it will be necessary to refer to that section as well as to the headings in which one may be especially interested. The abbreviations follow, wherever possible, those of the earlier publication. In the case of serial or special publications not previously listed, the abbreviations are in many instances, those used by Professor Gustave Lanson in his *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne*. Valuable suggestions by Miss Isadore G. Mudge, Reference Librarian of Columbia University Library, by Professor Norman L. Torrey of Yale University and by Professor George R. Havens of the Ohio State University are acknowledged with gratitude.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Aesculape—Aesculape. Am Parade—The American parade. Am Pol Sci R—The American political science review. B Beitr Rom Ph—Berliner beiträge zur romanischen philologie. Beaux Arts—Les Beaux arts. Bull Bibl—Bulletin du bibliophile et du bibliothécaire. Bull S F H Méd—Bulletin de la Société française d'histoire de la médecine. Bull S H Pr—Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français. Chr Méd—La Chronique médicale. Connoisseur—The Connoisseur. Deutsche Rund—Deutsche rundschau. Fortnightly R—The Fortnightly review. Forum—The Forum. Gand Art—Gand artistique. Germ Rom Monat—Germanisch-

romanische Monatsschrift. Grande R—La Grande revue. Hist Z—Historische Zeitschrift. Illustration—L'Illustration. Intermédiaire—Intermédiaire, des chercheurs et curieux. Living Age—The Living age (Littell's). M Business—The Magazine of business. Mél Baldensperger—Mélanges d'histoire littéraire générale et comparée offerts à Fernand Baldensperger. Paris, Champion, 1930. 2 v. Mém Henri Basset—Mémorial Henri Basset. Nouvelles études . . . publiées par l'Institut des hautes études marocaines. Paris, P. Geuthner, 1928. 2 v. (Publ Inst H Ét Maroc, t 17, 18). Menorah J—Menorah journal. Mercure—Le Mercure de France. Mod Lang N—Modern language notes. Mod Lang R—The Modern language review. Mod Phil—Modern philology. Monde Nouveau—Le Monde nouveau. Nation (London)—The Nation (London). N & Q—Notes and queries. N Gids—Nieuwe gids. N Litt—Les Nouvelles littéraires. New Republic—The New republic. Nouvelle R—La Nouvelle revue. Pantheon—Pantheon (Monatsschrift für freunde und sammler der kunst). P M L A—Publications of the Modern Language Association of America. Pr R S Med—Proceedings of the Royal society of medicine. Progrès Méd—Le Progrès médical. Renaissance—La Renaissance. R Belge Phil H—Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire. R C C—Revue des cours et conférences. R D M—Revue des deux mondes. R Et Hongr—Revue des études hongroises. R H Ec S—Revue de l'histoire d'économie sociale. R H L—Revue d'histoire littéraire. R H Vaud—Revue historique vaudoise. R Hebdomadaire—Revue hebdomadaire. R Litt C—Revue de littérature comparée. R Mondiale—Revue mondiale. R P L—Revue politique et littéraire (revue bleue). R Paris—Revue de Paris. R Rhénane—Revue rhénane. Rom For—Romanische Forschungen. Romanic R—Romanic review. S P—Studies in philology (University of North Carolina). Sat R Lit—Saturday review of literature. Symposium—The Symposium. Thinker—The Thinker. Vragen D—Vragen van den dag. Yale R—The Yale review. Z Bücherfr—Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde. Z Ethnol—Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Z Fr Spr L—Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur.

I. Bibliography and Bibliographical Studies.

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PATOUILLET, J. Un épisode de l'histoire littéraire de la Russie: la lettre de Voltaire à Soumarokov. *R Litt C* 7: 438-58, juil.-sept. 1927.

PERROCHON, Henri. Voltaire et les vins vaudois. *RH Vaud* 36: 345-47, oct. 1928.

Voltaire's distaste for the wines of the Vaud led him to plant French vines and this article contains a letter on the subject, addressed to Albert de Tscharnier from Les Délices on Sept. 21, 1757, the MS of which was found in the cantonal archives.

SNIEDERS, F., éd. Une lettre inédite de Voltaire à Frédéric II. *R Belge Phil H* 7 (4): 1337-44, oct.-déc. 1928.

VALKHOFF, P. Une correspondance inédite de Voltaire. *N Litt* 5 avril 1930.

Letters to d'Hermenches, of which the MSS are in the archives of the family of Constant de Rebecque.

VI. Criticism of Separate Works (Arranged alphabetically according to author.)

ASCOLI, Georges, éd. Voltaire: "Zadig"; édition critique. Paris, Hachette, 1929. 2 v. (Société des textes modernes.)

A thorough study, with emphasis on the sources.

B(ALDENSPERGER), F. A propos des "Lettres" de Muralt sur les Anglais et les Français. *R Litt C* 9: 744-45, oct.-dec. 1929.

Voltaire, and the "Lettres anglaises" and inefficient publishers.

BONDOIS, P. M. La documentation des "Lettres philosophiques," Voltaire et l'abbé Bignon. *R H L* 37: 227-28, avril-juin 1930.

———. Le procureur-général Joly de Fleury et le "Mahomet" de Voltaire. *R H L* 36: 246-59, avril-juin 1929.

COWPER, Frederick A. G. The hermit story as used by Voltaire and Mark Twain. *In*: In honor of the 90th birthday of Ch. Frederick Johnson. Hartford, Conn. (1928). (Cf. pp. 313-37, "Zadig.")

CRANE, Ronald S. The text of Goldsmith's "Memoirs of M. de Voltaire." *Mod Phil* 28: 212-19, Nov. 1930.

FISHER, A. H., tr. Lines to Madame la Marquise (by Voltaire), *Sat R Lit* 6: 337, 2 Nov. 1929.

GROOS, R. "Le Siècle de Louis XIV" de Voltaire. *Mercur* 212: 587-94, 15 juin 1929.

A critical edition of "Le Siècle" edited by the author of the above article has also appeared.

HAVENS, George R. Voltaire's pessimistic revision of the conclusion of his "Poème sur le désastre de Lisbonne." *Mod Lang N* 44: 489-92, Dec. 1929.

HUNTER, Alfred C. Le "Conte de la femme de Bath" en France au XVIII^e siècle. *R Litt C* 9: 117-40, janv.-mars 1929.

"Ce qui plaît aux dames," one of Voltaire's Contes which are dated 1763, is his adaptation of the Chaucerian theme.

ISAACS, T. Query on Voltaire's "Henriade," London 1728 edition, *N & Q* 156: 209, 23 March 1929. Answers: 156: 271, 288; 13, 20 April 1929.

KRAPPE, Alexander H. Note on the source of Voltaire's "Eryphile." *Romanic R* 18: 142-48, 1927.

LEGROS, R. P. L'Orlando furioso et la "Princesse de Babylone" de Voltaire. *Mod Lang R* 22: 155-61, April 1927.

MARTINO, Pierre. L'interdiction du "Mahomet" de Voltaire et la dédicace au Pape, 1742-45. *Mém Henri Basset* 2: 89-103.

- MARTINO, Pierre. Un réquisitoire contre Voltaire, 1746. *RHL* 35: 563-67, oct. 1928. Also about "Mahomet."
- MEYER E. Une source de l' "Ingénu." Les Voyages du baron de la Hontan. *RCC* 31 (2): 561-76, 746-62, 30 juin, 30 juil. 1930.
- MINDERHOUD, H. J. "La Henriade" dans la littérature hollandaise. Paris, Champion, 1927. 183 p. (Bibliothèque de la *R Litt C*.) Only XVIIIth century material is discussed.
- NASH, J. V. Voltaire's weapon: the smile. *Am Parade* v 3, no. 1, pp. 103-8, Oct.-Dec. 1928.
- "Candide" is the center of interest.
- OLIVER, Thomas E. The "Mérope" of George Jeffreys as a source of Voltaire's "Mérope." (Urbana), University of Illinois, 1927. 111 p. (Univ. of Illinois studies in language and literature, v. 12, no. 4.) Reviewed by H. C. Lancaster in *Mod Lang N* 43: 561-62.
- PROD'HOMME, J. G. Vingt chefs-d'œuvre (du "Cid" à "Madame Bovary") jugés par leurs contemporains. Préface d'Albert Thibaudet. Paris, Stock, 1930. 291 p. ("Candide," p. 105-16.)
- RITTER, Eugène. Madame Lullin. *RHL* 34: 579-80, 1927.
- Note on the dedication of some occasional verses by Voltaire formerly addressed to Madame du Deffand.
- ROOSBROECK, G. L. van, ed. "Alzirette": an unpublished parody of Voltaire's "Alzire." *PMLA* 41: 955-70, Dec. 1926.
- . "Alzirette," an unpublished parody of Voltaire's "Alzire" (followed by a "lettre sur Alzire"), New York, Institute of French Studies, 1929. 75 p.
- . "L'Empirique," an unpublished parody of Voltaire's "Mahomet." New York, Institute of French studies, 1929. 77 p.
- . Une parodie inédite du "Mahomet" de Voltaire. *RHL* 35: 235-40, avril-juin 1928.
- . Two unknown deistic poems by Voltaire. In Todd Memorial Volumes. New York, Columbia univ. press, 1930. 2 v. cf. 2: 117-25.
- ROVILLAIN, E. E. L' "Ingénu" de Voltaire; quelques influences. *PMLA* 44: 537-45, June 1929.
- . Sur le "Zadig" de Voltaire; quelque influences probables. *PMLA* 43: 447-55, June 1928.
- SCHINZ, Albert. Voltaire reread. *Mod Lang N* 45: 120, Feb. 1930.
- A correction of the text of the "Poème sur le désastre de Lisbonne."
- ŠMURLO, E. Voltaire et son œuvre "Histoire de l'empire de Russie sous Louis le Grand." Prague, Editions "Orbis," 1929. 484 p. (Publication des archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères, 1. série no. 6.)

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A. Iconography.

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PICARD, Gaston. De M. Thiers à M. Voltaire. *Renaissance*. 15 année, no. 36. 3 sept., p. 5, 1927.

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THE FIRST EDITION OF *CANDIDE*

It has long been held that the first edition of *Candide* was published in Geneva early in 1759 by Voltaire's friends, the Cramers.¹ Some overlooked autograph notes from Voltaire to Cramer² prove that such was not the case. The first edition was apparently published in Paris by Lambert. The notes establish the fact at least that the first copies to circulate in Geneva were printed elsewhere and that Voltaire advised Cramer first against their sale and then half reluctantly against their republication. When Cramer decided, however, to issue his own edition, Voltaire gave him a slightly improved manuscript, and it was on this edition, as Professor Morize has clearly shown, that he based his subsequent editions. The undated notes from Voltaire to Cramer which concern the publication of *Candide* follow:

(1) Ques-ce cest qu'une brochure intitulée candide qu'on débite dit-on avec scandale, et qu'on dit venir de Lyon? je voudrais bien la voir, pourriez-vous messieurs m'en faire tenir un exemplaire relié? on prétend qu'il y a des gens assez impertinents pour m'imputer cet ouvrage que je n'ay jamais vu! je vous prie de me dire ce qui en est.

(2) Je viens de lire enfin ce candide. je trouve cette plaisanterie dans un goust singulier mais je ne la crois point du tout faite pour ce pays

¹ G. Bengesco, *Voltaire; bibliographie de ses œuvres*, Paris, 1882-90, I, 446; A. Morize (ed.), *Candide*, Paris, 1913, p. lxxxii.

² These brief letters or chits will soon be edited in full by Dr. Francis J. Crowley, University of California at Los Angeles. Professor G. R. Havens, correcting Bengesco as to date (*op. cit.*, III, 256), informs me that at least the first two of the three letters appearing below were published in the *Nain Jaune*, July 1, 1863. The informal business-like tone of this collection of notes precludes any doubt as to their sincerity.

cy. S'il est vray que vous en ayez reçu de Lyon ou de Paris je vous conseille de ne les pas produire et de retirer les exemplaires si vous en avez. c'est un conseil d'amis et d'amis que je donne à mes amis.

ce midy jeudy.

(3) (fin d'une note) Un italien a traduit *Candide*. êtes-vous gens à braver l'inquisition?

Once more we contemplate Voltaire's fears of the results of his handicraft, more justified now perhaps than in the case of *Zadig*, which at least offered an orthodox interpretation; and once more the "inveterate liar" lies that he may live to lie again another day. The Cramers, who were well acquainted with his reactions to the Lisbon earthquake, and who had published for him Elie Bertrand's *Sermon*,³ were probably not long fooled.

It is in any case impossible, after a consideration of these notes, to believe that the first edition of *Candide* came from the Cramer presses. Moreover, in the light of this definite information, an examination of the rest of the evidence clearly indicates the priority of the Paris editions. It was from Paris that the first and most dangerous bolt was fired. Professor Morize has given as the first sign of cognizance of the first edition a letter written "le 24 février 1759" in Paris from Omer Joly de Fleury to his brother, i. e., from the "avocat général" to the "procureur général" requesting the latter to warn the lieutenant of police.⁴ This fanatical Jansenist family had hounded Voltaire ever since the appearance of the *Lettres philosophiques*, when they had urgently sought to obtain a "lettre de cachet" against him.⁵ Omer found the "brochure" pernicious, scandalous, and contrary to religion and morals. There is, however, an earlier testimony that *Candide* was circulating in Paris, this time a rhapsody from the heart of a friend. On February 23, Thieriot wrote to Voltaire:

O carissime *Candide*, jocosum et facetiarum conditor et artifex optime! On s'arrache votre ouvrage des mains. Il tient le coeur gai au point de faire rire à bouche ouverte ceux qui ne rient que du bout des dents. . . . Allez, vous avez raison de vous dire le meilleur vieux fol comique qu'il y ait jamais eu sur la terre où vous vivrez cent ans plus Lucien, Rabelais et Swift que tous les trois ensemble.⁶

³ Morize, *op. cit.*, p. 34. Cf. pp. xii, xiv.

⁴ Morize, *op. cit.*, pp. x-xi.

⁵ F. Caussy, "Voltaire et l'affaire des *Lettres philosophiques*," *Revue politique et littéraire* (4 et 11 juillet, 1908), p. 57.

⁶ F. Caussy, "Lettres inédites de Thieriot à Voltaire," *RHL*. (1908), xv, 343.

This has the honor of being the first, and perhaps also the best, criticism of the brilliant satire that had just made its appearance. M. Caussy, who published this correspondence, has added in a note: "La première édition (Genève, Cramer, in-12) venait de paraître." He is here following the opinion of Bengesco, which must now be examined.

Bengesco believed that no satisfactory result had been arrived at in deciding the problem of the first edition. A copy of the Paris edition of 237 pages published by Lambert, now in the Bibliothèque nationale, read by the bibliophile Jamet on March 27, 1759, had long been accorded priority. But, says Bengesco, it was not at Paris, but at Geneva, with the Cramers, that Voltaire had *Candide* printed. The reasons he gives are that the Cramers published all of Voltaire's important works from 1756 on, and that they must therefore have published the first edition of *Candide*, of 299 pages.⁷ In the light of the notes given above, it is now much simpler to refute Bengesco's arguments. Voltaire gave the Cramers only his "true" works, and *Candide* was not important, but a "mere bagatelle." Lambert shared many publications with the Cramers;⁸ and it is very evident, even without Voltaire's comment, that *Candide* was written for Paris rather than for Geneva. Nor were his relations with the Cramers at this date intimate enough to warrant his giving them such a dangerous little book. The notes show, moreover, that the first copies to circulate in Geneva came "from Lyons," or "from Lyons or Paris" (or perhaps from just Paris?), and that the denunciation by the Council of Geneva on March 2 must therefore have been directed against copies of the Paris edition.

It is more difficult to ascertain the date of the later Cramer edition. The undated notes to Cramer precede it and in some measure evoke it. The language of the notes resembles strikingly that of Voltaire's letters from March 10 to 15. On the former date, he wrote to Thieriot: "J'ai lu *Candide* . . . mais Dieu me garde d'avoir la moindre part à cet ouvrage"; and on the latter date, to M. le Marquis de Thibouville: "J'ai lu enfin, mon cher marquis, ce *Candide* dont vous m'avez parlé, et plus il m'a fait rire, plus je suis fâché qu'on me l'attribue"; and to M. Vernes: "J'ai lu enfin *Candide*; il faut avoir perdu le sens pour m'attribuer

⁷ Bengesco, *op. cit.*, I, 445-46.

⁸ Morize, *op. cit.*, p. lxxvii.

cette coïonnerie." The third note helps but little, in spite of the mention of an Italian translation, perhaps the one that was condemned at Rome in 1762. This note seems to invite the Cramers to brave the Inquisition. In view of the many editions that appeared before the end of 1759, it must have been very soon thereafter that they prepared with Voltaire's collaboration an edition which, though it was not the first, remains the more important as the basis for the author's subsequent augmentations and revisions.⁹

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BACULARD D'ARNAUD AND HIS USURER

Baculard d'Arnaud had the bad taste to include in his *Œuvres diverses* of 1751 a violent satire¹ against an unnamed "Monsieur P***,"—*Sur un Usurier*. This unpoetic diatribe has biographical value, since it furnishes information on the precarious existence of an improvident man of letters² such as that which Baculard d'Arnaud led before 1750, when he went to Prussia, where Frederick II acclaimed him as "son Ovide."³

⁹ The Yale Library has a 1759 edition of *Candide* which differs from any of the thirteen listed by Professor Morize. It closely resembles, however, the pirated edition (59x) which Professor Morize believes to present a text antedating that of the first Cramer edition. The more evident distinguishing marks are: the ornamental design of the title page is repeated on pages 115, 179, 208, 266; the variant "C'est une nécessité" appears on page 41 for "il est nécessaire" in 59x.

¹ 3 vols. Berlin, 1751, "Dédiées au Roi de Prusse." The poem is found in Vol. II, section *Poésies diverses*.

² His chronic "faute d'argent" has been stressed in every account of him. See, for instance, the *Nouvelle Biographie générale*. This "doyen des pauvres diables," whose works enriched the booksellers, was the perpetual victim of usurers, and was notorious for borrowing money from all his acquaintances: "On a prétendu qu'il n'y avait guère de citoyen en France qui ne fût son créancier pour la somme d'un petit écu." (Bertran de la Villehervé, *François-Thomas de Baculard d'Arnaud, son théâtre et ses théories dramatiques*, Paris, 1920, p. 42.)

³ The two volumes which survey Baculard d'Arnaud's life are extremely sparing with biographical detail: Villehervé, *op. cit.*, and Derk Inklaar, *François-Thomas de Baculard d'Arnaud, ses imitateurs en Hollande et*

Who is the "Monsieur P***" against whom it was directed? When, and on what occasion, was it composed? An eighteenth century manuscript in my possession, *Recueil de Pièces fugitives*, gives the solution. It dates the poem 1748, mentions the "usurer's" name, "Monsieur Séphère," and comments:

M. d'Arnaud devait à M. Séphère, fripier, la somme de 500 francs pour des habits. Ce M. Séphère lui fit payer cinquante écus d'intérêts pour deux mois, ce qui donna à M. d'Arnaud de l'humeur comme on le voit. M. Séphère, fripier, a un fils Docteur en Sorbonne, chanoine et châtefecier de St. Estienne des Grés à Paris, qui a cherché toutes les occasions de mortifier M. d'Arnaud. (P. 50)

When, in the text of the printed poem, we substitute for "Monsieur P***" the name "Monsieur Séphère," we find further proof of the correctness of this contemporary comment: *Séphère* rimes with *hémisphère*, *jugulaire*, etc. I am reproducing here the opening lines of the satire, introducing this change:

Cinquante écus, Monsieur [Séphère]
 Pour cinq cent francs, cinquante écus,
 Et pour deux mois! Monsieur [Séphère]
 Est-il sur ce plat hémisphère
 Un Juif qui nous écorche plus?
 Je vous le dis avec franchise
 Vous êtes un maître fripon,
 Bien fait pour qu'on vous exorcise
 Avec force coups de bâton,
 Que de grand cœur, Monsieur [Séphère],
 Moi, votre serviteur très cher,
 Je désirerais vous brancher
 Et vous serrer la jugulaire!
 Je vous secouerais de manière,
 Que malgré les diables, qui tous
 La chevillent dans sa tanière,
 Votre chienne d'âme usurière
 En sortirait par tous les bouts! . . . etc. (Pp. 46-50.)

The entire mediocre diatribe, with its hollow-sounding indignation, and its crude invective ("usurier au superlatif, corsaire, Arabe, Juif plus Juif que les douze tribus conjointes," etc.) now produces only a ridiculous effect. Yet its victim—the respectable, if slightly avaricious, haberdasher, Mr. Séphère—as well as his son,

dans d'autres pays . . . , 'S-Gravenhage, 1925. See also the anecdotal account of Charles Monselet, *Les oubliés et les dédaignés*, 1857, II, 157-172.

must have been stirred to revenge. This son, "qui a cherché toutes les occasions de mortifier M. d'Arnaud," was the Abbé Pierre-Jacques Sépher (c. 1710-October 12, 1781), an influential doctor of the Sorbonne who, besides being Canon of Saint Etienne des Grés, became vice-chancellor of the University of Paris. He edited or composed a number of edifying and historical works,⁴ and left an enviable reputation as a bibliophile. His private warfare with Baculard d'Arnaud is, therefore, easily enough understood as a defense of family-honor against this satirist—who at that moment was only a *bohème* of no official prestige.

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THE "CONFÉRENCES" OF THÉOPHRASTE RENAUDOT:
AN EPISODE IN THE QUARREL OF THE
ANCIENTS AND MODERNS

Théophraste Renaudot, founder of the *Gazette de France*, regretting that the general public was denied access to all existing organized educational centers, determined to make an effort to remedy the situation. He conceived the idea of establishing a series of public "conférences." These were designed originally for those interested in medicine, for Renaudot as a doctor was eager to introduce a more modern spirit into medical science. But almost immediately the scope of his program was enlarged, and the instruction offered assumed a more general character. The entire field of human knowledge was opened to those who desired to take advantage of these "conférences." It was in reality a free university that Renaudot had founded, and one in which an effort was to be made to enable students and teachers alike to escape from the limitations and restrictions of the traditional methods of education. Still later he decided to make this knowledge accessible to an even larger group than that reached in the "conférences," and began the publication of a series of "comptes-rendus." By 1656 there had appeared five quarto volumes, of nearly one thousand pages each,

⁴ A list of them in d'Hébrail and de la Porte, *La France littéraire*, 1769, pp. 404-405; *Nouveau Supplément à la France littéraire*, 1784, p. 294; J.-M. Quérard, *La France littéraire*, ix, 64-65.

entitled *Recueil général des questions traitées ès conférences du bureau d'adresse, sur toutes sortes de matieres; par les plus beaux esprits de ce temps*, Paris, 1655-56. Since his audience for the most part had everything to learn, their curiosity manifested itself in all directions. An instruction so diversified satisfied all tastes, and contributed without doubt to the continued and growing success of the courses, which were inaugurated in 1632 and continued weekly without intermission until September 1, 1642.¹

One question which was certainly a "sujet d'actualité" appears in the third volume of the *Recueil*, and bears the date of June 15, 1637. It is entitled *S'il y a eu de plus grands hommes en quelqu'un des siècles précédens qu'en cettui-ci?* Although the subject was not yet as important as it was to become later in the century, we know from the works of those writers² who have studied in detail the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns in French literature that the moderns were already criticising the ancients for their slavish devotion to the classics, and declaring that progress was not only possible, but was a well established fact. Rigault (*op. cit.*, p. 53) cites an interesting passage found in a manuscript of Descartes and quoted by his biographer Baillet:

Nous n'avons aucune raison pour tenir si grand compte aux anciens de leur antiquité. C'est nous bien plutôt, qui sommes les anciens, car le monde est plus vieux que de leur temps, et nous avons une plus grande expérience.³

In none of the studies referred to is there any mention of the discussion found in the *Recueil* of Renaudot; yet because the argu-

¹ Cf. Reynier, G., *La Femme au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1929, pp. 142-49. M. Reynier, *op. cit.*, p. 146, gives the date of the last conference as August 18, 1642, but the *Recueil*, v, includes those for August 25 and September 1, 1642.

² Rigault, H., *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1859, I, and Gillot, H., *La Querelle des anciens et des modernes*, Nancy, 1914.

³ This idea had been already expressed by Francis Bacon in *De Augmentis scientiarum*, I, 458-9, (*Works*, ed. Spedding, Ellis and Heath, 11 vols., London, 1862-76). For Bacon's influence in France in the seventeenth century, and particularly on Descartes cf. Ascoli, G., *La Grande Bretagne devant l'opinion française au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1930, II, 34-38. For similar passages cf. *II Esdras*, XIV, 10; Rigault, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-6; Guyer, F., "C'est nous qui sommes les anciens," *MLN.*, 1921, pp. 257-64 and Michiels, A., *Histoire des idées littéraires en France au XIX^e siècle et de leurs origines dans les siècles antérieurs*, 4th ed., Paris, 1863, I, 44, 45, 54.

ments therein expressed are similar to those already indicated and also to the ones used at the end of the century by Fontenelle, Perreault and Boileau, it would seem worth while to add this bit to the history of the famous literary quarrel.

The question is discussed by five speakers. The second and third are ardent supporters of the ancients; the three others are equally vigorous in their defense of the moderns. The first speaker claims that nature is, and always will be as wise and powerful as she has ever been in the past, that universal causes are always the same, their operations as perfect and their results as excellent now as they were in the past.

. . . pour les esprits, bien loin de se diminuer, ils se subtilisent de plus en plus: veu qu'estans les mesmes que ceux des anciens: ils ont cet auantage sur eux, qu' auroit vn pigmée sur la teste d'un géant, d'où il descouure tout ce que voit le géant, et outre cela void encor pardessus luy.⁴ Renaudot, *Recueil*, III, 529.

The second speaker feels that human beings become less and less perfect as they get further and further away from their source. This decadence is illustrated by the fact that man physically is far weaker than his ancestors. Even though we may claim that the modern should surpass the ancient because the former has the advantage of building on the foundation laid by the latter, the fact remains that there are no moderns equal to the ancients in any field of art or learning.⁵ The third declares that no century can be compared to that of Augustus and Tiberius. Not only did it produce such illustrious men as Virgil, Ovid, Cicero and Cato, but such inventions as "le verre malleable" and "la lumière perpetuelle" were made then and are now unknown.⁶

After these two defenders of the ancients have spoken, it is the turn of the fourth, who once again takes up arms in behalf of the moderns. He argues that it is merely one of the weaknesses of human nature to declare that we and our civilization are inferior

⁴ For the earliest-known and other forms of this famous comparison, cf. Guyer, F., "The Dwarf on the Giant's Shoulders," *MLN*, XLV (1930), 398-402. Cf. also d'Urfé, *Sylvanire*, cited in Lancaster, H. C., *A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century. Part I: The Pre-Classical Period 1610-34*, Baltimore, 1929, I, 259 and Pigray, *Epitome des préceptes de médecine et de chirurgie*, Préface, Paris, 1628, quoted in Raynaud, M., *Les Médecins au temps de Molière*, Paris, 1863, p. 295.

⁵ Cf. *Recueil*, p. 530.

⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 531.

to the men and culture that preceded us. We tend naturally to despise and scorn that which we have, to feel that we are less perfect than our forebears and that our posterity will be even worse off than we are.⁷ God, Nature and Art, the three agents and causes of all that exists, are still the same. It is therefore self-evident that the same effects can be produced by them as in the past.⁸ It is true, he says, that man's intelligence is independent of the body in its essence,⁹ but it so closely linked with, and its functioning depends so much upon bodily organs that the latter are bound to affect the former. Since bodily organs have not varied, it is entirely possible for the human intelligence to be as great as ever. He admits that there *are* differences in intelligence and intellectual activity, but these are clearly due to differences in education.¹⁰

The fifth speaker finds great writers among the moderns, even some who surpass the ancients, but he believes that only later centuries will be able to judge them correctly and to criticize them fairly.¹¹ Great men are always belittled during their life-time either because of the jealousy of the envious, or because of the scorn of the ignorant. He seeks to explain the cult of modernism in his day by the remarkable development of science, believing that a century that had made such strides in science would inevitably and quite naturally place less emphasis upon, and esteem far less, works of a purely literary character. He points out that a thing which is new, rare, or unusual is always more highly regarded than that which is universal, old, or commonplace. Those who profess to admire the ancients and demand the imitation of past centuries

⁷ Cf. Fontenelle, *Œuvres*, Paris, 1761-67, I, *Dialogues des morts anciens avec des modernes*, III, 48.

⁸ Cf. Fontenelle, *op. cit.*, p. 48, and Perrault, Ch., *Le Siècle de Louis le Grand*, quoted in Rigault, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁹ Cf. Descartes, *Œuvres*, ed. Adam & Tannery, Paris, 1897-1910, VI, *Discours de la Méthode*, pp. 33, 35. It is interesting to note that the French *privilege* of the *Discours* is dated May 4, 1637, and that it was published June 8, 1637, one week before the "conférence" under discussion (cf. *op. cit.*, XII, p. 185). However, since Descartes had already sent the proofs printed in Holland to Huygens in Paris on January 5, 1637, and Mersenne had sent Descartes his criticisms of certain passages, it is possible that his ideas were already known (cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 182-85).

¹⁰ Cf. *Recueil*, pp. 532-34.

¹¹ Cf. Boileau, *Œuvres*, Paris, 1870-73, III, *Réflexions sur Longin*, VII, 359, 365.

to the exclusion of all else are really blind and uncritical in their attitude, as well as ignorant of real conditions. He criticizes his own government for its false modesty in refusing to admit the greatness of the seventeenth century, and to praise the great men it had produced.¹²

While these speakers offer nothing that is original, while one may not even say in the language of Pascal that "la disposition des matières est nouvelle," this "conférence" is an interesting link in the chain of the famous quarrel that so sharply divided French writers in the seventeenth century. Since these "conférences" were public affairs, and apparently popular, if one may judge from the fact that they lasted over a period of ten years, they undoubtedly influenced public opinion, and reflect contemporary interests. In their printed form their influence was indubitably still greater. Cartesian philosophical ideas are not merely discussed in the salons of the précieux and the bas-bleu; its principles are here brought before a bourgeoisie interested in culture, and the Cartesian methods of reasoning and criticism are used by these speakers. It may be noted in passing that the arguments employed by the supporters of the moderns are of greater weight than those used by their opponents. When the same question is more widely discussed later in the century by more prominent men their arguments are not only those already used by the Cartesians but also by the speakers at the "conférence" of the fifteenth of June, 1637.

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MORE ABOUT CLAUDE BILLARD

A short collection of poems published by Claude Billard at Nancy¹ reveals a few additional facts concerning his life. He was, we learn, forced to take refuge at Nancy with the Cardinal de Lorraine, for the first poem in the collection praises the cardinal, who gave help to his

Muse flotante ez mers de calomnie
Où l'ingrate patrie & un traistre Sinon
Furent sans y penser les lustres de mon nom.

¹² Cf. *Recueil*, pp. 534-36.

¹ *Hymne de la Lorraine*, Nancy, Blaise Andrea, 1602.

The poet then describes the resources of Nancy, "la cour . . . qui me receut errant, qui m'ha fauorisé," and proposes to sing the praises of the princes,

Qui furent mon support en ces temps malheureux,

 De Madame,² Minerve aus ames les plus belles,
 Ame du tout Royale, où luisent immortelles
 Les plus rares vertus, où priué de secours,
 L'eux [*i. e.* j'eus] pressé du malheur, ma rade et mon recours.

Another poem, describing a school at Pont-à-Mousson, contains no personal references, but a third, *Les Bains de Plombières*, reveals Billard's desire to be with his family and the length of his stay:

A tort persecuté, voguant, errant, flottant,
 Unse moys desuny de ce que i'ayme tant:
 Second Laertien au bris de mon naufrage,
 Mais d'vne ame Françoise, & plus grand de courage,
 Qui du port d'Alcinoe, & content, & vainqueur
 Dois bientost voir l'Itaque où i'ay laissé mon coeur.

The collection ends with a longer poem, *Adieu de Nancy*. Billard is reluctant to leave friends at Nancy: Saint-Geran, the duc de Bar, Madame (la Minerve des beaus esprits), the two Vaudemont, the princesses de la Croix de Lorraine, De Mouy, Chaligny, the sœurs de Rohan,³ and Mesdames d'Arancour. He is, however, called away by

Les delices d'un hymenée
 Les faueurs de la destinée,
 Et la veue de six enfans,
 Six greffes sur mes ans,

and will hasten home to dry the eyes of his Penelope.

Since Billard complains of the difficulty of supporting nine children in 1617 in the concluding lines of his *Eglise Triomphante*, the last bit of information is interesting, if not important.

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² The sister of the cardinal.

³ Billard dedicated *Genèvre* to Mlles de Rohan, *Mérovée* to the duc de Rohan, and wrote a *tombeau* for their sister, Marphise, duchesse des Deux Ponts.

LOPE DE VEGA AND SATURDAY FASTING

A curious note on the great Spanish dramatist which seems to have been entirely overlooked is found in the satirical and anonymous *Visions Admirables du Pelerin de Parnasse* (Paris, J. Geselin, 1635, the year of Lope's death), a work partially inspired by the rare "Parnasse" of La Pinelière and ascribed with good reason to Charles Sorel,¹ although the only four copies found in Paris (two in the Arsenal and two in the Bibliothèque Nationale) are still listed as anonymous. The many episodes of this satire on Parisian customs are held together by the device of having the various characters appear on Mount Parnassus to plead their grievances before Apollo. Chapter VII (pp. 36-41), is entitled: "Quatre harangeres accusent Lope de Vega d'avoir introduit en France la coustume qu'ont certains Catholiques François de manger de la viande le Samedy." As Lope is walking along, he is assaulted by four Parisian fishwives, who shout at the top of their voice:

Qu'on me le prenne, ce traistre, qu'on me l'arreste ce perfide, qu'on luy mette la main sur le collet, c'est un apostat, il porte l'habit de chevalier, et si il est heretique il faut l'envoyer au grand maistre de Malthe² qu'il luy face son proces. Il mange de la chair le Samedy plus librement que les parpaillots mesmes . . . Ce desloyal soutient qu'il est Espagnol & franc Castellan, qu'il a la Bule, et que sa Sainteté luy permet de manger en tel jour les tripes de la beste, la fressure, la teste et les pieds.³ Et nous

¹ E. Roy, *la Vie et les œuvres de Ch. Sorel*, Paris, 1891, p. 418. Abel Lefranc and other French scholars did not hesitate to accept Roy's identification of the anonymous author of the "Visions" as Sorel, but we should not fail to note here that some years later, in his edition of Sorel's "Francion" (II, 34), Roy says that he was mistaken in attributing the *Visions* to Sorel and that the author remains unknown. But the reason Roy gives for this change of opinion is not very sound, and the proof he adduced in 1891 seems to me conclusive enough to allow us to regard Sorel as the author.

² In return for his "Corona Tragica" (1627), the pope had bestowed upon Lope the Cross of the Order of St. John of Malta. Thus he could not be tried in ordinary courts.

³ It may be that Sorel is a bit confused here. Morel-Fatio (*Études sur l'Espagne*, 3rd Series, III, 406 ff.) shows that all Castilians and Leonese had the odd privilege of eating the "grosura," that is, the extremities and entrails of animals, on Saturday, a day of abstinence from all meat in France. However, it is true that Lope had a papal dispensation allowing him to eat meat. (Cf. H. Rennert, *The Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 370).

l'avons veu aujourd'huy qui est Samedy manger à son disner la moitié d'une espaule de mouton, et comme nous luy voulions remonstrer le peu d'estime qu'il faisoit des Commandemens de l'Eglise, il nous a dit arrogamment que c'estoit le bout qui estoit immediatement attaché au pied, qu'il le pouvoit faire sans blesser la conscience, que cela estoit compris dans la dispense. Mercy Dieu, luy dist ma commere . . . j'ay bien peur qu'avec le temps tu ne mange l'espaule entiere, et que tu ne face une digression depuis le teste jusques à la queue, faisant passer le reste de la beste pour fressure. Monseigneur, il y a cent mille Catholiques à gros grains dans Paris, qui veulent l'imiter, et qui pretendent s'attribuer de leur propre autorité les mesmes privileges que luy.

The chapter goes on to praise the French brand of Catholicism as superior to the Spanish, since Spaniards are "bons enfans de l'Eglise" only for political reasons and because they fear lest the Inquisition "ne les face rostir comme des harancs sors." Finally Lope escapes from the clutches of the harangeres, thanks to Apollo's intervention, without which he would have run great risk of leaving "ses aureilles et ses moustaches en France."

As Sorel was a strict Roman Catholic himself, it is not surprising that he should have disliked the well-known failings of Lope, but Sorel's chief grievance—that Lope had led the Catholics of France into the error of eating meat on Saturday—seems at first glance to be fairly mysterious. Until a few years ago few people, even Catholics themselves, seem to have known that the Church prohibited the eating of meat on Saturday. Louis Thomasin wrote in 1680 (*Traité des Jeûnes de l'Eglise*, pp. 391-407) that Pope Gregory VII, in 1078, was the first to enjoin general abstinence on Saturday, but he added that the ruling was never generally enforced. He thought it remarkable that Spaniards should content themselves with eating "les intestins et les extremités des animaux aux jours de Samedy," while so many Catholics elsewhere were eating real meat on that day.⁴ This shows that in 1680 the French no longer fasted from meat on Saturday, but the evidence of the *Visions* indicates that this was not the case in 1635, when Lope was called an apostate and a heretic simply because he was responsible for the introduction and spread of this

⁴ Morel-Fatio (*op. cit.*, p. 415) states that a papal bull of 1778 suppressed the partial abstention from meat on Saturday in Castile and Leon. There was, however, no general abrogation of the law until Benedict XV; cf. "Codex Iuris Canonici," § 1252 (1919).

disobedience in Sorel's native land.⁵ Evidently it is Lope's personal habits and example, not any literary work of his, which caused this dereliction.

I do not know of any corroboration of Sorel's charge. Indeed, there exists an apparent contradiction by Montalvan, the friend and biographer of Lope, who, in describing the last sickness of the poet, says that Lope had permission to eat meat on account of an affection of the eyes but he was such a strict Catholic that he scrupulously observed all the commands of the Church, even though his ailments should rebel thereat.⁶ His abstention was doubtless true on that particular occasion, but the fact that he had permission speaks for itself. If the matter was notorious enough to come to the attention of Sorel, there is no reason why other Parisians should not have learned of it and acted even according to our text. Such unorthodox procedure would of course cause an unfavorable reaction in the fish-selling business. Sorel, who went wandering about Paris collecting notes for his book, as is apparent when one reads the rest of it, may well have overheard some "harangere" lamenting in those very terms. Or it is equally possible—and more probable—that Sorel is simply working off a little national jealousy. Owing to the presence of a Spanish Queen on the French throne, a swarm of Spanish courtiers and Spanish customs had appeared in Paris. The French people disliked them and were especially jealous, no doubt, of the privilege of the "grosura" which the foreigners brought along with them. This squib of Sorel's is quite in line with the curious collection of anti-Spanish writings of the time which one finds listed in the *Revue des Provinces* (Sept., 1864, pp. 487 ff.).

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⁵ Cf. also Sorel, *Berger extravagant*, Paris, Du Bray, 1628, pp. 78-9, where a good dinner is served on Saturday, but no meat is mentioned. The guest is asked whether he would have "de la carpe et du brochet, pource qu'il estoit Samedi."

⁶ Rennert, *loc. cit.*

GIL Y ZÁRATE'S TRANSLATIONS OF FRENCH PLAYS

The Spanish theatre of the first part of the nineteenth century offers a most complex and conglomerate picture. Owing to the scarcity of original dramas the theatres were flooded with foreign works, especially Italian operas and translations of French plays. In a time so saturated with distinct literary tendencies it is not unusual to find many writers indulging their wits in the composition of various types of drama. D. Antonio Gil y Zárate (1793-1862) was one of the most changeable of the eclectics. With the exception of the *zarzuela* and the *comedia de magia*, he essayed practically every type then being produced. He translated and adapted ten French plays for Spanish production. Having attended a Lycée at Passy, he learned French perfectly and had observed at first hand the success and failure of plays in the Paris theatres.

His first translation is *Don Pedro de Portugal*¹ (Cruz, May 16, 1827), taken from *Don Pierre de Portugal* by Lucien Arnault, which had been acted with fair success since 1802 at the Théâtre Français. It was necessary to alter the literal translation in order to obtain the approval of the church censor, Padre Carrillo.² Probably the success of this French tragedy in Spanish costume was due largely to the masterful interpretation of the rôle of Inés de Castro by Antera Baus, Gil y Zárate's young and talented step-mother.

His next translations are *Artajerjes* (1827) and *Demetrio* (1828), taken from *Artaxerce* and *Démétrius* by Etienne Delrieu. The translations were submitted to Carrillo, but the bigoted friar forbade their production, and refused to return the manuscripts.³

*El día más feliz de la vida*⁴ (Cruz, May 30, 1832), from Scribe's *Le plus beau jour de la vie*, is typical of his later adaptations and

¹ Madrid, Sancha, 1827.

² A. Ferrer del Río, *Galería de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1846, p. 102.

³ Marqués de Valmar, "introduction" to *Guzmán el Bueno* in *Autores dramáticos contemporáneos y joyas del teatro español del siglo XIX*, Madrid, 1882, II, 223.

⁴ Gil y Zárate, *El día más feliz de la vida*, comedia en un acto y en prosa, imitada del francés, representada por primera vez en el teatro de la Cruz, el día 30 de Mayo de 1832, Madrid, Repullés, June, 1832.

translations. Neither the title-page of this comedy nor anything written by its author furnishes a clue to the identity of the author of the original; only the phrase "*imitada del francés*" points to its French origin. The catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, in listing the copy of Gil y Zárate's work, notes that it was translated from the French of Michel-Théodore Leclercq. There seems to be no way to account for this reference, but that some cataloguer knew the latter's comedy, *Le plus beau jour de la vie*,⁵ and also knew that Gil y Zárate's comedy was reworked from the French. The man who made that note must not have known Scribe's *comédie vaudeville*, *Le plus beau jour de la vie*,⁶ though it is, without any doubt, the immediate source of Gil y Zárate's play.

It is true, however, that Leclercq is the ultimate source, for it is from him that Scribe has borrowed his comedy. Leclercq's *proverbe dramatique* was first published in April, 1824,⁷ whereas Scribe's play was presented for the first time on February 22, 1825, in the Théâtre du Gymnase Dramatique.⁸ The central theme in each of the plays is that the noise, bustle, confusion, and excitement of the wedding day are none too attractive to the bridegroom. To this theme Scribe has added a second pair of lovers who decide to avoid all the commotion of a formal marriage ceremony and to go away to be married quietly. Naturally Leclercq's skit had to be enlarged to serve Scribe's purpose. Scribe's *comédie vaudeville* was turned by Gil y Zárate into a pure comedy, the only change being in the elimination of the songs. With the musical element removed there remains only enough plot and length to justify one act.

El vigilante o guardar el honor ajeno (Cruz, November 30, 1834), a comedy in two acts, was translated from Scribe's *Le Gardien*, a *comédie vaudeville* that had appeared in Paris the previous year. The musical element is suppressed, and the remaining lines translated fairly literally. This little comedy was quite popular up to the middle of the nineteenth century.

⁵ M. Théodore Leclercq, *Le plus beau jour de la vie ou Il n'est pas d'éternelles amours, Proverbes dramatiques*, Paris, 1852, I, 403-426.

⁶ Eugène Scribe, *Le plus beau jour de la vie, Oeuvres complètes*, Paris, 1855, VII, 92-102.

⁷ Leclercq, *op. cit.*, IV, 510.

⁸ Scribe, *op. cit.*, VII, 92.

*La escuela de los viejos*⁹ (Príncipe, August 8, 1838), translated from Casimir Delavigne's *L'Ecole des vieillards*,¹⁰ is interesting for the insight that it gives into the meaning of the word "arreglada." It is evident from many Spanish authors that the word may have a variety of meanings: it may refer to a literal translation, a free rendering, an adaptation where only the main facts of the original remain, and even to a play that merely has drawn its main theme or one of its chief episodes from the foreign work. *L'Ecole des vieillards* is essentially French in local color, setting, etc. Gil y Zárate adapts this comedy by changing only the names and setting. Le Havre becomes Cádiz; Paris, Madrid; fifty thousand francs, ten thousand *duros*; the Tuileries, El Prado, etc. The comedy is of the same type as those by Martínez de la Rosa and Bretón, and this may explain Gil y Zárate's desire to translate it. But a further reason may be suggested. Casimir Delavigne and Gil y Zárate were about the same age, and it is not unlikely that the two met while the latter was enjoying his student days in Paris. The element of friendship, then, may be the explanation.

In the translation¹¹ (Cruz, May 22, 1841) of Scribe's *Le Verre d'eau*, Gil y Zárate follows the same plan that he does in his translation of *L'Ecole des vieillards*. The Spanish version is such a literal translation that it virtually amounts to a schoolboy's composition exercise. Scribe's drama was produced in 1840 and the Spanish translation appeared in print and on the stage the following year.

*Un casamiento sin amor*¹² (November 23, 1841) was adapted from *Un Mariage sous Louis XV*,¹³ a comedy by Alexandre Dumas père. At times Gil y Zárate has changed the phrasing and diction in accordance with his own taste, and to some degree the Spanish version becomes an adaptation, although it is called a translation. He divides Act III of the French play, thus forming Acts III and IV of the translation. There is no apparent reason for this change

⁹ Comedia en cinco actos y en verso, arreglada al teatro español, Madrid, 1839.

¹⁰ *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1848, I, 323 ff.

¹¹ Gil y Zárate, *El vaso de agua o Causas y efectos*, comedia en cinco actos y en prosa, Madrid, Yenes, 1841.

¹² Madrid, Yenes, 1841.

¹³ *Théâtre complet*, Paris, Levy, 1883, VII, 99 ff.

from four to five acts, however. Gil y Zárate has caught the spirit of the original, translating most convincingly the flavor of the play as a whole, and the psychological change in the characters.

The next adaptation presents a more difficult problem. *¡Atrás!*¹⁴ (Príncipe, December 24, 1841), a comedy in one act and in prose, was adapted from some language other than Spanish. The title-page reads that it was "*arreglada*" but it does not contain either the name of the author or the expected "*del francés*." In view of Gil y Zárate's practice of adapting and translating French plays—French sources can be indicated for nine out of ten of them—it is logical to assume that this one has its origins in France. Furthermore, there is no reason to believe that he was sufficiently well acquainted with any other foreign language. The word *arreglada* does not suffice to prove the classification of *¡Atrás!* For example, Gil y Zárate says that both *El hombre misterioso* and *La escuela de los viejos* are "*arreglada al teatro español*," a statement that does not prevent the latter's being a most literal translation. He classes *Un casamiento sin amor* and *El vaso de agua* as "*traducido al castellano*," but the former in several instances departs rather boldly from Dumas' comedy, while the latter is a literal translation in every regard. *¡Atrás!* might be anything from a careful translation to a comedy that merely has borrowed some episode from a foreign play.

A check of many French plays written before 1841 fails to reveal any source from which *¡Atrás!* could have been translated or that could furnish the main details of the plot. It appears, however, that Gil y Zárate has taken the main situation from Scribe's *Une Nuit de la garde nationale*. In Scribe's *comédie vaudeville* Madame de Versac, suspecting that her husband is a philanderer, disguises herself as a guardsman and goes to the headquarters of the National Guard, where her husband has told her he will be on duty. While she waits patiently in the guardhouse, Laquille, the military instructor, enters and believes her to be a recruit. On making her stand up and go through the manual of arms, he is quite disturbed at the recruit's awkwardness, especially because she handles the gun with her left hand. Finally M. Versac arrives and recognizes his wife dressed as a guard.

The chief situation in *¡Atrás!* is much the same. *Ida* dons

¹⁴ Comedia en un acto arreglada al teatro español, Madrid, Yenes, 1841.

Ulrico's cape and takes his place as sentinel while he goes to seek permission to marry her. She does know how to execute the manual of arms, but she is not certain regarding the correct procedure in challenging a patrol. Because of her awkwardness in this instance it is learned by Prince Federico that the sentinel is a woman. This is the pivot in both the comedy by Scribe and that by Gil y Zárate.

In the following year Gil y Zárate presented (Príncipe, July 28, 1842) an adaptation of Barthélemy-Hadot's *L'Homme mystérieux*. In reworking this comedy he has followed the same general procedure that he did in adapting *Le plus beau jour de la vie*. In each case the original is a musical play, and in both adaptations the musical elements have been omitted. The deletion of the original songs has materially reduced the length of the comedy. In order to overcome a lack of balance the Spanish version is divided into two acts instead of the original three.

*El hombre misterioso*¹⁵ is the last of Gil y Zárate's translations. Ten plays gleaned from French drama of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were remade by this author for the Spanish stage. They appeared intermittently throughout his career as a dramatist, and include adaptations of every sort: from literal translations to extremely free reworkings of the French originals. Gil y Zárate's thorough knowledge of the French language and literature most certainly accounts for the convincing tone of his translations.

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ANOTHER NOTE ON "EL LADRÓN"

In a brief article on "Larra's 'El Ladrón'"¹ Professor J. Horace Nunemaker has recently brought forward some circumstantial evidence in support of the suggestion, first made by Professor F. Courtney Tarr,² that the authorship of an article entitled "El

¹⁵ Comedia en dos actos, arreglada al teatro español, Madrid, Repullés, 1842.

¹ J. Horace Nunemaker: "A Note on Larra's 'El Ladrón'," *MP*, **xxix** (1932), 354-355.

² F. Courtney Tarr: "Larra: Nuevos datos críticos y literarios (1829-1833)," *Revue Hispanique*, **lxxviii** (1929), 265 ff.

Ladrón" which appeared in *El Correo de las Damas* October 23, 1833 should be attributed to Larra.

Professor Tarr plausibly urged in favor of his suggestion that Larra was editor of this journal at the time the article appeared; that the general idea of the article was a theme very much to Larra's liking; and that certain elements in its style—notably its brusque antitheses and its ironic ending—were very characteristic of his manner of writing. Professor Nunemaker has offered additional definite proof that Larra once considered robbery as the subject for an article.

Yet persuasive as these arguments are, they are misleading. At the foot of the article itself in the *Correo de las Damas* appear the words: (*El voleur*). These both Professor Tarr and Professor Nunemaker have interpreted as being one of several pseudonyms of which Larra at times availed himself. As a matter of fact they are, rather, the title of a contemporary French journal,—a journal which in all probability was one of the *Correo's* "exchanges,"—for a few pages further along in the files of the *Correo*, in the number for May 15, 1834,³ under the heading "Modas" there appears the following statement:

Cuatro periódicos de modas de los que se publican en París tenemos á la vista y son el *Voleur*, el *Temps*, el *Petit-Courrier* y *Le Follet, courrier des salons*, sin que hallemos entre los cuatro una gran novedad que comunicar a nuestras lectoras.

It seems obvious, therefore, that the French magazine was the source of "El Ladrón." It may very well be that Larra was its translator. This would account for the resemblance between its style and that of some of his own writings. It is even possible that he added something to the original. Until a file of *Le Voleur* for this period has been located⁴ it is impossible to say how much the Spanish article owes to its author and how much to its translator. At all events, there seems to be no reason for assuming that it was entirely the child of Larra's brain. He was not, to be sure, above

³ *Correo de las Damas*, Núm. I (Nueva Serie), 15 de mayo, 1833 (obviously a misprint for 1834), p. 7.

⁴ Victor Gébé [Georges Brunox] in his *Catalogue des journaux publiés ou paraissant à Paris* (Paris, O. Lorenz, 1877), lists *Le Voleur* as a weekly in its fiftieth year in 1877.

appropriating other people's work⁵ on occasion, but in this instance he tried to give credit where it was due.

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AUREA JUSTITIA

A NOTE ON *Purgatorio*, XXII, 40 f.

So much has been written about the "sacra fame dell'oro" passage of *Purgatory*, XXII, 40 f., that one almost hesitates to reintroduce the subject; however, I am venturing to reopen the question, as I think that a broader view of its setting and context than seems usually to have been taken, combined with an application of the principle of possible multiple meanings, and with the "Dante by Dante" method of explanation, may prove really illuminating and lead to a rather satisfying interpretation of Statius's use of the moot phrase.

The quotation comes, it will be remembered, in Statius's speech in which he tells Vergil that he owes to the *Aeneid*, not only his poetic inspiration, but his very rescue from the sin of prodigality, and its train of other sins: he had in fact not realized that it was a sin until there flashed over him for the first time a new and inner meaning of the exclamation—or, more strictly, rhetorical question: "Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, Auri sacra fames" (*Aen.*, III, 56 f.). "Then," he says, "I perceived that one's hands could open too wide in spending." The passage, with its immediate context, is (vss. 34-45):

Or sappi ch'avarizia fu partita
 troppo da me, e questa dismisura
 migliaia di lunari hanno punita.
 E se non fosse ch'io drizzai mia cura,
 quand'io intesi là dove tu chiami,
 crucciato quasi all'umana natura:
 "Perchè non reggi tu, o sacra fame
 dell'oro, l'appetito de' mortali?"
 voltando sentirei le giostre grame.
 Allor m'accorsi che troppo aprir l'ali
 potean le mani a spendere, e pente' mi
 così di quel come delli altri mali.

⁵ Larra published a translation of Scribe's *Philippe* under the title *Félicie, comedia original en dos actos*.

Of the two standard explanations of "sacra" here: that it means "cursed"—as Vergil certainly meant it—and that it means "sacred, hallowed, blessed"—that is, in this case, specifically "justly balanced, temperate"—my endeavor will be to show: not only that Dante, while he understood very well that the meaning intended by Vergil was "cursed," used it deliberately in the other sense; but also that, with the idea of justly balanced Temperance and the Golden Mean in mind, he was giving to the phrase "sacra fame dell'oro" an esoteric reference to the Age of Gold, which is explicitly introduced in Statius's next quotation from Vergil, and is further featured in the canto; and for a return to which Golden Age mankind is now, or should be, hungering.

For, first: the entire setting is one of properly regulated "hungering": the three poets have just come from the circle of the avaricious and the prodigal, from which Statius has just been released, and they are now among the expiators of gluttony; the concept of "justice" in the sense of due moderation of appetites, and their proper direction, has been emphasized by the Angel, as they passed, with the words, "Blessed [are they who] thirst for *giustizia*"; and, as he leaves the present circle, Dante is to hear the next Angel complete the same Beatitude, by declaring "blessed" those who "hunger always for *quanto è giusto*"—that is, both "what is right" and "as much as is right." Secondly: close upon this first quotation by Statius from the *Aeneid* and the statement of its unexpected effect, and in answer to Vergil's wondering query as to how the former came to be converted to Christianity, Statius replies that this too was the result of grasping the hidden significance, unguessed even by its writer, of another passage from Vergil's works: that famous group of verses from near the beginning of the Fourth *Eclogue*, in which is announced a new and better age, a return of the just and happy conditions of the *Golden Age*: a passage which in reality probably referred to the birth of a son to Vergil's protector and patron, the consul Gaius Asinius Pollio; but which was popularly believed, because of its apocalyptic-sounding imagery, to be an unconscious prophecy of the birth of Christ, with whom "justice" and the "first human time," that is, the primitive Age of Innocence, would return to earth (*Ecl.*, IV, 4 ff.):

Vltima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas;
magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo.

Iam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna,
iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.

Dante translates the last three verses (*Purg.*, xxir, 70 ff.):

Secol sì rinova;
torna giustizia e primo tempo umano,
e progenie scende da ciel nova

—in which *terzina* the omission of all articles helps keep the Latin flavor.

The “virgin” was Justice, named “Astraea,” the Starry One—so called, as every one knew, because she was a heavenly dweller on earth during the Golden Age.

The coupling of the word “justice,” now in one meaning and now in another, with references to gold and the Golden Age, in this speech of Statius, and its immediate setting, betrays itself even more as being deliberate, and our hypothesis as to the purpose of the “*sacra fame dell’oro*” phrase in the first case gains strong support, when we note that only on some such basis can we find full justification for the clause injected (v. 148) in the examples of Temperance at the end of this same canto, where the voice from the forbidden tree cries out, characterizing “*lo secol primo*”: “*quant’ oro fu bello*”—a clause which otherwise sounds, and is, entirely superfluous, and distinctly prosaic: a verse-filler hardly worthy of a great poet:

Lo secol primo, *quant’ oro fu bello*,
fè savorose con fame le ghiande,
e nettare con sete ogni ruscello.

And, finally: the best commentary to the second of Statius’s two quotations from Vergil—and at the same time one which supports the above interpretation of the reason for the injected clause “*quant’ oro fu bello*,” inasmuch as it too adds a perfectly parallel clause of the same type, insisting on the epithet “golden” for Saturn’s reign, though there is no *prima-facie* reason apparent for its introduction there—would seem to be Dante’s own words in *Monarchia*, I, xi, 1: “Moreover, the disposition of the world is best when *justice* is prevalent in it. Wherefore Virgil, wishing to praise that age which in his time seemed to be rising, sang in his *Bucolics*: ‘Now returns the virgin, the Saturnian reign returns.’ For Justice used to be called a ‘Virgin,’ and they also called her

Astraea; they said 'Saturnian reign' for the best times, which also they used to name 'golden.'¹ Justice is most prevalent only under a monarch: therefore, for the world to be best disposed a monarchy or empire is requisite."

These are the reasons why I believe Dante to have intended, by his "sacra fame dell'oro," that combination ethico-politico-religious Utopia which was his one chief ideal; that return to the universal peace and justice that characterized the benevolent "Golden" reign of Saturn over a virtuous and happy world. Statius understood, what Vergil (and Augustus) had realized, and Dante's Italy had forgotten: that what was needed above all other things, for each human being, and for the world, was a justly regulated hungering for the desirable things—the Golden Mean—so that the individual might find his way to salvation; and the administration of universal Justice throughout the world, by means of a golden régime such as that of the Age of Saturn, that the individual might not be defrauded of his due chance to attain happiness in this world and in the next.

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BALAAM, DUX TYRI

Balaam, duc de Tyr, figure dans le *Fuerre de Gadres* latin. Voici une analyse sommaire de cette œuvre par elle-même déjà très courte et qui pourrait passer pour le résumé d'une composition antérieure perdue.¹

Alexandre le Grand est en train d'assiéger Tyr. Il construit dans la rade un ouvrage fortifié destiné à bloquer le ravitaillement par mer. Mais voilà que les Grecs eux-mêmes manquent de vivres. Une razzia est décidée.

¹ "Que etiam 'aurea' nuncupabant."

² Le *Fuerre de Gadres* latin se trouve à l'état d'interpolations dans la rédaction I⁸ de l'*Historia de Preliis*; il a été publié par Friedrich Pfister, aux pages 255-258 du *Münchener Museum für Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, 1 (1911). Le *Fuerre de Gadres* français a été publié par Michelant, aux pages 93-230 de son édition du *Roman d'Alexandre*. Tous deux remontent à un *Fuerre* primitif perdu, voir Pfister, "Zur Entstehung und Geschichte des *Fuerre de Gadres*," *ZFSL*, xli (1913), 102-108.

Méléagre conduira cinq cents chevaliers au val de Josaphat, où paît le bétail de la ville de Gadir (Gaza). Le guide de l'expédition est Samson, qui connaît bien la région. Au moment où les Grecs vont rebrousser chemin avec leur proie, arrive sur les lieux le surveillant en chef des troupes, Theosellus. Combat. exploits de Méléagre, Caulus tue Theosellus. Mis au courant de la situation, le duc Biturius (Bétis) sort de Gadir à la tête de trente mille cavaliers. Effroi des Grecs. Méléagre voudrait envoyer prévenir Alexandre, mais personne n'accepte d'être son messager. Nouveau combat. Biturius tue Samson, les Grecs plient sous le nombre. Ce que voyant, Arrideus s'en va avertir Alexandre. Le roi quitte Tyr, vient à Josaphat et écrase les forces de Biturius. Mais à son retour à Tyr il trouve qu'en son absence l'ouvrage fortifié qu'il avait édifié a été détruit Balaam, en effet, et les habitants de Tyr s'en étaient emparés. Consternation des Macédoniens. Alexandre fait construire un château flottant qui lui permet de s'approcher des remparts de Tyr. Il monte seul sur la plate-forme supérieure, et, avisant Balaam, il saute sur lui et le précipite dans la mer. Ses soldats pénètrent à leur tour dans la ville ennemie. Découragés par la mort de Balaam, leur duc, les Tyriens n'offrent que peu de résistance.

D'où vient ce Balaam? Les sources antiques du *Fuerre*, à savoir deux passages de Quinte-Curce,² ne fournissent le nom d'aucun magistrat qui ait dirigé ou incarné la résistance des Tyriens. Restent les sources médiévales. M. Pfister a indiqué qu'il peut exister une relation entre le *Fuerre* et l'histoire des Croisades.³ Comme le *Fuerre* latin est antérieur à 1150, il suffit de passer en revue les événements qui se sont déroulés en Syrie et en Palestine avant cette date.⁴ L'on constatera que dans la première moitié du douzième siècle il y a eu deux sièges de Tyr. En 1112 Baudouin I^{er}, roi de Jérusalem, assiégea en vain la ville pendant quatre mois, mais en 1124, pendant la captivité de son successeur, Baudouin II, les barons latins et les Vénitiens s'emparèrent de Tyr. Les Sarrasins qui l'habitaient s'étaient bien défendus, quoiqu'ils ne fussent que mollement secourus par leurs coseigneurs, le soudan d'Égypte et l'émir Togtekin de Damas. Ce qui les amena finalement à capituler ce fut d'apprendre brusquement qu'il fallait abandonner l'espoir

² a) 4.2. 18, 4.2. 24, 4.3. 1-10, 4.3. 14-16, 4.4. 10-12: siège et prise de Tyr;

b) 9.4. 26-33, 9.5. 1-30: exploit follement téméraire accompli par Alexandre lors de la prise d'une forteresse des Oxydraques.

³ "Zur Entstehung und Geschichte des *Fuerre de Gadres*," p. 107.

⁴ Ce *terminus ad quem* est celui qui a été assigné à la rédaction I^a de l'*Historia de Preliis*, l'œuvre qui renferme le *Fuerre* latin; voir George L. Hamilton, "A new redaction (J^{2a}) of the *Historia de Preliis* and the date of J²," *Speculum*, II (1927), 145.

d'une aide bien plus efficace: l'émir d'Alep, Balak, venait d'être tué sous les murs de Gérardle, au moment même où il se proposait de marcher au secours des Tyriens.⁵

Pendant deux ans Nour ed-Daoula Balak avait été le champion de l'Islam contre les Francs.⁶ Il avait remporté une série ininterrompue de victoires sur eux. En septembre 1122 il battait près de Sindischa Jocelin de Courtenay, comte d'Édesse, et le faisait prisonnier. Au printemps suivant il assiégeait Karkar quand il apprend que Baudouin II s'approche avec une armée de secours, il se porte à sa rencontre, le bat et l'envoie rejoindre Jocelin dans les geôles de la forteresse de Chartpert (avril 1123). Ses prisonniers s'étant révoltés et emparés de Chartpert, il parvient à reprendre cette place forte (septembre 1123). Le roi Baudouin fut interné ailleurs, quant à Jocelin il avait pu s'échapper avant l'investissement. Le comte d'Édesse réunit une forte armée et prétendit obliger Balak à lever le siège de Gérardle, mais il fut repoussé avec des pertes sérieuses (5 mai 1124). Le lendemain une flèche tirée des murs de la ville mettait fin aux jours de l'émir. Bien que sa carrière rapide et éphémère eût été celle d'un météore, Balak avait remporté des succès assez éclatants pour pouvoir frapper les imaginations et laisser un souvenir durable.

Mais même si nous admettons que le duc de Tyr du *Fuerre* ait été à l'origine Balak, émir d'Alep, il faut encore montrer comment on a pu tirer la forme Balaam du nom Balak. On trouvera la solution de ce petit problème dans la Bible, où trois chapitres du livre des *Nombres*⁷ font sans cesse voisiner les deux noms de Balaam et de Balak. Balak, roi de Moab, demande à Balaam de maudire le peuple juif, mais le mage, à qui Dieu dicte sa conduite, prononce tout au contraire des paroles de bénédiction. Cet épisode de l'Ancien Testament devait être bien connu au moyen âge, car il renferme le pittoresque incident de l'ânesse de Balaam.

⁵ Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, Innsbruck, 1898, pp. 161 et 168.

⁶ L'expression est de M. Jorga, *Brève histoire des Croisades*, Paris, 1924, p. 82. "Ille draco saevissimus, qui Christianismum diu tribulaverat et pessunderat," écrit Foucher de Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, éd. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, 1913, p. 727. Au sujet de Balak voir Röhricht, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-162, 168, 171, 175; et *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, traduction de H. A. R. Gibb, Londres, 1932, pp. 162, 168.

⁷ *Nombres*, 22-24.

Tentons maintenant la contre-épreuve. Après être remonté de Balaam à Balak, nous allons voir si, en suivant une autre filière, nous pouvons passer du personnage historique au duc fictif du *Fuerre*. La légende s'est emparée très rapidement de Balak. Certains faits de sa vie s'y prêtaient: la révolte des prisonniers chrétiens de Chartpert, par exemple, a une allure éminemment romanesque. Foucher de Chartres, qui écrivait peu après 1127, altère déjà le récit de la mort de Balak.⁸ "Balac" rêve que Jocelin d'Édesse lui arrache les yeux; plein de terreur il veut faire exécuter son prisonnier; trop tard, il s'est évadé. Et lors de la seconde bataille entre les deux hommes, Jocelin est victorieux et c'est lui qui tue Balac, vérifiant ainsi le songe de son ennemi, car, explique Foucher, il le prive de la vue en le privant de la vie.

Avec Orderic Vital, qui a terminé son *Historia Ecclesiastica* avant 1141, nous franchissons une nouvelle étape de déformation de la réalité historique. L'auteur normand nous apprend que les trois femmes de "Balad" se trouvaient à Chartpert, lorsque les prisonniers se révoltèrent et se rendirent maîtres de la forteresse, mais que leur présence ne fut découverte par eux qu'au bout de quinze jours. L'une d'elles, fille du fameux Rodoan,⁹ expédie un pigeon voyageur à son mari. Mis au courant de la situation, Balad accourt, mais il lui faut huit mois pour réduire les chrétiens à merci. Pour punir le roi Baudouin de n'avoir pas été un prisonnier modèle, il lui fait arracher quatre dents. La dernière bataille de Balad relève de la haute fantaisie. Avant la bataille, Balad, à qui sa sœur, pythonisse distinguée, a révélé que lui et Goisfridus Monachus, comte de Marasch, s'entre-tueraient ce jour-là, offre au comte de lui envoyer deux ânes chargés d'or, s'il veut bien rester sous sa tente, tel Achille. Mais Godefroy aspire aux joies du paradis et repousse les dons trompeurs du tyran.¹⁰ Balak et Godefroy s'entre-tuent donc. Sur 300,000 Sarrasins 13,000 périssent, tandis que les 900 chrétiens ne perdent que 17 des leurs.

Paul Meyer a publié trois extraits d'une continuation anonyme

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 680-681, 727.

⁹ Au sujet de Rodoan voir Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand*, II, Paris, 1886, p. 190, note 1.

¹⁰ "Religiosus comes munera tyranni ut stercus contempsit, seseque in confessione Dei ad sacrificium laetus obtulit," *Historia Ecclesiastica*, PL de Migne, 188, Paris, 1890, col. 828.

d'un récit en vers français de la première croisade. Le dernier extrait comprend 202 vers et narre la prise de Sur (Tyr) par le roi Baudouin ¹¹ et la mort du seigneur de Sur, "Balet" ou "Balez." ¹² L'auteur avoue qu'il s'appuie ici surtout sur la tradition orale; ¹³ sa version des événements de l'année 1124 est encore plus invraisemblable que celle d'Orderic, auquel il ressemble d'ailleurs par certains côtés. D'après Meyer, il aurait écrit dans le dernier quart du douzième siècle. Il a donc pu avoir connaissance, directement ou indirectement, de l'*Historia Ecclesiastica*. A l'en croire, Baudouin entre en pourparlers avec la garnison turque de Tyr et les Tyriens promettent de capituler dans les huit jours si Balet, leur seigneur, ne vient pas les secourir. Balet refuse, et les Tyriens se rendent. Balet décide de prendre sa revanche et fait espionner le roi. Il apprend que Baudouin et quatre-vingts chevaliers ont décidé de pousser une reconnaissance du côté de Belinas, afin d'examiner la possibilité d'un coup de main à tenter sur cette place forte. Balet s'embusque avec trois mille hommes sur leur passage. Les chrétiens sont un contre trente, le roi exhorte ses hommes à bien mourir. Mais "Gofreiz li Maignes, qi fu né de Valder" ¹⁴ se fraye un chemin jusqu'à Balet et le blesse très grièvement à la cuisse. Les infidèles sont tellement décontenancés à la vue de leur chef abattu qu'ils prennent la fuite, non sans massacrer toutefois le vaillant Godefroy. L'écuyer de ce dernier débusque Balet, caché derrière un buisson, l'achève et va porter sa tête à Baudouin. Colère du roi qui avait souffert mainte peine dans les prisons de Balet et qui aurait voulu se venger d'une manière plus raffinée, moins rapide, ou qui aurait pu exiger du Sarrasin en guise de rançon la forteresse de Chartape (Chartpert). A ces derniers détails nous n'hésitons plus à reconnaître en Balet, seigneur de Sur, Balak, émir d'Alep. ¹⁵

Au *Fuerre* latin correspond un *Fuerre* français; tous deux remontent à une source commune qui n'existe plus. ¹⁶ Voyons com-

¹¹ Baudouin était à ce moment prisonnier des Sarrasins, Tyr capitula le 7 juillet 1124, le roi ne fut délivré que le 29 août.

¹² *Romania*, v (1876), 51-56. Voir aussi H. Pigeonneau, *Le cycle de la Croisade et de la famille de Bouillon*, Saint Cloud, 1877, p. 13, note 1; p. 262, note 2.

¹³ Vers 64-66.

¹⁴ Comparer avec le "Goisfridus Monachus" d'Orderic Vital.

¹⁵ Vers 67-68 et 189-190.

¹⁶ Voir note 1.

ment le poème français appelle le Balaam du texte latin. L'adversaire d'Alexandre est maintenant "Balés, li dus de Tyr." Nom et titre qui rappellent singulièrement le Balet, seigneur de Sur, de tout à l'heure. Nous obtenons ainsi une double série, d'un côté Balak ou Balac¹⁷ devient Balaam, de l'autre Balac devient Balet, Balez, Balés, en passant peut-être par une étape intermédiaire, le Balad d'Orderic Vital.

L'identification que nous proposons a un double intérêt. Si le Balaam-Balés du *Fuerre* est bien Balak, la légende qui s'est formée autour du prince musulman présente un phénomène très curieux : elle s'est de bonne heure scindée en deux et pourtant dans les deux cas, qu'il s'agisse du contemporain de Baudouin II ou de celui qu'un anachronisme hardi donne au conquérant macédonien, l'émir d'Alep est devenu un duc de Tyr. On est en droit d'inscrire la légende de Balak entre celle de Kerbogha-Corbarant¹⁸ et celle du Saladin qu'a étudié Gaston Paris. Nous ferons également remarquer que la mort de Balak et la prise de Tyr peuvent servir de *terminus a quo* au *Fuerre de Gadres* originel, celui qui a été la source commune du *Fuerre* latin et du *Fuerre* français. Car il paraît infiniment probable que ce sont les événements de l'année 1124 qui ont donné le branle à l'imagination de l'auteur du *Fuerre* et qui l'ont conduit à broder à sa manière sur le texte de Quinte-Curce. Il n'a pas dû attendre très longtemps : déjà l'Allemand Lamprecht, qui florissait vers 1130,¹⁹ s'inspire indéniablement du *Fuerre*, quand il écrit qu'Alexandre, peu avant son saut héroïque, aperçut le duc de Tyr debout sur le mur de sa ville :

tû sach er stan den herzogen,
dem al Tyre was undertan,
kegen ime uf der mure.²⁰

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¹⁷ C'est ainsi que le nom de Balak est épilé par Foucher de Chartres et Guillaume de Tyr.

¹⁸ Voir l'*Histoire anonyme de la première Croisade*, la *Chanson d'Antioche*, la *Chanson de Jérusalem*.

¹⁹ Voir Gustav Ehrismann, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, II, 1, Munich, 1922, p. 237; Magoun, éd. de *Gests of King Alexander of Macedon*, Cambridge, 1929, p. 26.

²⁰ Vers 899-901, éd. Hans Ernst Müller, *Münchener Texte*, no. 12, Munich, 1923. Voir Alwin Schmidt, *Ueber das Alexanderlied des Alberic von Besançon*, thèse, Bonn, 1886, p. 57, note 1.

SUR UNE POESIE DE THIBAUT DE NAVARRE

Parmi les chansons de Thibaut de Navarre, il en est une qui commence ainsi :

Robert, veez de Perron,
com' il a le cuer felon,
qu'a un si loigtaing baron
veut sa fille marier,
qui a si clere façon
que l'en s'i porroit mirer.¹

Le reste est un dialogue entre Thibaut et Robert. Thibaut déclare qu'il ne devrait pas laisser emmener la jeune fille, et Robert l'encourage dans cette voie. La tenson se termine ainsi :

Sire, Deus vos doint joir
de ce qu'avez desiré!
Robert, je m'en crien morir,
quant il l'ont fait maugré Dé.

Tous les critiques ont reconnu dans ce Pierre "au visage de furet" Pierre Mauclerc, comte de Bretagne à partir de 1215, et père d'une fille nommée Yolande, née en 1218.² Mais ils n'ont pu s'entendre sur la date de la chanson, ni sur l'identification du *lointain baron*. M. Wallensköld a cru que ce dernier était Richard de Cornouailles, et que la tenson datait de 1226.³ Mais il y a deux objections qui rendent cette solution impossible. En 1226 la jeune Yolande n'avait que huit ans; or, la remarque assez leste de la fin :

He la! qui porroit gesir
une nuit lez son costé!

ne peut guère s'appliquer à une fillette de huit ans, et il est surprenant que M. Wallensköld ne l'ait pas remarqué. De plus, en 1226, Yolande n'a pas été fiancée à Richard de Cornouailles, mais au frère de ce dernier, Henri III, roi d'Angleterre. Il est vrai que Philippe

¹ Publiée dans Bartsch-Wiese, *Chrestomathie de l'Ancien Français*, Leipzig, 1920, p. 188; et dans A. Wallensköld, *Les Chansons de Thibaut de Champagne, roi de Navarre*, Société des Anciens Textes Français, Paris, 1925, pp. 173-174.

² Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, *Les Papes et les Ducs de Bretagne*, Paris, 1928, I, 113-117.

³ Ouvrage cité, p. 175.

Mouskés⁴ mentionne Richard comme le fiancé d'Yolande; mais l'auteur de la *Chronique Rimée*, généralement bien informé sur les événements de France et d'Allemagne, l'est beaucoup moins sur ceux d'Angleterre. Le témoignage de Roger de Wendover⁵ et la correspondance de Henri III⁶ montrent que c'est bien le roi et non son frère qui a été fiancé à la jeune Yolande. Le mot *baron* ne peut guère être appliqué à Henri III. Ce n'est donc pas de lui qu'il s'agit dans la chanson, et la date n'est pas 1226.

Yolande a eu trois autres fiancés. En 1227, Blanche de Castille, pour détacher Pierre Mauclerc de l'alliance anglaise, signa avec lui le traité de Vendôme (16 mars 1227). Pierre reçut plusieurs villes, dont Angers, et sa fille fut fiancée à Jean de France, frère de Louis IX. La jeune princesse fut confiée à ses oncles, le comte de Dreux et l'archevêque de Reims, et élevée à la cour de France.⁷ Ses fiançailles avec Jean la rapprochaient donc de Thibaut, qui faisait de fréquentes visites à Paris. Jean de France ne peut être le *lointain baron*.

Le troisième fiancé d'Yolande fut Thibaut lui-même. Jean de France était mort en 1230; mais Yolande, au lieu d'être rendue à Pierre Mauclerc, avait continué de vivre à la cour de France. Peut-être Thibaut était-il déjà amoureux de la jeune fille, en 1232, lorsqu'elle lui fut fiancée; et il se préparait à l'épouser quand Blanche de Castille s'opposa au mariage, reprochant violemment à Thibaut de s'allier à un ennemi de la royauté. Thibaut dut céder, ce qui causa une guerre entre lui et Pierre Mauclerc.⁸

Reste le dernier fiancé d'Yolande, celui qu'elle a épousé, Hugues le Brun, fils d'Hugues de Lusignan, comte de la Marche. Par sa mère Isabelle d'Angoulême, il était le demi-frère d'Henri III, et c'est pour cela peut-être que Philippe Mouskés l'a confondu avec Richard. C'est lui qui est le *lointain baron*, et la chanson a sans doute été composée l'année de son mariage avec Yolande, en 1236. La jeune fille avait alors dix-huit ans, Thibaut la connaissait depuis plusieurs années; le ton du poème s'explique fort bien à cette date.

⁴ Philippe Mouskés, *Chronique Rimée*, v. 27562-27565.

⁵ *Chronica Rogeri de Wendover*, edit. Hewlett, London, 1887, II, 320.

⁶ *Royal Letters of Henry III*, London, 1862, I, n. ccxlii.

⁷ Fr. Perry, *Saint Louis*, London-New-York, 1901, p. 27-28; E. Berger, *Histoire de Blanche de Castille*, Paris, 1895, p. 78-86.

⁸ Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, édit. N. de Wailly, Paris, 1874, p. 46.

L'argument présenté par M. Wallensköld en faveur d'une date antérieure à 1234, année où Thibaut est devenu roi de Navarre, parce que, dans la chanson, il mentionne son comté de Champagne comme sa principale possession,⁹ me paraît fausser le sens du texte; car Thibaut dit tout simplement:

25 Robert, je vueil mielz morir,
 s'il li venoit a plesir,
 que l'en lessasse partir
 pour trestoute ma conté.

D'ailleurs le mot *conté*, adopté par M. Wallensköld, ne se trouve que dans le manuscrit *S*, les sept autres manuscrits donnant *contré* ou *contrée*. Il faut ajouter aussi qu'en 1236 Thibaut n'avait pas encore pris possession de son royaume. C'est seulement en 1237 qu'il s'est rendu en Navarre où il a été couronné. 1236 reste donc la seule date possible.

Par contre, M. Wallensköld a fort bien vu que l'interlocuteur de Thibaut ne pouvait être Robert d'Artois, comme on l'a longtemps cru. Thibaut ne se serait certainement pas permis une telle familiarité à l'égard d'un frère du roi. Robert d'Artois avait d'ailleurs le plus grand mépris pour Thibaut, qu'il humilia publiquement en 1237, en lui faisant jeter des guenilles et des *boiaus* à la tête par ses valets.¹⁰ Le Robert de la chanson est sans doute un poète de l'entourage de Thibaut, peut-être Robert la Chèvre, comme l'a supposé M. Wallensköld.

Chicago, Ill.

L.-A. VIGNERAS

REVIEWS

A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century Part II The Period of Corneille 1635-1651. Par HENRY CARRINGTON LANCASTER. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. Londres: Oxford University Press. Paris: Belles-Lettres. 1932. Deux volumes. Pp. 804.

Voici une aile imposante au monument que Lancaster construit. On y respire plus d'air et de lumière que dans la première, si remarquable, d'ailleurs, mais qui était en partie foundations et sous-

⁹ Ouvrage cité, p. 175.

¹⁰ Philippe Mouskés, *Chronique Rimée*, v. 29160 et suiv.

sol. On y sent un accroissement chez l'auteur d'allégresse sereine et patiente. La présentation extérieure a gagné beaucoup aussi en netteté et en joliesse. Enfin, le sujet même, bien que plus difficile, peut-être, était moins ingrat. Car la période envisagée ici offre des avenues au lieu de labyrinthes; la forêt devient parc.

Il serait absurde de prétendre résumer en un millier de mots ce millier de pages où 280 pièces sont étudiées, beaucoup pour la première fois. Je dirai seulement l'essentiel de la méthode et des résultats. Ce que L. nous apporte de concret consiste surtout en ceci: Le précieux, l'unique *Corpus* des sujets et des intrigues; le dégagement, souvent nouveau, des dates; le filtrage des "sources"; les interrelations des œuvres et des auteurs et de tel auteur à lui-même; le tracé original de la courbe de conventions comme les Règles; le relevé d'échos souvent inattendus de dramaturges mineurs chez les grands; le signalement analytique et critique des pièces par la structure et le dessin des caractères.

Bien que la signification et la valeur de ces pages soient dans leur effort pour rendre la vie dramatique totale dans la période de 1635 à 1651, notre besoin de perspective esthétique et critique nous en fait détacher ce qui concerne Corneille. En fait l'intérêt central de l'œuvre est bien ce qu'on peut appeler la tragédie de la Tragédie cornélienne: sa genèse, sa grandeur et sa décadence.

Le Prologue de ce drame critique serait les 120 premières pages des présents volumes de L. Nous y voyons la préparation et l'inconsciente attente de Corneille. Autour de lui il existe un théâtre original, qui n'est ni académique ni populaire, ni humaniste ni moderniste. L. montre, à propos des fameuses Règles, que leur graduelle emprise n'est pas un phénomène académique, mais social. Lancées dans la circulation par Mairet qui voulait rivaliser en les observant avec le Tasse et Guarini, les Règles se trouvèrent coïncider avec un besoin social et politique d'ordre et d'équilibre. D'autre part, l'influence personnelle et officielle de Richelieu sur le développement du théâtre nous avertit qu'il ne pouvait être question d'un théâtre populaire. Cette influence du Cardinal s'interpénètre avec le développement des troupes professionnelles, le progrès dans le métier des planches et dans la structure interne des pièces.

En dépit de la marche vers la simplicité et l'équilibre, on trouve dans la période de notre Prologue une variété et une originalité étonnantes. Ces traits, L. (qui est en somme le premier à avoir tenu tout cet ensemble sous un même regard) a pu les dégager mieux que personne ne l'avait fait encore. En effet (si on regarde non seulement le Prologue en question mais ses marges et les manifestations qui le débordent un peu dans le temps) on trouve, autour de Corneille, des éléments très intéressants et parfois même inattendus. Ce sont des survivances du drame Renaissance à la Garnier et du théâtre religieux du moyen âge; un "actualisme"

et un exotisme curieux dans les sujets, certains pris en Angleterre et en Turquie comme ce *Solyman* de Mairet qui vient plus de trente ans avant le *Bajazet* de Racine. Car, dans les œuvres de cette période, sont recelés des germes et des sources non seulement de Corneille lui-même mais de Racine et de Molière. Ainsi chez Mairet, Du Ryer, La Calprenède, d'Ouille, Scudéry, Discret, Rotrou, Scarron, Cyrano, etc. Mais il ne s'agit pas seulement d'influence sur les classiques. On est frappé aussi de tous les pressentiments du lointain avenir littéraire (comédie de manières et de métiers, humour et truculence romantiques, Rostandisme, etc.) qui sont contenus en ces contemporains de Richelieu. Ainsi, entre autres, cet extraordinaire Tristan, l'auteur de *la Folie du Sage*.

Quant à la question de l'influence espagnole, notre historien la recreuse et la renouvelle. Il la limite à la comédie, en tant que vogue véritable. Il se plaît même à nous donner au moins un exemple d'influence de la tragédie française sur la *Comedia*. C'est celui de l'*Héraclius* de Corneille par rapport à *En la vida . . .* de Calderon (Ch. XIII). A ce propos il est étrange de penser combien les préjugés de nation ou de boutique (auxquels L. est soustrait) ont pu, chez d'autres érudits, troubler cet ordre de recherches, d'un côté des Pyrénées à l'autre! "Quelle vérité, dit Montaigne, est ce que ces montagnes bornent, mensonge au monde qui se tient au delà!"

Quant au héros de notre drame critique, Corneille, il se voit consacrer surtout les Chapitres V, IX, XIII et XVIII. On peut regarder ses quatre premières grandes pièces comme les quatre premiers actes: ceux où s'affirme sa grandeur, et les autres pièces, *Pertharite* inclus, comme le cinquième acte: celui du déclin, mais avec les beaux retours de flamme de *Rodogune* et *Nicomède*.

Le combat et le triomphe du *Cid* ouvrent l'action. Sur la date de la pièce (janvier 1637); sur les motifs vrais du choix fait par Corneille d'un sujet espagnol; sur la Querelle et l'attitude de Richelieu et de Corneille; sur les limites de l'influence du *Cid*; sur le rôle intérieur du triomphe et des luttes du *Cid* dans la stratégie intime de Corneille, L. apporte des précisions qui sont des lumières. Il est très méfiant à l'égard des anecdotes et des soi-disant révélations du XVIII^{ème} et du XX^{ème} siècles. Il a cent fois raison. Et pourtant, quand tout est dit, le problème subsiste de "l'actualisme" de Corneille, de ces allusions saisies par le public et qui ne pouvaient être tout-à-fait absentes de la conscience de l'auteur. Mais il faudrait une telle prudence dans l'examen de ce point que l'abstention totale vaut peut-être mieux.

Il y a, pourquoi ne pas le dire?, une vraie *maîtrise* dans les pages où L. pénètre les intentions de Corneille sur le seuil de son *Horace*. C'est l'histoire de son retournement de la tragi-comédie vers la tragédie afin de battre ses adversaires, Mairet et Scudéry, sur leur propre terrain. Et ce silence "tragique" de vaincus qui fit se taire

Mairet après *Horace* et Scudéry peu après *Polyeucte* ! L. a vu son Corneille *du dedans*. En Critique, en Histoire, une profonde sympathie intellectuelle du chercheur avec son sujet est parfois heureuse, nécessaire même pour l'objectivité vraie. Regarder la pensée d'autrui ne suffit pas toujours, il faut parfois, comme dit Montaigne "l'épouser." C'est ce que L. a fait.

Après *Polyeucte*, Corneille veut renouveler ses sujets et cela l'amène à accuser certaines tendances de son tempérament intellectuel : goût de l'épique, du pompeux, de la rigidité des caractères qui rappellent parfois les portraits byzantins au lieu des vives imageries du *Cid* et même d'*Horace*. Cependant *Pertharite*, nous dit L., est encore une œuvre importante et elle fournira à *Andromaque* un apport considérable. Jusqu'en ses points de chute la tragédie de Corneille est encore un point de départ.

La lumière vive, neuve que L. jette sur Corneille ne fait pas ombre sur le reste du tableau. Au contraire, nous l'avons vu, il s'est attaché à montrer que Corneille n'a pas été le seul à travailler à fonder le drame classique et il s'occupe à proportionner la part de chacun des genres et des auteurs. Ce n'est pas uniquement par le sens du détail et de la preuve mais aussi par celui de l'ensemble organique et de la liaison des parties que l'œuvre de L. prend de jour en jour une place de tout premier plan.¹

LOUIS CONS

Columbia University

Recherches sur L'Ancien Théâtre Français. Trois farces du Recueil de Londres: le Cousturier et Esopet, le Cuvier, Maître Mimin étudiant. Textes publiés par EMMANUEL PHILIPOT. Rennes: Plihon, 1931. Pp. viii + 169. Fr. 25.

Before the publication of these texts none of the farces which we have known for a long time, with the single exception of *Pathelin*,¹ could be read with complete understanding even by the specialist. Some recent "trouvailles" have been edited once, but, with the single exception of the three edited by Professor Aebischer,² these editions need to be done over. This does not mean that these plays have remained in manuscript or in unique printed texts, but it does mean that almost no thorough editing has been done and that, therefore, all further research has had to await reliable texts. The three farces in M. Philipot's edition will illustrate fairly what the history of farce editing in modern times

¹ P. 120, note 2: lire *père* pour *pere*. P. 462, l. 1: Dogue suggéré pour Poque serait plutôt *Gogue* comme il figure (p. 731, l. 17) avec le sens de vessie de cochon, probablement.

² Ed. R. T. Holbrook, *Classiques français du moyen âge*, no. 35 (1924).

³ "Trois farces inédites trouvées à Fribourg," *RSS.*, XI (1924), 129-192.

has been. *Le Cousturier et Esopet* appeared first in the *Ancien Théâtre François* collection (1854), II, 158-172. Montaignon, the probable editor, merely transcribed the text and published it with almost no notes, with many errors, and with faulty glossary. It was not reprinted until 1924, when it was included in the *Bibliotheca Romanica* (301, 302), there edited by M. Jean Hankiss, who, though he did not intend his edition primarily for the use of scholars, ventured emendations and tried to solve knotty problems. He made many errors, but all of them may be excused except the serious one of using Montaignon's text without consulting the unique copy of the farce in the British Museum. The other two farces in his edition suffer from this same procedure.

Le Cuvier, after its first appearance in the *Anc. Th. Fr.*, was published by Fournier in the *Théâtre fr. av. la Renaissance* (1872). With all due respect to Fournier he was not above inveighing against others in his Introduction for neglecting the edition in the British Museum and doing exactly that himself. The astounding thing is that he definitely claims to cite from the London original certain readings which, as M. Philipot (pp. 4-5) proves, he took from the *Description bibliographique* of Delepierre. The edition of Picot and Nyrop is good, but, since it reproduces a version of 1619, it is hardly more than a curiosity. *Maistre Mimin* also passed through the hands of Montaignon, Fournier, and M. Hankiss.

Had M. Philipot done no more than transcribe and publish the texts he would have rendered a signal service. He has given us besides the texts full introductions, explanatory notes, and a useful index. He is honest about problems which baffle him, and he always avoids that startling silence on difficult passages which has until now characterized farce editing. He has much to say about date and authorship without trying to fix either exactly, and he concludes, correctly I think, that we shall never know the exact date or authorship of any of the farces except by some fortuitous accident.

One hesitates to find fault with this valuable book, but since M. Philipot has expressly requested suggestions, I shall venture a few. One unfortunate misprint gives the beginning of Jean Raulin's *régime* at the Collège de Navarre as 1581 instead of 1481 (p. 14). In *Le Cousturier* I see no reason for believing that vv. 96-97 were a part of "une chanson de métier, qui nous est inconnue par ailleurs." "Sanglante" (v. 105) is too strong to be translated by *maudite*. The word maintains its strength in the slang of modern England. If the editor wishes to indicate change of scene in the footnotes, he should mark the one at line 156. In *Le Cuvier* there is no reason to believe the second of the following verses is "un aparté destiné au public":

Jaquinot. Point je n'entens que voulez fane
Mais, qu'esse qu'elle me commande? (Vv 189-190)

An "aside" is an extreme rarity in the farces, and it is more probable that Jaquinot is here talking to himself. In *Maistre Mimin*, I think that a period after v. 266 and a comma after v. 269 would make the passage more intelligible. If "estranger" were translated "to take away," much of the remaining difficulty would disappear. Hankiss' explanation of the troublesome "Anno" (v. 311) cannot be accepted, but neither can that of Philipot, who, to be sure, does not urge it strongly. I suggest "Haro." The translation of "forcelle" (v. 400) as "poitrine" is unsatisfactory. Mimin's line (v. 403) suggests that the crotch is here meant.

It is to be hoped that M. P. will pursue his plan to edit the entire British Museum collection. This work is so necessary and the beginning so auspicious that it would be a great loss indeed if it were interrupted.

M. L. RADOFF

The Johns Hopkins University

A Chrestomathy of Vulgar Latin. By HENRI F. MULLER and PAULINE TAYLOR. Boston: Heath and Co., 1932. xvii + 315 pp. \$3.50.

The authors assert that the texts printed here, including selections from Commodian, the *Vetus Italica*, St. Ambrose, Sedulius, St. Benedict, St. Isidore, Gregory of Tours, and Fredegarius, represent spoken language.

Have we any texts of the living language up to Charlemagne's reform? It is unreasonable to imagine a mysterious living language for that period, without any written texts, as is usually claimed by philologists. . . . A living language which had to carry all this social and spiritual culture had to be written. (P. 18)

It is easier to believe, however, that Vulgar Latin really was a mysterious language without any written texts. If this were not the case, how could we account for the quite numerous Vulgar Latin words like **abantiare*, **fidare*, **pincliare*, **arripare*, etc., which appear nowhere in ancient or medieval writing? Furthermore, an appreciable number of words appearing in the most popular-looking texts have not come down into Romance, and hence may reasonably be regarded as nonpopular literary terms; e. g., *quondam*, *vel*, *seu*, *sed*, *eorum*, *reliqui*, *æjectus*, *ideo*, *quatenus*, *taliter*, *ut*, words found in 25 lines of the seventh-century "Grant of Rights," pp. 197 f. Indeed, the authors themselves say that Gregory of Tours "writes *more or less* as he speaks" (*italics mine*), and

point out in a footnote that "spelling is traditional and discloses only exceptionally the evolution of pronunciation" (pp. 26, 31, n. 1).

The status of Low Latin may be compared with that of modern literary Greek, which differs considerably from the classical tongue in vocabulary, pronunciation, accident, and syntax, and yet is not the language spoken by the people in everyday life.

The authors confusingly use the symbol > to mean "represented in spelling by," as well as in the usual meaning "becomes phonetically." It would be better to use a different symbol for the former sense, say W (for "written"). While the formula *posita* > *posta* is correct, the "reverse phenomenon" *omnes* > *omines* had better be stated as *omnes* W *omines*.

The texts and glossary are printed with commendable accuracy. In the latter I miss *iesta*, a form appearing in the texts, p. 186. A more notable omission in the bibliography is Körtling, Stechert reprint, 1923. If the authors had used it, they might have discovered the correct etymology of French *aller* (and its congeners), on which they have erroneous notes (pp. 252, 262). Provençal *annar* 'to go' < Latin *adnare*, *annare*, 'to swim to,' 'to sail to,' 'to get to' (classical meanings); Italian *andare* < **annitare* (*annare* plus the common Vulgar Latin suffix *-itare*); French *aller* < **annulare* (*annare* plus the common Vulgar Latin suffix *-ulare*).¹

In spite of its interpretative inadequacy, due in part to the difficulty of the subject, the book can advantageously be used by Romance scholars as a textbook for graduate classes.

C. C. RICE

Catawba College

Anatole France, the Mind and the Man. By LEWIS PIAGET SHANKS.
New York: Harpers, 1932. Pp. vi + 236.

This is a second version of Professor Shanks' psychological biography (*Anatole France*, 1919), a version which, taking into account a decade of research and critical opinion, seeks to "reconcile the works and their author—to unite in one portrait the Mind and the Man." A longer biography than the 1919 version, it is largely rewritten.

With an open-mindedness which obliges him to include all the apparently disparate elements of the life and works of Anatole France, Professor Shanks achieves now a unified and sympathetic portrait by seeing in his subject a born critic who with great artistry worked long at his autobiography. "There is hardly a

¹ C. C. Rice, "The Etymology of the Romance Words for 'To Go,'" *PMLA.* xix (1904), 217-233.

page of Anatole France which is not autobiographical" (p. 185). Emphasizing the autobiographical value of vividly related incident or detail, Professor Shanks introduces us to the successive major incarnations of the writer: Bonnard, Coignard, Bergeret; and he points out the many features in which even minor characters resemble their creator. In the end we see Anatole France, having "completed the circle of his beliefs, returning to the pessimism of Taine which he had first put, undiluted, into *Jocaste* in 1879."

This view lends to the man's life and writings a unity which is perhaps more plausible than that sought by Mr. Chevalier in his recent book, *The Ironic Temper* (Oxford Univ. Press), in which there is more selection of material. Professor Shanks admits that "the one perfect flower of his irony was his career" (p. 209); but he does not attempt to explain everything by that irony.

He states honestly and without reservation that Anatole France borrowed abundantly—in view of all that has been written on that subject since Maurevert's *Livre des plagats* he could hardly do otherwise; he admits that Anatole France used more than once his happy inventions or borrowings—the perfect ironic comment on "the master's" work is made unintentionally, in a footnote (p. 204): "His last book was a revision of his first, *Alfred de Vigny*"; he disapproves of occasional lapses into coarse humor; and he grants that Anatole France had no true constructive ability. But he does claim, and very justly, that France chose critically and developed artistically all that he borrowed. With Voltairian analysis he perceived the "human identity beneath all the differences of time and place," and he set about to "recreate the past through insight and imagination." Finally,

alone among contemporaries, Anatole France has grafted the living flower of Hellas upon the Gallo-Latin logic of form . . . Greek, yet subtly national, this is why (he) has taken his place among the great French classics. . . . We shall return to (him) some day, come back to his work as the traveler returns to Athens, for the beauty that is hers.

We may aptly quote in praise of Professor Shanks' book the words he uses in praise of the critical writings of Anatole France: "To know the scholar's labors and to know when to forget them is the mark of the true humanist; a little tact is not useless in the critic's task" (p. 47). Undistracted by pedantic footnotes, the reader perceives nonetheless that the critic knows the literature on his subject. The book is carefully written, without literary affectation, and it is liberally sprinkled with excellent translations of passages that "clamor for quotation." The tendency to exaggerate France's merits and to extenuate his defects, which tendency in the 1919 version constituted in the opinion of some the chief deficiency of the book, has been completely checked. One of the avowed objects of this book is to rout the vultures and the builders

of mud-monuments, whose activity began only after Anatole France was dead; but even the vultures could hardly object to Professor Shanks' using the term "the master" a half-dozen times in 226 pages of rational, restrained, and illuminating apology.

WM. C. HOLBROOK

Northwestern University

Le Haut Livre du Graal Perlesvaus. Edited by WILLIAM A. NITZE and T. ATKINSON JENKINS. Volume I: text, variants, and glossary. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. Pp. 537. \$6.00. (MP. Monographs.)

We have to thank the editors for the first critical edition of this important thirteenth century text, as the only modern edition heretofore is one brought out in 1866 by Charles Potvin. The task they had set themselves was an arduous one: the text runs over ten thousand lines, eight manuscripts and two sixteenth-century books had to be collated, a thorough knowledge of the Celtic languages (ms. W. is in Welsh) was required. With the support of the General Education Board Professors Nitze and Jenkins were able to assemble a staff of assistants and specialists. Already Volume I stands as an impressive example of the benefits that scholarship can derive from co-operation, and we may well hope that Volume II, which will contain among other things a "comprehensive commentary on the romance, its literary, historical, and doctrinal significance," will be free from partisanship and recognize the just claims of both camps, the latinists and the celtologists.

Volume I of the *Perlesvaus* contains an introduction listing the manuscripts and prints (their relationship will be discussed in the second volume), the text and variants, a table of proper names, and a glossary. The last named, designed for those that are much more familiar with modern French than Old French, has been drawn up on liberal lines. Possibly such a word as *tenves* (2315) should have been included. We doubt whether *oser* always means "to dare, venture"; in line 1994 it should rather be rendered by "can," a meaning which the verb still retains today in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. *Filateres* and *philatiere* could very well be listed together. It is not clear to us why references 7175 and 8711 for *branche* have not been given, when they correspond to branches X and XI. A minor slip also occurs in the table of proper names: *Terre de Promision* is not a "name for the Earthly Paradise" but Palestine, the Promised Land.

As a story, *Perlesvaus* is not well built, in fact,⁶ as the editors

point out, most of branch X is quite extraneous to the plot. One may also be somewhat dissatisfied with the spirit in which the novel is written and the characterization of its heroes, especially if one has in mind the fine mysticism and the subtle psychology of *La Queste del Saint Graal*, with which work, owing to the same subject matter, we are in duty bound to compare *Perlesvaus*. But, although Perceval the perfect knight, Lancelot, Gavain, and King Arthur, are pretty much cut on the same pattern—the wicked king of Castle Mortal providing but poor contrast to those worthies—and although the spirituality of the author seldom soars, unstinted praise must be given to his style. Fascinatingly clear-cut and fluent is his French, to such an extent that he is not only much more accessible than a poet of his own day like Rutebeuf, but even than the great writers of the sixteenth century like Rabelais and Montaigne. Indeed his prose bridges the intervening centuries and rings with a modern note that startles the reader. It is to be hoped that this very readable Grail romance will appeal to a wider public than the happy few who ordinarily peruse editions of mediaeval French texts.

ALFRED FOULET

Princeton University

The Tudors in French Drama. By L. ALFREDA HILL. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1932. Pp. 176. \$1.25. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, Vol. XX.)

This seems to be a very exhaustive study. Surely if any play had escaped the lynx-eyed author it would easily fall under one of the categories of Tudor plays described. Plays written for school children are mentioned and commented on; even plays are discussed that refer to the Tudors only incidentally (pp. 14-15, 79)—not counting, of course, Mary Stuart plays which cannot be left out as long as Elizabeth Tudor plays come in.

The first chapter gives a summary of the historical facts—those firmly established, the doubtful, and the legendary—on which the various authors based their plays. This will prove very useful throughout the book, since one of Miss Hill's topics is a discussion of the historical accuracy of the French writers treated. This is by no means the only consideration introduced, however—indeed there are many others—and perhaps one may find oneself a little confused at times by the constant passing from one approach to the subject to another. For instance, the discussion often turns from the historicity of the play under discussion to its propaganda spirit, and again to its literary value; while the chief purpose, we are told,

is to determine the attitude of the French towards the Tudor dynasty. Evidently this was a capital problem, since so many French plays are concerned with episodes from the lives of these English monarchs. It is true, however, that not one of them can be considered a first-class play from Montcrestien to the Abbé Joubert, or to Jean-Joseph Renaud, passing through Hugo and Dumas; no play can be put into the class, for example, of Schiller's *Maria Stuart*.

The answer is not quite easy, as Miss Hill points out herself (p. 130), but the conclusions she puts down are perhaps unnecessarily cautious. It is quite obvious that the majority of these plays were meant to be vehicles for political, or even more, for religious propaganda. As a rule, whenever the Catholic Mary Stuart comes in, she is treated as a *personnage sympathique*, as opposed to Elizabeth, the Protestant, often the villain of the play. The "national equation," if this term may be allowed, comes out very significantly in a case like that of Henry VIII, who is roundly abused in a play dealing with his time, when he proved hostile to France, and is handled with gloves when his politics were not adverse to French interests. Quite naturally again Joseph Chénier ranks Henry VIII with Tiberius and with Charles IX. One notes that the Tudor stories were used for propaganda especially in school dramas.

An entirely distinct group of plays is composed of those in which authors have looked merely for romantic plots and in which politics are ignored; to this class belong most of the plays in the early nineteenth century, such as those of Hugo and Dumas, and here, if German plays had been included, would be placed the work in which the Protestant Schiller presented a pathetic Mary Stuart who wins our sympathies. Should we also count among these plays such an amusing one as the Baroness d'Ordre's *Retour de Marie Stuart en Ecosse*, in which the whole intrigue can be traced to the greater or lesser "sex appeal" of the two queens?

From these remarks it will be seen that various arrangements of the abundant material selected were possible. The plays could have been studied in their chronological order, or according to their emphasis, literary, political, romantic, etc. Miss Hill has preferred to group together all the plays which take as their chief heroes the successive members of the Tudor family. Although this order does not perhaps give as uniform an impression as another might have done, any reader will find all the material he needs to judge the plays from the special angle that interests him most. All the *appareil d'érudition* is flawless, as would be expected from any book in this collection.

ALBERT SCHINZ

The University of Pennsylvania

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

ENGLISH

[The *English* list includes only books received.]

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Davis, B. E. C.—Edmund Spenser: A Critical Study. *Cambridge*: Univ. Press, *New York*: Macmillan, 1933. Pp. x + 268. \$3.00.

Klenk, Hans.—Nachwirkungen Dante Gabriel Rossetti's. Diss. *Erlangen*: 1932 Pp. vi + 62.

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Pepys, Samuel, Shorthand Letters of. From a volume entitled S. Pepys' Official Correspondence 1662-1679. Transcribed and edited by Edwin Chappell. *Cambridge*: Univ. Press, *New York*: Macmillan, 1933 Pp. xvi + 104. \$2.75.

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AN ADDITIONAL SOURCE FOR POE'S *THE PIT AND THE PENDULUM*

From time to time investigators have shown that, for his story *The Pit and the Pendulum*, Poe drew material from the terror cult of his day, namely, from certain tales in *Blackwood's Magazine*, and from Charles Brockden Brown's *Edgar Huntley*. No one, however, has satisfactorily accounted for the source of the Inquisition material in the story or, what is of more interest to the student of Poe's artistry, for Poe's method of handling it. In the hope of meeting these two deficiencies, I wish to present an additional source—that of Juan Antonio Llorente's *History of the Spanish Inquisition*.¹

Llorente's work aided Poe in two ways—in matter and manner. It supplied him with subject-matter for the opening and closing scenes of his story, and furnished the graphic incident of the swinging pendulum; it furthermore provided him with a means of unifying all the elements in the structure of his plot. The sources already ascribed to Poe as background material for the story in question, it will subsequently be shown, concern themselves exclusively with the type of terror which had nothing to do with the Inquisition but which, on the contrary, arose from chance occurrences, such as accidents, or adventure, or with terror produced by some act of personal vengeance. Through these, it will be made manifest, Poe ran and re-ran unifying threads of interest drawn from Llorente's *History* until the whole fabric became one presentation of terror that springs solely from the Inquisition.

¹ Juan Antonio Llorente (b. in Aragon, 1756; d. in Madrid, 1823) served for several years as principal secretary to the Inquisition in Spain. In 1817 Llorente published his work in Paris under the title: *A Critical History of the Spanish Inquisition*. Paris, Treuttel and Wurz.

Poe could easily have come in contact with this Llorente material. In this article the term *Llorente material* will signify both Llorente's *History* and critical reviews of it. In the periodical press of both Europe and America, *The History of the Inquisition* attracted considerable attention; and since it is well known that in the offices of editor, critic, and contributor Poe suffered little in the magazine literature of his day to escape his notice,² it is highly probable that he joined in with the public interest in respect to Llorente's work. After the *History* was published in Paris in 1817, it was translated and printed in London in 1826,³ and in the same year, it appeared in America in a New York edition,⁴ and again in Philadelphia in 1843.⁵ Time and again Llorente's book was reviewed. In 1826 *Blackwood's Magazine* published a nineteen-page article on it;⁶ and in 1827 *The British Critic, Theological Review and Ecclesiastical Record*, one of twenty pages.⁷ This latter review was reprinted, also in 1827, in *The Museum*, a magazine published in Philadelphia.⁸ An interesting point that may be of

² For an analytical study of Poe's knowledge of British periodical literature, particularly of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, see Margaret Alterton, *Origins of Poe's Critical Theory*, Iowa Humanistic Studies (1925), pp 7-45.

³ Abridged and translated. Printed for G. B. Whittaker, London (1826).

⁴ The title of this American edition reads: *History of the Spanish Inquisition* abridged from the original work of M. Llorente, late secretary of that Institution; by Leonard Gallois. Translated by an American. New York, G. E. Morgan (1826). This is a rare volume. It bears this interesting dedication: To Col. Juan Van Halen, late chief of the staff of one of the divisions of the army of Gen. Mina, in Catalonia, formerly a prisoner and sufferer in the Inquisition at Madrid. This volume is inscribed by His Friend, the Translator.

⁵ Abridged and translated. Philadelphia, J. M. Campbell and Co. (1843).

⁶ xx, 81. "The Inquisition in Spain with Anecdotes of some of its More Illustrious Victims."

⁷ i, 129.

⁸ iii, 328. One may add to the foregoing display of interest that regarding the book and author evinced by such early American scholars in the field of Spanish literature as George Ticknor. Ticknor, writing from Paris, spoke of Llorente as "my Friend" and said that he was grateful to Llorente for having given him introductions to distinguished Spanish men of letters and for having directed him to rare and important books in French libraries. *George Ticknor's Travels in Spain*, ed. G. T. Northrup, Univ. of Toronto (1913), 37 and 50.

some significance in establishing Poe's acquaintance with Llorente's work rests in the fact that the issuing in 1843 of the Philadelphia edition coincides in time and place with the appearing of *The Pit and the Pendulum*.

More conclusive evidence of Poe's knowledge of this Llorente material centers about similarities in ideas that exist between it and the content of his story, and above all, involves the fact that certain of these similarities include a chain of events of such extraordinary horror that one can hardly question a dependence on Poe's part. The opening scene of *The Pit and the Pendulum*, in a chamber where the officers of the Inquisition were assembled, bears in detail a striking resemblance to a passage found in the *Blackwood* review of Llorente's work. In both instances, black cloth drapes the walls of a chamber dimly lighted with candles, where a prisoner of the Inquisition faces his judges. The Llorente material reads thus:

It was a large apartment underground, vaulted, hung round with black cloth, and dimly lighted by candles placed in candle-sticks fastened to the wall. At one end was a closed place, like a closet, where the Inquisitor in attendance and the notary sat at a table; so that the place seemed . . . the very mansion of death, everything being calculated to inspire terror.*

Poe at the beginning of his story recreates this scene. The black cloth, draping the walls, becomes "sable draperies . . . inwrapping the walls of the apartment softly and imperceptibly waving;" the candles dimly burning become seven tall candles, that to the fainting prisoner change from "white slender angels who would save him" first to "meaningless spectres with heads of flame" and finally to "tall candles that sank into nothingness" their light gone out utterly.

The closing scene in the story connects itself with certain events that surrounded the overthrow of the Inquisition. According to Llorente,¹⁰ in 1808 Napoleon's army invaded Spain, and the same year the Inquisition was suppressed. Poe may be employing these details at the close of his story when he causes his prisoner in the Inquisitorial dungeon to be rescued by a French officer. The story

* xx, 81. The *Blackwood* critic says that he took the above passage from Limborch, a writer on the Inquisition, but that Llorente bears testimony to its general accuracy.

¹⁰ Llorente, *op. cit.* (1826), 565.

ends on the note—"The French army had entered Toledo. The Inquisition was in the hands of its enemies."

In the case of the incident dealing with the pendulum Poe's following of Llorente is even more exact.¹¹ In both, a prisoner of the Inquisition lies, tightly bound, in the path of a slowly descending pendulum. In both, the prisoner endures mental agony, as he eyes the keen-cutting edge, coming nearer and nearer. Both descriptions dwell on a threatened slow-cutting process. In Llorente, the pendulum was to cut "the skin of the nose and gradually" to cut on "until life is extinct." In Poe the pendulum is to cut through the region of the heart. In both, the prisoner is rescued from this particular torture. Poe has here strictly adhered to the outline of horrors found in the Llorente material. He, however, vivifies the bare outline by adding to it painful sensations of sound, smell, taste, and color. For example, he points the rod of the pendulum with a flashing steel crescent and thus describes its descent as it "hisses through the air." "Inch by inch down and still down it came. It swept so closely over me as to fan me with its acrid breath. The odor of sharp steel forced itself into my nostrils . . . I grew frantically mad and struggled to force myself upward against the sweep of the mighty cimeter. And then I fell suddenly calm and lay smiling at the glittering death."

The foregoing evidence shows Poe's manifest dependence on the Llorente material for the opening and closing scenes in his story, as well as for the horrible incident dealing with the pendulum.

This dependence in the question of subject-matter leads to a discussion of Poe's use of the same material for the purpose of unifying all the sources that he wove into his story. It must of course be admitted that Poe overloaded his narrative with events. In employing the number of sources that he did, he may have

¹¹ The events that follow are said to have taken place in 1820 and thus followed the reinstatement of the Inquisition. They were not, therefore, contained in the first edition of Llorente's work. They do appear, however, in the preface to the English edition of 1826 and in the *Museum* review. Professor Killis Campbell says that a source for "The Pit and the Pendulum" appeared in a newspaper ("Poe's Reading," *Studies in English*, Univ. of Texas Bulletin, Oct., 1925, 168). He may have reference to this passage which would very likely have been reprinted from Llorente's work in any newspaper of the time. Professor Campbell does not give a direct reference.

been challenging his skill as a literary craftsman to reduce a multiplicity of elements into a harmonious uniformity. On this point it is significant to note that he published *The Pit and the Pendulum* in the midst of his most critical and creative interest in plot development. Two years before the publication of the story (that is, in 1841) Poe had penetrated into Aristotle's explanation of plot structure where he found that the main feature of an excellent plot lies in its parts being organically dependent one upon another.¹² Poe philosophized upon the idea of this relationship;¹³ later, in 1848, in his work *Eureka*, he endeavored to confirm the truth of the idea by scientific demonstration;¹⁴ and consistently during his literary work of these years, he used the idea as a standard in criticism. This theory of plot structure, in its application to the writing of *The Pit and the Pendulum*, can be seen to good advantage if all the known sources for the story are viewed in their reactions one upon another, that is, if the parts dealing with accidents, adventure, and personal vengeance are considered under the dominating influence of terror resulting from the Inquisition. In order that Poe's procedure may be thus brought into the foreground, it will be necessary for one to have before him all the known materials with which Poe worked.

At this juncture it should be said that, to my knowledge, no attempt has as yet been made to account for the rôle played by the rats,¹⁵ either in their infesting the dungeon, particularly the pit, or in their being the gruesome means whereby the prisoner freed himself from his bonds as he lay under the sweep of the deadly pendulum. The known materials, however, consist of a medley of passages found in short stories, books, and critical reviews. "The Iron Shroud," a tale of personal revenge, in *Blackwood*, for example, described the crushing of a victim by the iron

¹² Alterton, *op. cit.*, 77. In 1839, in "How to Write a Blackwood Story," Poe satirized a terrorizing experience with a pendulum. He may, at that time, have known of the pendulum, and was attempting, by his satire, to show more dependence on plot structure and less on terror of the incident.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 128.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, cf. chapter entitled: Unity, a Scientific Law in the Physical World.

¹⁵ One might see in the experience of the Bishop of Mentz in the Rhine legend entitled "The Mouse Tower" a possible source for this element. See *Knickerbocker* (1837), x, 403.

walls and ceiling of his dungeon drawing together by means of secret machinery. This account unquestionably furnished Poe with the particulars of his decreasing dungeon.¹⁶ Another tale from the same periodical, "The Man in the Bell," a story of a terrifying accident, detailed the experience of a man, who, through miscalculated plans, lay prostrate under a ponderous iron bell as it swung back and forth an inch above his face. Maddened by the clanging noise, the man imagined that he saw in the cavern of the bell, hideous faces with terrifying frowns and the devil with "hoof, horn, and eyes of infernal lustre;" and he raved in a panic of frenzied terror. This account suggested to Poe the hideous pictures of demons that the prisoner saw on the walls of his dungeon,¹⁷ and also gave him content for the raving of the prisoner as he lay under the swinging pendulum.¹⁸ Charles Brockden Brown's *Edgar Huntley* told of a man, in total darkness, arms outstretched, immured in a rocky cave, who wandered around the walls of his prison counting one hundred paces and fainted at the brink of a yawning pit. This story of adventure and accident gave Poe material for the efforts of his prisoner to explore the dungeon and for the existence of the pit in the story.¹⁹ The materials from the

¹⁶ Alterton, *op. cit.*, 27.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁸ D. L. Clark, "The Sources of Poe's 'The Pit and the Pendulum,'" *MLN.*, XLIV (1929), 351. Professor Clark, in view of the Llorente material which this article has, I believe, established as a source, inadequately treats the pendulum incident. He in no way connects it with Inquisitorial torture. Instead, he sees the prototype of the pendulum in the swinging bell, following the account of "The Man in the Bell." It is unquestionably true that the raving of the victim under the bell resembles the raving of the prisoner under the pendulum, but the outline of horrors connected with the pendulum originated not in the *Blackwood* story, as Professor Clark supposes, but in the Llorente material as it was given either in Llorente's *History* or in the *Museum* review.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Professor Clark mentions as a probable source for the Inquisition elements in Poe's story chapter XIV of *Edgar Huntley* in which Weymouth tells of his ill treatment at the hands of the Spanish monks and of his final rescue by a French doctor (*ibid.*, 352-3). Although this may have been suggestive to Poe, it lacks the description of the Inquisitorial chamber and the list of horrors accorded by the Llorente material and therefore could not have been the sole source. Professor Clark does not treat the Inquisition as basic in Poe's narrative.

critical reviews and Llorente's *History* itself have already been presented. Poe's task was to adapt these sources to each other.

The tying together of these various sources may now be considered. Although conscious of one effect produced by the story—that of the horror of the Inquisition—the reader can, if he reads the story in the light of the sources that have just been detailed, easily assign the component parts to their originals. The only obstacle he will encounter will be in the case of the unknown source involving the rats, to which reference has been made. For example, he will assign:

| | |
|--|---|
| the opening scene | to the Llorente material (<i>Blackwood</i> review) |
| the pit | to <i>Edgar Huntley</i> |
| the pendulum | to the Llorente material |
| the hideous pictures which the prisoner sees on the walls of his dungeon | to "The Man in the Bell" (<i>Blackwood</i> tale) |
| the raving of the prisoner lying under the sweeping pendulum | to "The Man in the Bell" (<i>Blackwood</i> tale) |
| the decreasing dungeon | to "The Iron Shroud" (<i>Blackwood</i> tale) |
| the closing scene | to the Llorente material |

Plainly, Poe intended the Inquisition to stand as the center-point in his story. To this end, he used the Llorente material to give shape to what was doubtless an unwieldy mass of selected passages, for, as has been shown, he placed parts of it at the beginning and end of his piece. Moreover, into the terrors assailing the victim of accident and adventure in the pit, of miscalculated plans under the swinging bell, and of revenge in the decreasing dungeon, Poe insinuated the terror peculiar to the Inquisition. He thus caused this type of terror to permeate these horrors and so unite the multiplicity of parts into one experience of a most unhappy prisoner who suffered at the hands of the Secret Tribunal.

This study has, I hope, enlarged the notion of what comprised Poe's source materials for the composition of "The Pit and the Pendulum." It has added to the sources already brought forward as background reading for his story certain selections that had as their central interest Juan Antonio Llorente's *History of the Spanish Inquisition*. Of most importance in the study, however,

has been the attempt to show how clearly this additional source permits a demonstration of Poe's effort to identify his critical theory with his conscious practice.

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POE'S METZINGERSTEIN

The story *Metzengerstein* by Edgar Allan Poe, first published in the *Philadelphia Saturday Courier* on January 14, 1832,¹ presents several episodes worthy of comment, chief among which is the animation of a noble charger represented on a tapestry in Castle Metzengerstein.

The reader will recall that at the opening of the story, the young Baron Frederick of Metzengerstein is pictured in an upper chamber of the Palace calmly watching the conflagration of a rival's castle. In the meantime, his attention is drawn to a tapestry which represents a scene in the traditional feud between the two families: A Saracen ancestor of Berlitzing is unhorsed and about to perish by the dagger of a Metzengerstein. Closer scrutiny by the Baron reveals the astounding fact that the head of the riderless horse seems, during the interval, to have changed position! The sequel to this incident is the almost immediate appearance of a mysterious horse in the courtyard and the disappearance of that portion of the tapestry occupied by the animal, attended by other portentous circumstances. There follows a "perverse" attachment between the young Baron Metzengerstein and the strange steed which finally plunges, with the Baron, into the flames of the burning Palace Metzengerstein.

Clearly the animal is a demon-horse, an embodiment, as it were, of the avenging nemesis that finally overtakes the impious Baron. It is equally certain that the origin of the animal is no common feature and would require some comment. The motive is not one of folklore pure and simple, for however large there may loom in folk-tales, ancient and modern, animated statues, painted figures of men and beasts that come to life and step out of their canvas and frame, they are not the subject of popular fiction which seems

¹ Hervey Allen, *Israfel*, New York, 1927, I, 326.

rather to have recoiled from the inherent improbability of such a theme. The same cannot be said about the fancy of the pre-romantic and romantic writers, who have, on the contrary, given such incidents a fair prominence in their works of fiction.²

Most important, probably, as Poe's direct model, are certain episodes in Hoffmann's *Die Eliziere des Teufels*.³ A strikingly suggestive passage occurs near the end of the story when Medardus, the Capuchin monk, witnesses in the church the murder of the young novice, Aurelie. At this crisis, he is aware of a figure standing at his side, one he has often seen before—the old artist in the violet cloak (really his father). The people cry:

Mirakel, Mirakel! . . . Seht ihr wohl den alten Mann im violetten Mantel? der ist *aus dem Bilde* des Hochaltars herabgestiegen—ich habe es gesehen—ich auch, ich auch—riefen mehrere Stimmen durch einander.⁴

Less important, but still interesting in this connection is the passage where Medardus describes his feelings on hearing the monks sing the *Gloria*:

. . . war es nicht, als öffne sich die Wolkenglorie über dem Hochaltar?—ja, als ergluthen durch ein göttliches Wunder die gemalten Cherubim und Seraphim zum Leben und schwebten auf und nieder, Gott lobpreisend mit Gesang und wunderbarem Saitenspiel?⁵

In addition, Francesco's own story of the effect of the Elixir upon him when painting the portrait of the Holy Rosalia:

. . . "Auch du musst kommen, meine geliebte Göttin, du musst leben und mein sein, oder ich weihe mich den unterirdischen Göttern!" Da erblickte er Frau Venus, dicht vor dem Bilde stehend, und ihm freundlich zuwinkend.⁶

Further, in the document left by the old artist, is described his vision as he prays at sundown:

Aber, so wie Flammen verblassten im grauen Abendnebel gewahrte Francesco in den Lüften einen leuchtenden Rosenschimmer, der sich bald zu gestalten begann.⁷

² Cf. *The Castle of Otranto*, Ch. I; *The Monk*, Ch. II; *The Betrothed*, Ch. VI; *The Antiquary*, Ch. X.

³ E. A. T. Hoffmann, "Die Eliziere des Teufels," in *Gesammelte Werke*, Leipzig, 1900, II, 7-282.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 274.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 225.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 15.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 228.

As Poe's debt to Hoffmann is generally conceded and that his plots and incidents closely resemble those of the German romanticist, we may reasonably conclude that the device of the animated horse was also most probably the direct outcome of his readings in the works of E. A. T. Hoffmann—such as had by this time been translated into English.⁸

For the malevolent character of the steed, we should likewise look in vain in the wide realm of folk-lore: horses that rush into the fire are conspicuous for their absence. Such a reaction, common in the case of sheep which are known to follow their leader into the flames, is foreign to the nature of the horse. If a "fire-horse" is thus unknown to folk-lore, there is certainly no dearth of other uncanny horses bearing their riders to destruction. The classic example is the lost legend of the infernal horse, Erion, which disappeared with its master, Adrastus, into a hill devoted to the chthonian powers.⁹ Even more to the point is the story of King Theodoric, the famous Dietrich of Berne, examined not so long ago by an American scholar.¹⁰ Its main features are echoed in Poe's tale.

This by no means simple legend, as well as its Persian prototype, is, in the last analysis, based upon an extremely simple and widely spread folk-tale, namely, that of a water-horse (kelpie) coming out of a pool or lake, or even out of the sea, allowing itself to be mounted only to plunge again into the water with its rider. The tale exists in numerous variants, hailing chiefly from the Celtic and Teutonic countries in Western, Central, and Northern Europe; but it was, or still is, current in the Mediterranean coun-

⁸ On Poe reading Hoffmann at the Baltimore Public Library during precisely this period of his life, probably in English translation, cf. Allen (*op. cit.*, I, 341), though Palmer Cobb argued earlier for Poe's knowledge of the German language; cf. his "The Influence of E. A. T. Hoffmann on the Tales of Edgar Allan Poe," *SP*, III (1908), 24, as had A. Gruener before him in *MP*, II, 125. Stedman and Woodberry (I, cix) see in Metzengerstein in particular the influence of Hoffmann's tale, *Das Majorat*. On this point, cf. also Gruener's discussion in *PMLA*, XIX (1904), 17, and Cobb (*op. cit.*, p. 10).

⁹ L. Malten, "Das Pferd im Totenglauben," in *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archæologischen Institut*, XXIX (1914), 179-225. Cf. also N. Steller, *Zeitschrift f. Volkskunde*, II (1930), 61-71; A. H. Krappe, *Revue Celtique*, XLIX (1932), 96-108.

¹⁰ A. H. Krappe, *Le Moyen Age*, XXXVIII (1928), 190-207.

tries and in the Near East as well.¹¹ This water-horse of folk-lore Poe deliberately changed into a "fire-horse." There are many reasons to make it likely that he was familiar with the Scottish kelpie superstition; the influence of Scottish lore upon our author is generally admitted, since he doubtless heard many of these traditions from the old people of Irvine during his stay in Ayreshire.¹²

There is one more feature in Poe's tale deserving of some attention. Our author leaves no doubt that the fatal horse was really animated by the spirit of the old Baron of Berliftzing, burned to death in his own castle, who thus revenges himself upon his murderer. The rôle of the horse as a typically chthonian animal is well known, thanks largely to Malten's masterly study.¹³ It may be worth noting, therefore, that European folk-lore does indeed know of the apparition of dead persons, especially murdered victims and suicides, in the shape of ghostly horses foreboding evil.¹⁴ However, we should look in vain in folk-lore for an outright act of such a demon-horse. The romantic author has "improved" the folk-lore *données*, thus adding to the poignancy, though also to the artificiality of his tale.

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WORDSWORTH IN AMERICA

Wordsworth's influence on the romantic, transcendental writers in America was so natural and real that it seems to have focused attention on his trans-atlantic reputation during the second quarter of the nineteenth century to the exclusion of the earlier period. It is my intention here to give some indication of the immediate reception of *Lyrical Ballads* in this country and so provide a prefatory note to Miss Annabel Newton's *Wordsworth in Early American Criticism*.¹

¹¹ Cf. A. H. Krappe, *The Science of Folk-Lore*, London, 1930, p. 79.

¹² Hervey Allen, *op. cit.*, I, 290.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 196.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

¹ Chicago, 1928. The early issues of the Philadelphia *Port Folio* which contain this material were not available to Miss Newton. Their omission from her bibliography explains the inaccuracy of the following summary of her findings: "He [Wordsworth] did not achieve immediate favor with

Miss Newton believes that the America of about 1800 was too busy overcoming obstacles and making a nation of itself to bother about Wordsworth, and although this may be largely true, it is at the same time quite false in its implication that this early America was not a composite of individuals, groups of whom were vigorously independent of the experiences of the whole. Of these groups there was one, reactionary in politics, conservative in outlook, and intensely concerned with developing a national culture closely akin to that of England, which was led by Joseph Dennie, "the American Addison," who for the first ten years of the nineteenth century was the most influential man of letters in America. To its members and its leader the poet (but not the philosopher) Wordsworth could and did have an immediate appeal.

Dennie, in his *Farmers Museum*, recognized the worth of *Lyrical Ballads* soon after the volume's first appearance and, as editor of the *Gazette of the U. S.*, continued his recommendation of the new poet to his readers, reprinting "We are Seven" in the latter periodical on August 9, 1800.² But it was with the establishment of the Philadelphia *Port Folio*, probably the most truly national of all the early American literary periodicals,³ that his support of Wordsworth becomes most interesting and significant. In January, 1801, the first month of its existence, the *Port Folio* placed its stamp of approval on this little known volume of poems, reprinting "Simon Lee" with the following editorial note:

The Public may remember reading in some of our news papers the interesting little ballads of "We are Seven" and "Goody Blake and Harry Gill." They were extracted from LYRICAL BALLADS, a collection remarkable for originality, simplicity and nature, to which Mr. Wordsworth of St. John's College, Oxford, is a principal contributor.⁴

the publication of *Lyrical Ballads* in 1798. Before 1824 some of the American people had read Wordsworth's poems. Of this number, only a few admired and approved; and they were afraid to express their opinions." P. 1.

² Ellis, Harold M., *Joseph Dennie and his Circle* (U. of Texas Studies in English, No. 3. Austin, 1915), pp. 104, 131.

³ From its beginning the *Port Folio* had an unusually large subscription list which covered the entire country from Maine to Georgia and westward to the Ohio.

⁴ 1, iii (Jan. 17, 1801), 24. Dennie consistently identified Wordsworth with Oxford.

Two months later Dennie again brought Wordsworth before the eyes of his readers, devoting a comparatively large portion of his journal to reprinting "The Thorn."⁵ This was followed in June by a reproduction of the *British Critic's* favorable review of the 1800 volumes accompanied by another editorial comment:

We have had frequent occasion in the course of our literary selections, to express the warmest admiration of the genius, spirit and simplicity of "Lyrical Ballads," a volume which contains more genuine poetry than is to be found, except in the volumes of SHAKESPEARE and CHATTERTON.—The "LITERARY" article, borrowed from the *British Critic*, and inserted in our front pages, corroborates the partiality of the editor for the talents of Mr. Wordsworth. The second volume of these "Ballads" has been ordered from England, and when the editor shall have received a copy, it will be in his power to adorn his pages with *gems* of a soft and permanent lustre.⁶

The borrowed criticism had contained samples of Wordsworth's poems ("Strange fits of passion," "She dwelt among th' untrodden ways," and selections from "The Brothers," "The Poet's Epitaph," and "To Joanna"), and Dennie followed these with further reprints from the 1798 volume. By July, when he printed the "Anecdote for Fathers" and "The Mad Mother,"⁷ some six thousand American readers had been given the opportunity and stimulus to acquaint themselves with a large portion of Wordsworth's published work.⁸

In December the awaited new poems had arrived and enabled Dennie to give further expression to his admiration while introducing his new favorites to the public:

The following delightful fable ["The Waterfall and the Eglantine"], and the subsequent poems ["Lucy Gray" and "Andrew Jones"], are from the magical pen of WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, a genuine poet, who judiciously employs the language of simplicity and NATURE, to express the tones of

⁵ I, xi (March 21, 1801), 94-5.

⁶ I, xxiv (June 13, 1801), 191. The *Critic* article appeared on pp. 188-9.

⁷ I, xxix, 232.

⁸ I take Dennie's own circulation figure as accepted by Frank L. Mott in *A History of American Magazines* (New York, 1930, 227) and multiply it by the conventional modern estimate of three readers for each subscriber. As a matter of fact, in 1801 the proportion of readers was probably much greater.

passion; who has forsaken the necromantic realms of German extravagance, and the torrid zone of Della Cruscan ardour, and has recalled erring readers "from sounds to things, from fancy to the heart."⁹

By this time Dennie's enthusiasm had borne fruit in the decision of a Philadelphia publishing firm (with which the editor of the *Port Folio* was not connected) to produce an American edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, and Dennie publicly welcomed and advertised the accomplished project:

The popularity of Wordsworth's Ballads increases every hour. We are confident, that Messrs. Humphreys and Groff, the praise-worthy publishers of poetry, not unworthy the muse of CHATTERTON, will be amply remunerated for their care and expense in publishing a complete and neat edition of verses, which will *outlive their century*.¹⁰

Then for that year Wordsworth's enthusiastic advocate left the poet's American reputation in the hands of his more formal publishers.

On January 1 of the following year, however, Wordsworth was back in the columns of the *Port Folio*, though indirectly by way of a contribution by an anonymous American whose stanzas, Dennie held, must be admired by "all who have a taste for that charming simplicity, with which a WORDSWORTH has taught us to believe, the most poetical ideas may be conveyed."¹¹ Some months later Dennie printed Coleridge's "Love," attributing it to Wordsworth and saying of the supposed author:

Wordsworth is a favorite poet, because, as Prior somewhere says, he talks like a *man of this world*. He is an intelligible and feeling writer. His description of the passion of Love, in the following Poem is so exact, that it cannot fail to please, those who admire the true, as well as the beautiful, and the two stanzas, preceding the last, will be remembered by all, who have been clasped to the bosom of Beauty.¹²

Apparently Wordsworth had become by this time an "established poet," at least in the "Oldschool" circle. At any rate, it was nearly a year before Dennie took occasion to reaffirm his enthusiasm and publish another selection from *Lyrical Ballads*. In March, 1804, "The Oak and the Broom" appeared preceded by the following note:

⁹ I, li, 408.

¹⁰ II, viii (Feb. 27, 1802), 62. This second reference to Chatterton perhaps calls for the explanation that in America at this time Chatterton was generally considered as representative of the highest genius in English poetry. ¹¹ III, i (Jan. 1, 1803), 7, ¹² III, xxvii (July 2, 1803), 96.

We are very enthusiastic admirers of the genius of Mr. Wordsworth, an Oxford scholar, an original poet, and, as it appears, an amiable and humane man. He seems to have found or made a new walk in poetry, and we doubt not he will have many admiring followers. We cannot refrain from adding, that his Lyrical Ballads have reached the *third* edition in a very short period, and that a majority of critics, as well as readers of taste, have agreed that he has, like Gay, discovered the secret of exhibiting the most pleasing and most interesting thoughts in the simplest expression.¹³

A change in tone is fairly evident in the last two notes, but a more trustworthy indication of Wordsworth's established position is to be found in the elaborate, friendly parody entitled "A Lyrical Ballad" which appeared in the leading article for August 18, 1804.¹⁴ Robert H. Rose, making his contribution in the rôle of a countryman "R. Shallow," professes to have "got a very pretty book to read, and felt that the author and I felt exactly alike." The author was "the celebrated Mr. Wordsworth," and in presenting his own masterpiece Shallow also presents complete notes indicating parallels in the writings of this "much admired" poet. Showing an intimate knowledge of Wordsworth's poetry and expecting something similar from his readers, he quotes from (but does not name) "The Idiot Boy," "We are Seven," "Lines written in Early Spring," "Anecdote for Fathers," "Goody Blake," "The Thorn," "Strange Fits of Passion," "Tintern Abbey," "Heartleap Well," "The Mad Mother," "It was an April Morning," "Ruth," and "Joanna." It would seem that his effort was a local success, for two months later there appeared another parody by Shallow, this time on the "Lines written in Germany" and preceded by the original.¹⁵

Having established "a favorite poet" in a position sufficiently high to invite successful burlesque, the editor of the *Port Folio* allowed his public attention to Wordsworth to lapse until the 1807 *Poems in Two Volumes* appeared. He greeted them briefly: "Wm. Wordsworth has published two volumes of poems. We hope that he does not *continue to strike the very base string of humility*."¹⁶ This is a notice of the type frequently printed by Dennie soon after he had looked over the latest English periodicals, and it may

¹³ iv, xii (March 24, 1804), 96.

¹⁴ iv, xxxiii, 257-8. The author is identified by Ellis, *op. cit.*, 177.

¹⁵ iv, xliii (Oct. 27, 1804), 342-3.

¹⁶ 2nd series, iv, xx (Nov. 14, 1807), 308.

have been inspired by the review of Wordsworth's poems in the August *Critical Review*, the earliest criticism he is likely to have seen and one which found the author to be debasing himself to the level of the Idiot Boy. Closely behind this came vigorous disapproval from the *Edinburgh*, followed by similar expressions, during the next two years, from the *Eclectic*, the *Edinburgh* again, and the *British Critic* in two successive numbers.¹⁷ The unanimity with which the arbiters of British, and hence Dennie's, taste damned Wordsworth must have discouraged his American advocate. At any rate, he seems never to have thought it worth while to dare the confusion of the Embargo with an order for two such doubtful volumes. There is no evidence that he ever saw them. His final mention of Wordsworth, made as a comment on a contributed parody, is only an epitome of the strictures by British critics:

Some of Mr. Wordsworth's earlier effusions of poetical genius were certainly not unworthy of the muse. But, of late, he has extended so far his theory of simplicity in writing that it degenerates into burlesque and puerility.¹⁸

In the years of his enthusiasm Dennie had made a great contribution to Wordsworth's American reputation—he had recommended his excellences throughout the entire United States and had placed generous samples of his work before the group of readers who were most interested in the development of good literature and discriminating critical taste. The cooling of his ardor was by no means strange; for by a curious irony of fate the American critics who appreciated the author of the "Intimations Ode" flourished in the time of the Poet Laureate, and the contemporary of the more youthful poet was a devotee to correctness and an enemy of all innovations. Oliver Oldschool (as Dennie called himself) was a friend of "Anacreon" Moore and an admirer of the eighteenth century. Led by his good taste into an admiration for Wordsworth's art, he recognized the artist only as an "amiable and humane man"; and when a new expression of this art was de-

¹⁷ See Smith, Elsie, *An Estimate of William Wordsworth by his Contemporaries* (Oxford, 1932), 69-107, for a convenient reprint of the criticisms of the 1807 *Poems*. I have mentioned only those journals from which the *Port Folio* habitually quoted.

¹⁸ New series, III (May, 1810), 438.

nounced by critics whose decisions he respected there remained nothing which would compel him to question their judgment.

Pomona College

LEON HOWARD

CRASHAW'S PAINTINGS AT CAMBRIDGE

The erection of the new library at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1624 soon led to the gift of valuable books and of money to the Library. In order to record and commemorate these benefactions, a handsome manuscript volume, called the *Μνημόσυρον* or *Liber Memorialis* was prepared.¹ The college account book for 1627 records payment to Mr. Scott for "three dozen vellum ruling and squaring and frontispiece," work done on the volume. The title page bears the date 1628; but additions continued to be made long after. In 1671, for example, John Ivory, the herald painter, was paid for putting in nine coats of arms.

We know from the Preface of *Steps to the Temple* that Crashaw made "drawing, limning, graving" the "recreations for vacant hours." Thomas Carr's "Epigramme" prefixed to *Carmen Deo Nostro* tells us that the pictures which accompany the poems were "first made with his owne hand" by Crashaw; but the truth of this statement has been called into serious question by Martin,² who allows but two of the twelve to represent Crashaw's drawings.

Meanwhile no one has called attention to the presence, in the *Liber Memorialis* of St. John's College, of three paintings undeniably from the poet's hand. In the college account book, under the heading, "Expensae Bibliothecae," the following entry occurs: "Given by the M^r of Seniors appointment to S^r Crashaw of Pembroke Hall for drawing three pictures in the booke of Benefactors to the Library July 11, 1635 xiiij^l vijs viij^d [thirteen pounds, six shillings, eight pence]."³ "S^r" is the equivalent of "Ds."

¹ A. F. Torrey, *Founders and Benefactors of St. John's College* (Cambridge, 1888), 23-4.

² *The Poems of Richard Crashaw*, ed. L. C. Martin (Oxford, 1929), xlviii.

³ Torrey, *op. cit.*, 23; Baker, *History of the College of St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge*, ed. Mayor, 338, and M. R. James, *St. John's College Library Manuscripts*, 335, all cite in varying degrees of fullness Baker's copy (MS. Harl. 7047) of the entry relating to the payment of Crashaw. The

(Dominus), or Bachelor of Arts.⁴ Crashaw took his degree in 1634. He was still at Pembroke in July, 1635, not taking up his residence across the street at Peterhouse till November. The full-page pictures are copies of portraits belonging to the College, of King Charles, Archbishop Williams, and Lady Margaret.⁵ The first two are painted on canvas attached to the parchment pages: the last is painted directly on the parchment.⁶ That "drawing" is not to be taken literally, as exclusive of painting, may be inferred from the fact that the account book uses the same verb in recording payment to the herald painters. The colors of Crashaw's pictures are still fresh and warm. It cannot be said that the copies show a hand of extraordinary skill or even delicacy: they are the work of an amateur of talent. Thomas Carr, in the "Epigramme" prefixed to *Carmen Deo Nostro*, calls Crashaw's pictures

fruites of pure nature; where no art
Did lead the untaught pensill. . . .

That Crashaw was summoned in from another college to do them might be taken to imply that his talent was generally recognized in Cambridge. But on the other hand, his father had been a loyal St. John's man, interested in the enrichment of the new library;⁷ and it may well have been this connexion which was responsible.

Boston University

AUSTIN WARREN

Master of St. John's College (R. F. Scott, Esq.) kindly copied out the item from the College account book (1634-5) for me.

⁴ Cf. Torrey, *op. cit.*, 23. And cf. the title of Crashaw's poem "Upon two greene Apricookes sent to Cowley by Sir Crashaw."

⁵ Cf. A. Freeman, "Our Portrait Pictures," *St. John's College Eagle*, XI, nos. 61 and 62; XII, no. 65.

⁶ The three average a foot long and nine inches wide.

For his kind permission to examine Crashaw's paintings in the *Liber Memorialis* I am indebted to the Librarian of St. John's (Dr. Previté-Orton).

⁷ William Crashaw was admitted to the College in the status of sizar in May 1591, and was made Fellow in 1593/4. In need of money and eager to enrich the library of St. John's, he induced the Earl of Southampton to purchase from him, for the library, about 2000 printed books and almost 200 volumes of manuscripts. Crashaw's letters to Southampton and Dr. Gwynn concerning the transfer of his library were printed in *St. John's Eagle*, XXIII, 22-5. For an account of Wm. Crashaw's connexion with the Library, cf. M. R. James, *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge* (1913), vi-viii.

TO WHOM WERE DEDICATED THE *FABLES*
OF MARIE DE FRANCE?

Marie de France dedicated her *Fables* to *le cunte Willalme, le plus vaillant de cest reialme*.¹ The identity of this nobleman is obviously of great importance in any attempt to date the *Fables*. The latest scholarly opinion seems to favor either William Longsword, earl of Salisbury, or William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, as Marie's *cunte Willalme*.² Both were noted for valor, and both had extensive landed interests in Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire which might have brought them into contact with the abbess of Shaftsbury whom Fox has sought to identify with Marie de France.³ William Longsword was created earl of Salisbury in 1196 or 1197, shortly after the death of his father-in-law, William fitz Patrick, earl of Salisbury.⁴ In 1189 William Marshal married the daughter of Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, and acquired her extensive fiefs.⁵ During the years 1189 to 1199 he was occasionally styled earl as a courtesy, but it was not until the latter date that he was formally invested with the earldom of Pembroke.⁶ Hence if either of these barons is to be accepted as the recipient of Marie's dedication, the date of the *Fables* must certainly be placed after 1189 and probably after 1196.

Gaston Paris and Karl Warnke accepted 1180 as the date of the *Fables*, apparently oblivious of the fact that William Longsword, whom they both accepted as *cunte Willalme*, was not an earl at that time.⁷ Erich Nagel noticed this inconsistency and solved

¹ Epilogue lines 9-10.

² For a very full summary of speculation on this question see Erich Nagel, *Romanische Forschungen*, XLIV (1930), 4-12. See also Julian Harris, *Marie de France: The Lays . . .*, (Publications of the Institute of French Studies, New York, 1930), pp. 24-25.

³ John Fox, *English Historical Review*, XXV (1910), 303-306. Fox emphasizes William Longsword's interests in this region, but William Marshal also had extensive lands there. See *Domesday Book* (Record Commission), under William d'Ou whose honor William Marshal held.

⁴ Roger of Hovedon (ed. William Stubbs, *Rolls Series*), IV, 13. *Pipe Roll* 8, Richard I, *Pipe Roll Society*, new series, VIII, 208.

⁵ Benedict of Peterborough (ed. Stubbs, *Rolls Series*), II, 73.

⁶ Roger of Hovedon, IV, 90.

⁷ Gaston Paris, *La Littérature française au moyen âge* (7th edition), p. 274. Karl Warnke, *Die Lais der Marie de France* (Halle, 1925), p. XX.

it by placing the *Fables* after 1198.⁸ Obviously an equally effective solution would have been to find a new *cunte Willalme* who would be consistent with Paris' and Warnke's date. There were a number of earls named William in the reign of Henry II, and one of them seems to merit particular attention. Why did Marie fail to specify which of the Earl Williams of her day she intended to honor? I suspect that the answer is that during the years 1167 to 1189 "Earl William" meant to every Englishman William de Mandeville, earl of Essex.⁹

My belief that *cunte Willalme* could only refer to William de Mandeville is based on the system of nomenclature used by the clerks of the exchequer in drawing up the Pipe Roll. In this work brevity was desirable, clarity and accuracy absolutely necessary. There must be no doubt as to who owed the king money. Hence if clerks occasionally referred to a certain baron as "Earl William," it seems certain that this brief designation left no uncertainty in men's minds as to who was meant. Now a close examination of the nine Pipe Rolls between 1167 and 1175 furnishes twenty-seven references to "Earl William."¹⁰ In twenty-one of these cases one can prove conclusively that "Earl William" was William de Mandeville, earl of Essex.¹¹ The other six cases are less certain, but they must have referred to the same person or the record would have been of little value.¹² At the same time the exchequer clerks were using different designations for other earls named William. Earl William of Gloucester, Earl William of Salisbury, and William d'Aubigny, earl of Arundel, were called respectively earl of Gloucester, Earl William son of Earl Patrick, and earl of Arundel.¹³ In short it seems certain that "Earl William" was for the officials and clerks of the exchequer a perfectly ample designa-

⁸ *Romanische Forschungen*, XLIV (1930), 27.

⁹ He has been suggested as Marie's *cunte Willalme* by Ahlstrom, *Studier i den fornfranska lais-litteraturen* (Upsala, 1892), p. 38, note 1. Cf. Foulet's review in *Romania*, XLIX (1923), 133. Ahlstrom later suggested and advanced arguments in favor of Earl William of Gloucester, see his *Marie de France et Les Lais Narratifs* (Göteborg, 1925), pp. 13-16.

¹⁰ *Pipe Rolls* 13-21, Henry II, *Pipe Roll Society*, XI, XII, XIII, XV, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XXI, XXII.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XI 10, 152. XII 35, 39. XIII 121, 122, 128. XV 103, 105. XVI 118. XVIII 39. XIX 12. XXI 38, 67, 73, 87, 118, 133. XXII 2, 5, 71.

¹² *Ibid.*, XI 106, 164. XIII 126. XVIII 43 bis. XXI 10.

¹³ *Ibid.*, XI 35, 141. XIII 17.

tion for Earl William de Mandeville.¹⁴ As their nomenclature had to be intelligible to the sheriffs, escheators, and other royal agents in the shires, one might reasonably assume that it corresponded to the general usage of the day.

William de Mandeville succeeded his brother as earl of Essex in 1167 and died in 1189.¹⁵ He was high in the favor of Henry II, and Richard I appointed him justiciar of England.¹⁶ As the son-in-law and eventual successor of William, count d'Aumale, he had extensive interests in Normandy.¹⁷ Not only was he the crusading companion of that mirror of chivalry Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders, but he is the only non-royal Englishman in the list of patrons of men-of-letters given by Guiot de Provins in his *Bible*.¹⁸ The possibility that he was Marie's *cunte Willalme* seems to me to merit far more serious consideration than it has hitherto received.

SIDNEY PAINTER

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SOLAS IN THE MILLER'S TALE

Mr. Collins, in his note on the meaning of *solas* in *The Miller's Tale*,¹ has overlooked in favor of an ingenious definition of *solas* an obsolete meaning of the word *visit*. In *NED* it is defined thus: "11. To supply or enrich *with* some benefit." *Solas*, which Skeat glosses *pleasure, solace, diversion*, may, of course, be used in the sense of "that which gives pleasure" and is so listed by *NED* (*Solace* 3). This use is likewise obsolete.

The lines from *The Miller's Tale* which Mr. Collins cites—

In al the toun nas brewhous ne taverne
That he ne visited with his *solas*, . . .

(*Canterbury Tales*, II. 3334-35)

¹⁴ The full designation "Earl William de Mandeville" appears eight times in the first eight of the nine rolls investigated and ten times in the ninth.

¹⁵ *Pipe Roll* 12 and 13 Henry II, *Pipe Roll Society*, IX 122. XI 152. Benedict of Peterborough, II, 92.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁷ Robert de Torigni in *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I* (ed. Richard Howlett, *Rolls Series*), IV, 282.

¹⁸ Benedict of Peterborough, I, 130. John Orr, *Les oeuvres de Guiot de Provins* (Manchester, 1915), p. 21.

¹ *MLN.*, XLVII (June 1932), 363-364.

—may, then, be translated as follows: There was no brewhouse nor tavern in all the town that he did not enrich with his joy-giving powers, *i. e.*, playing, singing, dancing.

The citation from *Two Gentlemen of Verona* in *NED* under the definition of *visit* referred to above affords an exact parallel. "Visit by night your Ladies chamber-window with some sweet comfort" (III, ii, 83). Unfortunately the quotation is inaccurate, for the First Folio gives "consort" instead of "comfort." But while this destroys the prettiest parallel, it does not affect the point at issue, for there are numerous examples. We still hear the word used in churches in such sentences as "Visit us, O Lord, with thy mercy." Psalm 106:4 has "O visit me with thy salvation," in which *salvation* means "that which gives salvation."

DAVID BROWN

Williams College

RECENT WORKS ON PROSE FICTION BEFORE 1800

Mrs. Q. D. Leavis' *Fiction and the Reading Public* (Chatto & Windus) is the product of a research-fellowship of Girton College, Cambridge, but is strikingly different from the ordinary academic dissertation. It is the most sensational study of prose fiction that has appeared in the last ten years. The question which Mrs. Leavis asks is: what changes have taken place since Elizabethan times in the relationship between popular fiction and the reading public? Her answer is an alarming one. As she sees it, the reading public prior to about 1750 was intellectually homogeneous,— "anyone who could read being equally likely to read any novel"; whereas today we have such a stratification that only a few thousand read the best novelists while the millions read the worst possible trash. She devotes much of her space to an analysis of those economic forces which encourage the mass-production of cheap novels, and the consequent weakening of the public's mentality and taste. Among the nineteenth century novelists there is scarcely anyone whom she does not find wanting: from Scott to Meredith she sees little except puerility, vulgarity, and undisciplined emotion. In earlier times, according to Mrs. Leavis, authors did not thus write down to the masses; in Shakspeare's day they "were receiving their amusement from above" instead of from movies and journalists. The Elizabethan public had mental agility; and that of the seven-

teenth and eighteenth centuries had mental strength, as is shown by its interest in religion and in self-culture. The inner life of a shop-keeper in those happy days was much finer and nobler than that of his modern successor. The early attempts in prose fiction, such as those of Nash, Pettie, Lyly, Sydney, Deloney, and even Forde, had a power or a grace for which nowadays we seek in vain. Aphra Behn may not be faultless, but at least she had an ease and good breeding which moderns may envy. To Bunyan is given especially high praise both for subtlety of characterization and for a morality far juster than that of the sentimentalists who succeeded him. Defoe may at times be crude; but at least he is never, like Dickens, cheap. As for Fielding, there has been no novelist since his time who could rival him in serenity and honesty. Either the zenith or the nadir of Mrs. Leavis' paeon in praise of ancient days is reached when she says that

the absence of any historical sense in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* is superb, [because] it proves conclusively that late eighteenth-century taste was still sure of itself, that there was a culture strong enough to absorb everything alien.

The methods by which Mrs. Leavis attempts to support her thesis are not beyond criticism, and one wonders whether they are regarded as sound in the college which encouraged her research. She declares:

I have throughout adopted the plan of producing evidence rather than of asserting, in order that generalizations should be so fully documented as to make themselves, and the reader find himself led to the conclusions as they presented themselves to me;

and it is true that she gives extensive quotations and references which support her side of the case. When, however, she asserts that her method was to "examine all the material that seemed to bear on this question," one wonders whether she realizes how much is implied. She certainly seems to have been much more thorough in examining the evidence regarding the popular taste of today than in examining that for 1550 to 1750. Nearly all the works she draws in evidence for that period represent a survival of the fittest. In their time they were rivalled by others equally popular, and quite as contemptible in point of reason or of taste as the best sellers of the twentieth century. If Mrs. Leavis would extend her acquaintance with the underworld of Elizabethan and seventeenth-century fiction,—with such phenomena as the vulgarizations of *Don Quixote*, or the pornographic tales, or the inane chap-book redactions of romances, she might perhaps still insist upon her gen-

eral thesis; but she would probably not present it in so extremely antithetical a form. The greatest value of her book, as it now stands, seems to lie in something that was not her main interest. Even as Saul went out to seek his father's asses, and found instead a kingdom; so, we may say, Mrs. Leavis sought to expose the asininity of modern novelists and readers, and discovered instead a literary kingdom. Approaching the old masters from a new point of view, she has discerned in them certain great qualities which have been too little appreciated; and her praise of such authors as Bunyan and Fielding will, I believe, be remembered when her alarms over our contemporaries may be forgotten.

Mr. Norman Collins, literary editor of the *London News Chronicle*, does not pretend that his *Facts of Fiction* (Gollancz) is an academic study. It may, however, prove academically useful as a rapid survey of the chief novelists from Richardson to Galsworthy, especially in such colleges as encourage a sophisticated point of view. Mr. Collins makes no attempt to deal with historical causes or influences, or with biographical details; but he tries to set forth the intrinsic literary value and originality of his authors. The quality and tone of his observations may be judged from the following quotations:

Fielding's women sin as artlessly as Moll Flanders; and in *Tom Jones* they sin almost as tediously. And that unfortunate sentence in *Tom Jones*: 'though Sophia came head foremost to the ground, she happily received not the least damage' may possibly explain their failure.

The spectacle of Dr. Johnson telling a story is rather like that of an elephant herding sheep: something much smaller could do it much better.

Goldsmith's picture of an honest man was no more than that of a fat affectionate pig, politely handling the fatal knife to a pig-sticking destiny.

[Of Fanny Burney] A novel does not require rhetoric or the exercise of reason; two things at which men are conspicuously better than women. But it does require acquaintance with life and an interest in other people; which is exactly what most women possess more abundantly than men.

Mr. Collins is no hero-worshipper, but he is not without respect and admiration for greatness; and although what he has to say is sometimes pert or waspish, it is often penetrating and sound.

The History of The Novel in England (Houghton) by R. M. Lovett and Helen Sard Hughes is obviously offered as a text book, i. e., not as a contribution to research, but as a summary of the best present-day knowledge and judgment upon the subject; and it should be judged as such. Does it adequately explain the appearance, and estimate the value, of the important works? Its authors declare that their chief purposes are to interpret the novels with which they deal as products of (1) the interests and attitudes of

successive ages, (2) the personal experiences of the novelists, and (3) the interests of the reading public. In setting forth these aspects of the matter, their work is on the whole superior to that of any predecessor. The chapters which deal with the history of the novel before 1800 make skilful use of recent researches in social and literary influences and inter-relationships, researches to which Miss Hughes herself has made valuable contributions. Even within the range of its own intentions, however, this work displays inconsistencies and weaknesses. The omission of Deloney in even the briefest survey of Elizabethan fiction is unjustifiable. Nothing is said of the prose fiction of the middle ages, nor of the *Decameron*, nor of the *Arabian Nights*; and Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* is given merely casual mention, although the French heroic romances are discussed at some length. In a professedly methodical work there should be more frequent summaries to make clear what the authors conceive to be the chief phases of the development. The bibliographies show omissions of important references. The gravest weakness of this book, however, is not that its authors are rather inconsistent or vague in carrying out their plan, but that their plan does not give sufficient consideration to some of the highest qualities and purposes of prose fiction. They think of prose fictions as reflecting social conditions, individual experiences, and technical methods; but too often they forget that prose fictions are attempts on the part of the human spirit to exhibit permanent tendencies which crave expression and which no other form of art so well can voice. The personal, social, and technical bounds by which even a very great novel is hemmed in, condition, but they do not stifle, that eternal fire which gives to the classics their enduring vitality and highest value. Too often Mr. Lovett and Miss Hughes, in dealing with a novel, fail to disclose the chief reason why it is great,—namely, the permanently human appeal which transcends the ephemerally fashionable. In Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* they see the romantic desire to escape, but not the romantic high purpose; in Bunyan, the resemblance to actual Puritan life and conditions, but not the profound characterization; in Fielding, the accurate copy of contemporary manners, but not the wise, stoical, criticism of unchanging human nature; in Sterne, the whimsicality but not the sense for harmony of overtones. In short, this book is one which helps you to understand why novels, in content and in form, have certain traits that derive from their historical origins, but not what the traits are that make them immortal. It is too imperceptive of the higher and subtler qualities of literature.

That necessary tool, *A Guide to the Best Fiction: English and*

American, Including Translations from Foreign Languages has appeared in a third edition, revised and recast by Ernest A. Baker and James Packman (Macmillan). The chief alteration is one which may help librarians but will not please students of literary history. In previous editions the prose fictions were listed by nations and by chronological groups, so that it was easy to obtain a survey of the chief novels of any period. In the new edition all the works, regardless of date, are arranged under an alphabetical list of their authors. Moreover, a number of fictions of historical importance have been omitted. It is to be hoped that in the next edition, Mr. Baker will append a chronological outline, by nations, of the chief authors.

Among valuable works on special topics may be noted P. A. Robin's *Animal Lore in English Literature* (Murray), and F. J. Harvey Darton's *Children's Books in England* (Cambridge Univ.)

Four years ago Stith Thompson produced a translation and enlargement of Antti Aarne's *Types of the Folk-Tale* (Folklore Fellows Communications, lxxiv). He now follows this with the first volume of his *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (Indiana Univ. Studies, xix) which is expected to extend to about six volumes. Great as is the usefulness of the *Types-Index*, that of the *Motif-Index* will be even greater; for it groups not merely narratives, but narrative elements; and covers not folk-tales alone, but also ballads, myths, fables, medieval romances, exempla, fabliaux, jest books, and local legends. As this first volume is confined to motifs concerning mythology, animals, and taboos, the ultimate value of the whole work to students of the history of prose fiction may not be immediately apparent; but later volumes are to collect and classify traditional motifs in such fields as "The Wise and the Foolish," "Deceptions," "Reversals of Fortune," "Social Relationships," "Sex," "Traits of Character," and "Humor"; and the mere list of these topics (each of which is to be elaborately analyzed) should suggest how indispensable this work will be to those who wish to trace perennially important themes from their earliest appearances to their modern manifestations.

Students of medieval prose fiction will find helpful information in *The Tradition of the Nun in Medieval England* by Sister Mary Byrne (Catholic Univ.), and in Borenius' "Murderers of St. Thomas Becket in Popular Tradition," *Folk Lore*, XLII, no. 2.

1500-1700. In this period no works of large scope have recently appeared, but a number of special studies and editions should be noted. Barbara Swain's *Fools and Folly During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Columbia Univ.) does not pretend to deter-

mine the sources of Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*, but surveys the various conceptions of folly which were popular up to his time.—The *EETS* gives us an edition of Nicholas Harpfield's *Life and Death of Sir Thomas More*, edited by Elsie V. Hitchcock, with a valuable introduction "On the Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More" by R. W. Chambers (the latter available separately).—Albert W. Osborn's *Sir Philip Sidney en France* (Champion) has been criticized adversely so far as his account of the author is concerned, but provides useful information as to the vogue and criticism of the *Arcadia* in France. Frederic L. Jones in "Another Source for 'The Trial of Chivalry'" (*PMLA*, XLVII, 668), furnishes further evidence of the *Arcadia*'s influence upon the drama. A. L. Reade provides biographical information concerning John Audley, author of *The Fraternity of Vagabonds* (*TLS*, May 5, 1932); and R. Pruvost clears up bibliographical problems in Greene's cony-catching pamphlets (*TLS*, Oct. 6, 1932). T. H. McNeal shows that the *Clerk's Tale* contributed to Greene's *Pandosto* (*PMLA*, XLVII, 453). Eleanor D. Blodgett studies the relationship between Bacon's *New Atlantis* and Campanella's *Civitas Solis* (*PMLA*, XLVI, 763). F. M. Harrison's *Bibliography of the Works of Bunyan* (*Bibl. Soc. Trans.*) describes all the early editions, and is a model of modern bibliographical science.

1700-1770. Harold Williams has discovered the auction-catalogue of Swift's books, which were sold in Feb., 1746; and in *Dean Swift's Library* (Camb. Univ.) publishes a facsimile thereof and a detailed study of the items. The similarities and differences between *A Tale of a Tub* and earlier satires of the Puritans are set forth by C. M. Webster (*PMLA*, XLVII, 171).—In "Defoe and the Quakers" (*PMLA*, XLVII, 179), Ezra K. Maxfield discusses Defoe's hostility toward the Friends.—Students of the narrative literature that hovers between fact and fiction may find valuable information in A. Augustin-Thierry's edition (Libr. Plon) of the *Mémoires de Robert Challes*, author of *Les Illustres Françaises*. D. M. MacDonald of Hartford, Conn., who possesses probably the best collection in this country of translations of *The Arabian Nights*, contributes an authoritative "Bibliographical and Literary Study of the First Appearance of 'The Arabian Nights' in Europe" (*Libr. Quart.*, II, 387).

The best modern edition of Richardson (Blackwell, Oxford) is now completed in eighteen volumes. Fielding's *Jonathan Wild* appears in the World's Classics, the text, including spelling and punctuation, following that of the first edition, and the variants of the revised edition of 1754 being recorded in an appendix. An

Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews (G. Fraser, Camb.) is edited by Brian W. Downs.

Dr. Maria Joestens' *Philosophie Fieldings* (Tauchnitz) is not much more than a hundred pages long, but is, it seems to me, the most substantial monograph on a single author in our field that has appeared during the past year. Dr. Joesten, after a thoughtful scrutiny of all of Fielding's writings, rejects the prevailing view that he was "wholly in sympathy with the average morality of the time," and that we have the full measure of his greatness in supposing it to consist in his realistic fidelity to the surface appearances of the life about him. She also rejects Digeon's interpretation of the development of his thought. Her thesis is that the constant basis of Fielding's interpretation of life was a noble stoicism, learned from the ancients, and boldly applied to the criticism of his own times. His realism was never indifferent to the ideal. What mattered, in his judgment, was not outward happiness or unhappiness, but that peace of conscience which can arise only from the faithful performance at any cost of one's duties as a human being in a universal moral order. All relations of human life, political or social, were judged by him from this stoical point of view. The good life involved not only an ethically sound will but also a rational awareness of the underlying principles of things. The wrongdoing of Tom Jones arose from his temporary unawareness. Worse moral errors came from enslavement to affectations, freedom from which could be gained only by recognition of their folly. The bearing of these principles upon the various aspects of Fielding's work is succinctly but persuasively shown, including their bearing upon his literary theories. It is noteworthy that although Ethel M. Thornbury's *Fielding's Theory of the Comic Prose Epic* (Univ. Wisconsin) does not consider his general philosophy, its detailed analysis of his critical views may readily be harmonized with those fundamental principles which Dr. Joesten so admirably expounds.

The dispute regarding the printing of *Tristram Shandy* seems to be finally settled by L. P. Curtis (*PMLA*, XLVII, 777).

Walter M. Crittenden's *Life and Writings of Mrs. Sarah Scott* (Univ. Penn.) shows diligence in gathering biographical and bibliographical facts, but has few other merits. The relations between Mrs. Scott and her predecessors and contemporaries are not traced; yet unless Mrs. Scott be proved either a representative or an original writer, she seems insignificant. Dr. Crittenden's style does not reflect mature intellectual powers or literary skill. When he wishes to point out that Mrs. Scott made an allusion to *As You Like It*,

he writes: "Mrs. Scott related the story to her sister with the assistance of Shakespeare." This is the kind of thinking and writing which tends to give doctoral dissertations the reputation of being dull and crude.

1770-1800. Miss J. M. S. Tompkins' *Popular Novel in England: 1770-1800* (Constable), like Mrs. Leavis' book, is of academic origin (Bedford College and the University of London) but the two works are widely different in tone. Mrs. Leavis' manner is strident and sensational; Miss Tompkins', quiet and precise, yet far from uninteresting. Miss Tompkins has to deal with many dull novels, but she has a sense of humor which lightens her way and ours. Her insight into literary traits and values is keen and just: e. g., she speaks of "the historical novel as we understand it" as "that union of exact knowledge and penetrating imagination"; and of sensibility as something that "has to be displayed rather than defined,—we have to envisage a landscape, not to pursue an idea." She has the power of perceiving and explaining distinctions, such as those between the French Oriental romances and the English, between sensationalism and romanticism, or between the kind of unity which results from constructing a plot and that which is created more subtly by the chiaroscuro of emotional and spiritual colors. These abilities enable her to bring something like a reasonable order out of the welter of popular novels in her period. After an account of those novelists who closely followed the methods of Richardson, Fielding, or Smollett, she sets forth the chief motifs of the novelists of the 1760's (a quiescent time), and then describes the new topics and purposes which brought into the last two decades of the century an increasing agitation of mind and heart. Her arrangement of the materials is original and valuable. Unfortunately one must add that it would have been even more valuable if she had taken into consideration certain previous studies in this field, especially the writings of Van Tieghem, J. R. Foster, Railo, Brauchli, Joyce Horner, and J. B. Heidler. They would have saved her from many an oversight (such as her neglect of Prévost's influence), and would have helped her approach more closely an acceptable historical organization of her materials. The index omits the titles of rare novels about which there is valuable information in her footnotes.

No eighteenth-century fiction has enjoyed in our time so flattering a revaluation as *Vathek*. J. W. Oliver's *Life of William Beckford* (Milford) will be welcomed, not only because it is based upon the first thorough scrutiny of the Beckford family papers, but because it interprets Beckford's character in a sympathetic yet impartial fashion. The letters which Dr. Oliver reprints disclose very

clearly the madness of the passion which Mrs. Peter Beckford felt for her cousin William, and the criminal impulses which it evoked at the very time when *Vathek* was being composed. One of the reasons why that romance remains instinct with life, when hundreds of other oriental fantasies of its time have sunk into oblivion, is that it perpetuates the emotions which actually tormented the soul of its young author,—the sensuous desires, the intoxicating joys, the defiance of God and man, and the dread of retribution. The autobiographical elements in *Vathek* have never before been so fully authenticated as in this fascinating biography.

The Author of Sandford and Merton, by George W. Gignilliat, Jr. (Columbia Univ.), should help to restore respect for doctoral dissertations. In this account of a problematic personality, there is nothing jejune or tiresome; the facts are well documented, and their significance is interpreted judiciously. In those brief sketches or caricatures which we have hitherto had of Thomas Day, he cuts a rather ridiculous figure; in Dr. Gignilliat's portrait he is restored to life, still far from perfect, but a real and intelligible human being; and one who, without ceasing to be intellectually adventurous, regarded some of his earlier opinions as illusions. The careful comparisons, here made (p. 293 ff.) for the first time, between the principles of *Sandford and Merton* and those of *Émile* show that Day was not a slavish follower of Rousseau, but in many ways modified the educational principles of his master, sometimes in a conservative direction. This is an informative as well as a pleasantly readable work.

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SOME LINGUISTIC STUDIES OF 1931 AND 1932¹

During the period covered by this survey the activity of the lexicographers has been unusually great. And here the place of honor undoubtedly belongs to the new dictionary of the English language which Professor H. C. Wyld has got out.² This admirable volume was designed to supply the Anglo-Saxon world with a dictionary intermediate in size and scope: smaller than *Webster's* and the *Standard*, but distinctly larger and more generous than the *Concise Oxford*. The design has been carried through with striking success. The *Universal* makes a volume heavy and bulky indeed, but quite

¹ Only such studies are here included as have been sent to this journal for review.

² *The Universal Dictionary . . .*, ed. H. C. Wyld, New York, 1932. Pp. xx + 1431. \$10.50.

manageable none the less, and therefore more convenient to handle than any other large dictionary. Moreover, the nearly 200,000 words which it includes have been treated with a scientific accuracy and a stylistic felicity the combination of which between the covers of a dictionary has rarely if ever in equal measure been attained. Particularly readable are the editor's etymological comments, which now and then amount to essays in miniature. Pronunciation is indicated by means of two systems: a phonetic respelling for the literate, preceded by a makeshift Websterian respelling for the illiterate. Here, of course, the *Universal* follows the example set by the *Standard*, and although we may be sceptical of the value, commercial or otherwise, of the makeshift respellings, we must be grateful for the presence, alongside them, of phonetic spellings which the hapless editor can look at without shame, and the student can use with safety. Just here, it is true, the American reader must be on his guard, for Mr. Wyld makes a curious distinction between sounds and meanings: in dealing with the former he ignores American usage, whereas in dealing with the latter he is careful to record everything American that comes his way. I say "comes his way" advisedly, since in spite of his evident care a good many Americanisms have escaped him. The following list of omissions may prove useful, not so much to American as to British users of the work:

aboard (of land vehicles), bleachers (stand of seats), angel (patron), ante (poker term), back of (behind), ball up (confuse), bedspread, bindery, block (area between streets), bolt (desert), bolter (deserter), bootlick, break (turn of luck), break (blunder), Briticism, bum (vagabond), case (card 3), casket (coffin), chip (in poker), collard, commute (by train), corn (whisky), creek (brook), crush (infatuation), cut (absence), demote (reduce in grade), dumbwaiter (kind of lift), duster (overgarment), exercises (public meetings), faker (one who fakes), faze (daunt), bug (madman), frame (incriminate), frisk (search), German (dancing party), haunt (ghost), hock (pawn), jag (spree; also dialectal), josh (tease), maverick (unbranded beast), mourner (religious penitent), plurality (number short of majority), quiz (examination), raft (large quantity), rating (as business term), ringer (double, substitute, accomplice), rock (small stone), root for (urge on with shouts), roughhouse (disorderly conduct), roughage (coarse food), rounder (dissolute man), roustabout, rush (solicit for membership), scalper (speculator), shine (liking), shingle (signboard), slate (list of candidates), slaw (salad), snap (sinecure), spat (quarrel), stack (set of shelves in a library), tickler (engagement book), tightwad (niggard), on time (punctual, punctually), truck (garden vegetables), out of whack (in need of mending), yard (college grounds), yegg (kind of burglar).

The *Universal*, in spite of a liberal infusion of slang terms (always marked as such, of course), is a dictionary of standard speech. It tends, indeed, to be limited to polite speech, for it has been most carefully expurgated. Wholly different is the dictionary of the estimable Grose, the third edition of which, published in 1796, has recently been reprinted "with a biographical and critical

sketch and an extensive commentary by Eric Partridge."³ It is good to know that Grose's interesting and important book can now be had in so handsome a form and with supplementary material so valuable as that which Mr. Partridge gives. The editor calls my attention to the following entry which by inadvertence was omitted from the text (p. 216):

LAREOVERS FOR MEDDLERS—An answer frequently given for children, or young people, as a rebuke for their impertinent curiosity, in inquiring what is contained in a box, bundle, or any other closed conveyance; perhaps from a layover, or turnover, a kind of tart not baked in a pan, but made to contain the fruit by turning one end of the crust over the other. Medlar tarts were probably so made in former times.

This entry may also serve to indicate something of the contents of the volume. The following notes are intended to correct or to supplement those of Mr. Partridge:

ape leader: see E. P. Kuhl, *SP.*, XXII, 543 ff. bit: worth 12½ cents in U. S. bolt upright: means 'flat on the back' in Chaucer. bunt: baseball term in U. S. chummage: 'fork over' is still current in U. S. fawney: cf. Amer. slang term *phoney* 'fraudulent.' fogey: the editor's etymology is weak, both phonologically and semantically. foyst: this may be a native word; cf. ME *fust* (the development would be parallel to that of *hoist*, *boil* etc.). frig: used in U. S. to denote ordinary sexual intercourse. gall: the term in U. S. colloquial speech means 'effrontery.' gee: hardly from *go*; perhaps rather from exclamation used in plowing. glib: seems to be abbreviation of *glibbery*, from Dutch *glibbering*. gyp: cf. also *boots*. harman: OE *heremann* 'soldier' fits both sound and sense. hummums: an early example of use of *u* to imitate foreign *a*. kimbaw: Weekley's etymology of *akimbo* is wrong. lag: see R. J. Menner, *PQ.*, X, 163 ff. piker: cf. Amer. slang *piker* 'one who fails to rise to the occasion.' pudding time: see O. F. Emerson, *Am. Speech*, I, 45. puzzle: Weekley's etymology is highly dubious. quandary: the editor fails to mention Skeat. quiz: possibly abbreviation of *inquisitor*, with influence from *inquisitive*; cf. *quiz* 'examination.' royster: from OF *rustre* 'boor'; cf. *foyst* above. rum: the Romany *rom* might have been mentioned. scamp: probably from *scamper* in spite of Weekley. sconce: perhaps from *sconce* 'socket' (the head serving as the socket for the glimms; cf. *glimstick*). skink: from the Scandinavian. slang: see Ritter, in Herrig's *Archiv*, CXVI, 41 ff. song: the last proverb cited is in Chaucer. spoil-iron: add *spoil-five* and *spoil-sport*. spunk: from Irish *sponnc*. tace: the true etymology might have been given. touting: Weekley's etymology of *tout* is phonologically weak. tuft hunter: Weekley's etymology of *toff* is unlikely. wheedle: Weekley's etymology is wrong. yankey: see H. Logeman, in *Klaeber Studies* (1929), pp. 403 ff. yelp: from OE *gelpan* (not *gielpa*).

Mr. Partridge, in collaboration with Mr. John Brophy, has also brought out a volume on the language of the British soldier of the World War.⁴ The first edition of this interesting book appeared in 1930; a second and third quickly followed. The first edition included an introduction, the text of 26 songs, and a glossary of

³ F. Grose, *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, ed. E. Partridge, London, 1931. Pp. xii + 396.

⁴ J. Brophy and E. Partridge, *Songs and Slang of the British Soldier 1914: 1918*. Third edition, London, 1931. Pp. viii + 383.

soldiers' slang. To this material the second edition added 10 songs and a supplementary glossary, appended as a "postscript." In the third edition the book has still further been expanded by the addition of a second postscript containing more songs and yet another glossary. The added glossaries serve to correct as well as to supplement the material given in the first edition. As a record of song and slang the work fails markedly of completeness by virtue of the severe expurgation to which it has been subjected. I find myself in disagreement now and then with the authors in matters of detail. Thus, it is hardly sound phonetics to call the rime *clothes* : *knows* a rough approximation, due to the slovenly pronunciation of the working classes (p. 48); *Ypres* rimes with *snipers* in both passages quoted (p. 69); *booze* goes back to ME times (p. 102); *wassail* is not a "Saxon" form (p. 109); the etymology given for *nark* is not convincing (p. 335).

Professor Holthausen's long awaited etymological dictionary of Old English has at last begun to appear: the three *lieferungen* now out take us down to the word *ohsta*.⁵ The treatment is extremely brief, and the author is often content to refer the reader to Walde-Pokorny for the non-Germanic material. The veteran etymologist shows on every page, of course, his mastery of the subject. At the same time, one cannot fail to note certain weaknesses in the undertaking, weaknesses which the following examples may serve to illustrate:

1. Under *gecneord* we are referred to *cnyrd*, but when we turn to the latter form we read only "zu *cneord*" and are none the wiser; since H. evidently has no etymology to suggest, it would have been better to omit this particular word-group.

2. Under *giefan* we are referred to *geafol* 1, but if we look up *geafol* we find neither 1 nor 2 but merely a further reference to *gafol*; here the user of the book has been put to needless inconvenience.

3. Under *hæleð* we find no information about the original quantity of the *e*, but are referred to Walde-Pokorny; if we run the reference down we are able to infer that H. thinks the *e* to have once been long—a needless and unlikely explanation of the *æ*, by the way.

On the other hand, H. sometimes gives us a rather full list of forms, Germanic and non-Germanic, and in such cases, of course, we can find out his views on the etymology of the word without the help of Walde-Pokorny. A peculiarity of the volume is the avoidance of reconstructed forms.

Old-English lexicography has further been served by the issue of a new edition of Hall's dictionary.⁶ The edition shows a good deal of revision and enlargement; in particular, a number of words are now included which, though presumably in existence in Saxon

⁵ F. Holthausen, *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1932. Pp. 240. RM. 9.

⁶ J. R. C. Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 3rd ed., Cambridge, 1931. Pp. xv + 437. \$9.00.

times, do not happen to be recorded before the twelfth century. As a whole, however, the work has not been changed in character, but shows the virtues and defects familiar to users of the previous edition.

For some years the indefatigable Sir William Craigie has had in hand (among other things) the preparation of an adequate lexicographical record of the English of Scotland in its older period, i. e. down to 1700. The first two parts of this dictionary are now available.⁷ The quality of the work could hardly be improved upon, and the editor is to be congratulated that he has launched so notable a compilation with such conspicuous success. Two other dictionaries in the English field may be mentioned here. Mr. Bentley has given us a vocabulary of Spanish terms taken into American English (whether generally or in regions where the Spanish influence is strong).⁸ This limitation of the work could not be gathered from its title, but is made plain in the Introduction, and is of course abundantly evident in the vocabulary itself, which does not include familiar English words of Spanish origin like *sherry* and for *potato* is content to refer the reader to the *NED*. Words like *mustang* and *cunch*, on the other hand, are discussed in some detail, with illustrative passages from writings in which the words are used. Sometimes, however, the author departs from his usual practice in this respect; thus, he gives a discussion of *tornado*, a word used in English as early as the sixteenth century. Mr. Ripman, the well-known phonetician, has published a riming dictionary based on phonetic principles: the riming syllables are classified and listed scientifically (for the first time, if I mistake not), and the little book ought to serve the interests of scholars as well as poets.⁹ I note the omission of *reel* on p. 83, and the presence of *real* under two heads: the close and the open [i]. Mr. Ripman evidently recognizes (pp. 83, 114) two pronunciations of the latter word. The book ends with an excellent index, in conventional spelling, of the riming syllables.

The late Jakob Jakobsen had planned and partly made, before he died, an English version of his *Etymologisk Ordbog over det Norrøne Sprog på Shetland*, and by virtue of the pious labors of his sister, Mrs. Horsbøl, we now have Jakobsen's life-work in English dress.¹⁰ The English edition, however, is by no means a mere translation of the Danish. It includes in its long introduction

⁷ W. A. Craigie, *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, Part I, A-Assemble, Part II, Assembling-Berising. Chicago, 1931 and 1932. Pp. xii + 240. \$10.00.

⁸ H. W. Bentley, *A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English*, New York, 1932. Pp. x + 243. \$3.50.

⁹ W. Ripman, *A Pocket Dictionary of English Rhymes*, New York, 1932. Pp. 187. \$2.50.

¹⁰ J. Jakobsen, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Norn Language in Shetland*, London, 1928-1932. Pp. cxvii + 1076. Five guineas.

a good deal of material not to be found elsewhere, and incorporates Chapters VI and VII of Jakobsen's earlier work, *Det Norrøne Sprog på Shetland*. Users of the dictionary will be pleased to find that a language map of the Shetlands is included in the edition, and all friends and admirers of the lamented linguist will be grateful for the excellent likeness of him which serves as frontispiece. The monumental dictionary of the Danish Society for Language and Literature proceeds with its usual steady pace; the 13th volume, issued in 1932, reflects the high standards which the Society from the beginning of the enterprise has maintained.¹¹

The English Place-Name Society continues its survey with two volumes devoted to the place-names of Devon,¹² volumes which rival in importance the earlier volumes on the place-names of Sussex. I will here confine my comments to certain matters on which, with all respect, my opinion differs from that of the authors. The current local pronunciation of a number of place-names is recorded, but in many cases no such record is given, presumably because in these cases the local pronunciation does not differ from that current generally in Great Britain. Unluckily, however, most such names, familiar though they may be to the English reader, are by no means familiar to outsiders, and a systematic indication of the present pronunciation of all place-names would, I think, greatly enhance the value of the survey to a considerable proportion of its prospective readers. The authors have a habit of citing certain groups of OE personal names (i-stems and ja-stems) in a pre-classical form not otherwise used in their citations. One can see no good reason for making a distinction here between common and proper nouns, a distinction, moreover, which they themselves do not make with any consistency. For names not of English origin the authors, when they do not wish to commit themselves further, use two terms: *non-English* (e. g., p. 7) and *pre-English* (e. g., p. 10). The latter term is a most unfortunate one, since it is ordinarily used in quite another sense, viz., to denote a word-form in the hypothetical Germanic dialect out of which English developed. I note also the following items:

pp. 7 f., Kesterbrook: the phonetic development seems to have been *rs* > *sr* (by metathesis) > *str*; cf. French *être*. p. 11, Nadrid: cf. the Snake river in America. p. 12, Sid: here OE *sid* seems to have meant 'long,' as in *sidweg*, and in this sense would be appropriate for any river, for rivers, however different in relative length, are all, as natural objects, marked by disproportionate length and therefore may be referred to as long. p. 16, Walla Brook (Dart): the etymology given is phonologically dubious; cf

¹¹ *Ordbog over det Danske Sprog*, Vol. XIII, Luf-Middag. København, 1932. Pp. 716.

¹² J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Devon*, Part I, Cambridge, 1931, pp. lx + 333; Part II, Cambridge, 1932, pp. xiv + 421. New York, The Macmillan Co. \$12.00.

p. xxxiii. p. 17 bottom, Lovebrook: the first element is more probably akin to that in Loman (Exe), p. 8; for the lenition of *m*, cf. Tavy, p. 14. p. 25, Barnstaple: since this is a port, a connexion with OE *barda* 'beaked ship' (Icel. *barði*) seems possible; the staple would then be the post to which the ship was tied, or perhaps the beak of the ship, if OE *stapol* can have such a meaning. p. 29, Bittadon: the first element may be OE *bīta* 'wild beast.' p. 41, Stowford. for the sound-change *au* > *ou* see also p. 528 under Ponsworthy, and cf. *MP*, xx, 189 ff. p. 51, Muddiford: the first element is better connected with OE *meodo* 'mead'; cf. *Beowulf* 1643. Alternatively, it may be identical with the first element in *Muddipt* (p. 89). p. 72, Eddistone. no sound-substitution need be supposed; before *st* the affricate *g* would be unvoiced and would lose its second element, leaving the consonant sequence *tst*, whence the later *ts*. p. 75, Putshole: if the first element is in the gen. sg., no sound-substitution need be supposed. p. 89, Orleigh: the spelling of 1281 points to a British *ord* 'hammer' as the first element. p. 110, Swaddicott: perhaps the first element is OE *sweard* 'pig-skin.' p. 134, East Youlstone: there is no reason to think that OE *Geoloc* is a diminutive; the same holds for the OE *Færoc* cited on p. 480 under Foxworthy; see F. A. Wood, *Hesperia Ergänzungsreihe*, I, 2. p. 140, Vaglefield: the first element may be OE *fæcele* 'torch.' p. 152, Luffincott: the early *ff* wants explaining; perhaps it reflects a prehistoric alternation *hw/h*; cf. *PMLA*, xlv, 626 ff. p. 161, Kismeldon: for the loss of *r*, cf. the *kusmeel* of the Mortain Casket. p. 165, Sampford: the spelling of 1262 with *au* is interesting in view of the current dogma that the diphthong did not develop in native words; see further pp. 238, 411, 551, and cf. *MP*, xx, 189 ff. p. 250, Butlass: the change of *gh* to *th* in *Pletham* seems to have been partly phonological (unvoicing and stopping of the *g*), partly scribal (*c* by a common error was copied as *t*). p. 316, Oldstone: the etymology given is hardly supported by the vocalism of the name. ON *Olvir* would fit the case better. p. 369, Eggesford: for "continuant" read "affricate." p. 375, Loosebeare: cf. *Beowulf* 304. p. 377, Chulmleigh: if the first element is actually *Ceolmund*, the early forms show a loss of the *e* and an unrounding of the *o* of the original diphthong. The former change offers no difficulties, of course; the latter is unusual, but may be a case of dissimilation. p. 383, Drewstone: a more suitable first element is ON *Þórðr*; the 17th century form shows metathesis and the vowel *ow* [u] to be expected. p. 420, Ramstorland: the first element here seems to mean 'raven's tail'; a personal name is obviously out of place. p. 422, Brampford: the want of a medial *e* makes unlikely the etymology given. More plausible is a connexion with OE *brom* 'broom.' p. 511, Edginswell: the forms *Eggeswill* etc. probably arose directly (by dissimilation) from *Eggeswill*. p. 513, Dornafeld: the first element is probably identical with that in Dornaford (pp. 151, 167), although the paucity of early forms makes certainty impossible. p. 520, Staverton: for a much earlier example of rounding, see *Beowulf* 302. p. 596, Burscombe: the first element can hardly be *Beornræd*, since no such spelling as *Berredes* occurs; I suggest a connexion with OE *bryd* 'bride.' For the genitival *-s*, cf. OE *brydeswæde* 'wedding weeds' p. 598, Bulverton: the middle element may be OE *faru* 'way.' p. 669: the place-name element *pund* should be added (cf. pp. 567, 583).

Two place-name papers of Mr. Evans's, originally read at meetings of the (London) Philological Society, are now available in print.¹³ The author is not concerned, it would seem, to present his material and state his case in accordance with the usual practice of trained linguists, and his arguments and conclusions are therefore

¹³ E. D. P. Evans, *The Meaning of Severn, Ouse, Minster, etc.*, London, 1931. Pp. viii + 90. 3 s. 6 d.

unlikely to meet with favor in learned circles; his readers, open-minded though they may be, will hardly be encouraged to read further after being told, for instance (p. 7), that "the letter *f* in *Taf* changes to *m* under Roman treatment." Mr. Evans may well have something to say, but because of his method (or lack of method) one is forced to set his book aside. Perhaps he may yet work out his theories in a more acceptable form. A volume likewise marked by weaknesses of method is Mr. Ewen's book on surnames.¹⁴ Thus, it is by no means self-evident that the surname *Stout* is to be derived from OE *steort* 'tail; spit of land,' and the statement to that effect (p. 342) ought to be supported by evidence or, at the least, by explanation of the sound-shifts involved.

The three studies in vocabulary which I will next consider are works of a different type: careful, scholarly, and methodical in the best sense.¹⁵ Mr. Halvorson has written a useful monograph on Ælfric's terminology, basing his study chiefly on the doctrinal terms in the Catholic Homilies. The terms examined are grouped under six heads: (1) the deity, (2) the world, angels and devils, (3) sin, (4) salvation, (5) Christian virtues, qualities and works, and (6) the future state. The study, though called intensive (p. 5), seems to me somewhat summary in its discussions. Thus, the layman finds it hard to make out the difference between infinity and eternity as defined by the author (p. 10). We are given an excellent and apparently complete catalogue of terms, with illustrations, but no serious attempt is made to present the theological background, the reader being referred to Dietrich's paper (itself summary) for further light on these matters. In other words, Mr. Halvorson's treatise is modest in scope; within the limits which he set for himself, he has done a good job. The vowel of *Crist* (p. 89) was probably short. The term *Anglo-Saxon Church*, frequently used in the treatise, seems to me unfortunate: the Church of England (otherwise known as the Anglican or English Church) has been continuous since her foundation by St. Augustine in 597; the various periods into which her history naturally falls are periods in the history of one Church, and this Church bore the same name throughout, a name which cannot be tampered with without danger. Mr. Szogs set for himself a task more ambitious than that of Mr. Halvorson. His monograph falls into two parts: (1) a brief history of occupations and social classes in OE times, and (2) a study of 28 words (and their compounds) used in OE to denote service,

¹⁴ C. L'Estrange Ewen, *A History of Surnames of the British Isles*, New York, 1931. Pp. xx + 508. \$7.50.

¹⁵ N. O. Halvorson, *Doctrinal Terms in Ælfric's Homilies*, Univ. of Iowa Humanistic Studies, Vol. V, No. 1, Iowa City, 1932, pp. 98; Arthur Szogs, *Die Ausdrücke für "Arbeit" und "Beruf" im Altenglischen*, Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 73, Heidelberg, 1931, pp. xvi + 143, RM. 7; B. W. A. Massey, *Browning's Vocabulary: Compound Epithets*, Poznań, 1931, pp. 272.

labor or social status. The first part is chiefly concerned with the relative esteem in which the various social or occupational classes were held, and closes with a careful examination of the attitude of the English Church in the matter. The second part is essentially lexicographical. The whole makes a readable and useful treatise on an important aspect of OE civilization. On p. xiii, H. S. MacGillivray appears as M. Gillivray, and on p. 76 Mr. Weekley has lost his last *e*. Walde-Pokorny does not seem to have been used in working out the numerous etymologies.—Mr. Massey, whose study of the compound epithets of Shelley and Keats came out in 1923, now gives us a like study of the vocabulary of Browning. His investigations are exact, exhaustive and illuminating. The material is examined from many points of view, and everywhere the author throws light on Browning's style, sources, interests and poetical development. No student of Browning can afford to ignore this admirable piece of research.

Semantic studies are markedly advanced by the publication of Mr. Stern's weighty volume.¹⁶ The theory of meaning has long wanted a fresh examination by a linguist at home in psychology and logic as well as in his own subject. The author has given us such an examination, and has worked out a semantic theory and a classification of changes in meaning based upon exact historical research in the linguistic field and buttressed by a great array of examples, nearly all taken from the English language. His work is characterized, on the one hand, by a scrupulous, critical treatment of the evidence; on the other, by a persistent search for principles of generalization, through the application of which a certain amount of order may be brought into semasiology, up to now a field of research cultivated almost at haphazard. Of the book's fourteen chapters, the most important are Ch. III, on the definition of verbal meaning, and Ch. VII, in which is presented a general theory of sense-change. The author classifies changes of meaning by setting up a framework within which each such change may be given a suitable place. He first draws a distinction between those changes due to linguistic causes and those due to non-linguistic or "external" causes. The linguistically conditioned changes are further analyzed into shifts of (1) the verbal relation, (2) the referential relation and (3) the subjective relation. Each of these shifts produces two classes of semantic change: (1) analogy and shortening, (2) the two types of transfer, intentional and unintentional, and (3) "permutation" and "adequation." The changes due to non-linguistic causes all come under the one head "substitution." The author thus arrives at a seven-fold classification of semantic changes. For want of space, I cannot pursue the subject

¹⁶ G. Stern, *Meaning and Change of Meaning*, with special reference to the English language, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift XXXVIII, 1, Göteborg, 1932. Pp. xvi + 456.

further in this survey; it must suffice to say that Mr. Stern has succeeded in his undertaking: he has given us a reasonable and workable system of classification, and has produced a volume of fundamental importance in the semasiological field.

Mr. Perl, in his interesting study of the English causative,¹⁷ is not content to trace the historical developments; he seeks, boldly enough, to pluck out the heart of the mystery, and finds in the English preference for *Anschaulichkeit* (? intuition) the true explanation, not only for the history of the English causative, but also for the peculiarities of English linguistic and cultural history as a whole. This magnificent generalization is not wholly new, indeed: the English are widely supposed to hate reason and love intuition, and this peculiarity has even been levied on to explain certain features of their linguistic history, such as the failure of all attempts to found an academy for the regulation of English usage. But the connexion with the causative has never before been made, I think. If however we compare (1) *they had him stand on the table* with (2) *they stood him on the table* it seems a bit forced to say that (2) by virtue of its *Anschaulichkeit* is more English than (1). To me, at any rate, (1) seems excellent, idiomatic English, quite in accord with the "genius" of the language (whatever that may mean). Indeed, the analytical character of (1) gives it a quality usually taken to be especially marked in English as a language, whereas (2), which lacks this particular feature, might for that reason be regarded as less characteristic. In brief, while Mr. Perl has done a good job in tracing the history of the causative, his theory of *Anschaulichkeit* does not bring conviction.

The dissertations of Mr. Heuer and Mr. Koziol are both concerned with the syntax of fourteenth-century English.¹⁸ Mr. Heuer deals intensively with the adverb in Chaucer, while Mr. Koziol treats in a less detailed fashion the poetry of the alliterative revival. We have here two sober, careful pieces of research which will prove useful to the future historian of English syntax. Mr. Heuer with some success has tried to hold his syntactical course true between the Scylla of morphology and the Charybdis of semantics. Mr. Koziol with equal success has avoided going too deeply into matters of detail.

Mr. House and Miss Harman have produced a conservative English grammar for use in college classes.¹⁹ The book is elementary

¹⁷ E. Perl, *Die Bezeichnung der kausativen Funktion im Neuenglischen*, Breslau, 1931. Pp. viii + 154. RM. 4.50.

¹⁸ H. Heuer, *Studien zur syntaktischen und stilistischen Funktion des Adverbs bei Chaucer und im Rosenroman*, Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 75, Heidelberg, 1932, pp. viii + 168, RM. 7.50; H. Koziol, *Grundzüge der Syntax der mittelenenglischen Stabreimdichtungen*, Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie LVIII, Vienna and Leipzig, 1932, pp. xvi + 172, RM. 8.

¹⁹ H. C. House and S. E. Harman, *Descriptive English Grammar*, New York, 1931. Pp. viii + 366. \$1.85.

in character, but reflects on every page the high standards of scholarship striven for by its authors. The following criticisms of various points are not to be taken as challenging the soundness and good sense of the work as a whole:

p. 6: Norman-French can hardly be said to have fused with English; it gradually died out, after having given many words to the English vocabulary. p. 9: Dutch is not derivable from Old Saxon; there were two main dialects of Old Low German, viz., Saxon and Franconian, and Dutch is descended from the latter. p. 21: the second element of *bridegroom* can hardly be called a suffix. p. 23: instead of "guttural," a better term would be "velar." p. 24: the rule given at the top of the page applies only to stems which end in *s*-like or *sh*-like sounds, and for such sounds "fricative" is too inclusive a term, including as it does sounds of the types *th* and *f* as well; "sibilant" would be a better term here. p. 25: the voicing of *f* in plurals like *elves* is not quite the same as the "grammatical change" of the Old-Germanic dialects; it depends, not on accent but on position between voiced sounds. p. 28: the foreign plurals used in English are characteristic, not of "nouns of foreign origin" but of the rather limited number of such nouns which have not been fully anglicized. p. 35: the second element of *Norman* is the Germanic base *mann*, although it does not form its plural by mutation. p. 42: some discussion of the group genitive would be in place here. p. 50: words of the type *everybody* are often felt as plurals by virtue of their meaning, and therefore, in spite of their singular form, may be referred to by a plural form of the pronoun. pp. 80 ff., 338 ff.: the term "reduplicating" is of doubtful propriety, since in English few of these verbs show any signs of reduplication; it would be simpler and better to speak of verbs of the 7th class. p. 81: *dive* is historically a weak verb, though it early took over the meanings proper to a related verb of the second class strong. pp. 84 f.: since both *take* and *thrive* are from ON, there is little consistency in noting the origin of the one but not that of the other. p. 114: here the authors fall into an error against which they warn the student on p. 7, and which they are careful to avoid on p. 118. p. 115: there never was an *m* in English *first*, and OHG *furisto*, not Gothic *frumists*, is the proper cognate. p. 124: evidently the authors would condemn the late John Galsworthy's English when he said (upon hearing that he had won the Nobel Prize), "I am very pleased and very proud." p. 331: *shrwe* is not from Old French; perhaps this is a misprint for *strwce*, even though the latter verb also appears in the list. p. 332: *dive* is a native word.

The authors, in their discussion of number (pp. 22 ff.), fall into the common error of reading into Old English a distinction between singular and plural which in fact was not made. In Old English there were various endings and other devices for distinguishing cases, but no device existed by which the plural, as such, could be marked. Thus, the mutated form *men* might be either singular or plural, and the same holds of the form *oxan* with its *n*-suffix. It was not until ME times that (except for the gen. sg.) case-forms were given up in favor of a formal distinction between singular and plural.—Part Two of the book (pp. 145-325) is devoted to sentence analysis, and is divided into 15 lessons illustrated by diagrams.

The fourth volume of Mr. Jespersen's great grammar²⁰ is a

²⁰ O. Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, Part IV, Time and Tense. Heidelberg, 1931. Pp. xxxii + 400. RM. 11.50.

piece of work of the very highest quality (as one would expect). I will comment only on a few matters of detail:

p. 15: *usetter* for *used to*: a mere spelling, like *sez* for *says*, to mark lack of cultivation; similarly *used to* for *use to*, cf. *Am. Speech*, vi, 27. p. 20: for historical present see also *Beowulf* 1923 etc. p. 47: *had got* for *had* British, not American. p. 49: *do you have it here* is more natural to me than *have you it here*. p. 54: on *gotten* see *Am. Speech*, VI, 314 ff., VII, 299 f. p. 62: *yet* may take pret. in vg. Amer., e. g. *did you see him yet?* p. 66: *Newton explained the movements of the moon* means simply that he gave an explanation of them, and implies nothing about present views, while the perfect tense would imply that his views still held good. p. 70: *we might obey* is equivalent to *if we obeyed*; cf. p. 134. p. 84: perfect inf. after *had hoped* objected to on grounds of economy. p. 118: *had as lief* not obsolete; Fielding quot. belongs under 9.4(3). p. 119: *had as soon* not rare. p. 130: Mr. Mencken's dictum is of course wrong. p. 141: the use of the perfect inf. often involves clumsiness and an unpleasing repetition of the auxiliary; these esthetic objections to the construction are not given their due weight by Mr. Jespersen. p. 154 top: I agree with Mr. Moore Smith here (as against Mr. Curme). p. 166, line 22: for "in" read "is." p. 190, line 21: *she types with her whole soul* is a general statement, not "framed" by what precedes. p. 243 bottom: *deye I wol* is a volitional future, not a pure future. p. 245, line 6: *be* also needs extra stress. p. 256, line 8: *is to* lacks all emotional connotation, as I feel it. p. 260: Whitney was writing just after the Civil War, and what he says is far from objective—one catches a note of hysterical hatred. p. 268, line 21: I cannot agree that *is to* would now be more idiomatic. p. 322: the vogue of *would better* goes back to W. S. Landor's dictum in his *Imaginary Conversations*, Third Series (2nd conversation of Johnson and Tooke, p. 257 of Boston edition of 1877). p. 356 bottom: under *Ce* for "after-past" read "after-future." p. 371: *used to could* may be heard in vg. Amer. speech. p. 378: Chapter XXIII ought to be at the beginning of the volume.

The fifth edition of Mr. Kruisinga's English grammar (too modestly called a handbook) is well launched with the publication of Part II, devoted to morphology and syntax.²¹ The new edition differs markedly from the third and fourth in a variety of ways, although it may be described as exhibiting in a more rigorous form the tendencies already present in the earlier editions. Speaking generally, the attempt has been made to ignore the history of the language and to discard the time-hallowed grammatical classifications, in order to produce a grammar severely descriptive, with classifications based on the linguistic phenomena under survey. The result is a *tour de force*, brilliant and exceedingly valuable, but incomplete by virtue of its omissions and its point of view, as well as inconsistent in its execution. To take up the last point first, the author in spite of himself falls back on history now and then (e. g. III, 56, footnote), and in certain sections, notably the discussion of word-formation, gives us what amounts to a historical treatment of his subject. In the same way we find him now using,

²¹ E. Kruisinga, *A Handbook of Present-Day English*, Part II, English Accidence and Syntax. Groningen, 1931. Vol. I, pp. xxx + 506; vol. II, pp. xiv + 479; vol. III, pp. xiv + 550. fl. 19.50.

now giving up traditional distinctions without much regard to consistency: on the one hand, he lumps *gerund* and *pres. part.* under the one head "the verbal *ing*" because of their formal identity, while on the other hand he lumps forms like *fish* and *fishes* under the one (traditional) head "plural" in spite of their want of formal identity. In truth, Mr. Kruisinga's grammar does not escape the confusion of form and function which we are used to in grammars of a more traditional kind. The author's neglect of history leads inevitably though unconsciously to a presentation of the linguistic material in terms of stasis rather than of movement. One of the most important aspects of living speech thus fails to get the attention which is its due. This same neglect of history brings Mr. Kruisinga to underestimate the strength of English literary and grammatical tradition. In his opinion (III, 542 f.) the "natural" English of colloquial speech is carrying all before it. There are things in present-day culture which favor this development, it is true, but universal education and the consequent school-mastering of the population have fostered rather than weakened the traditional elements in English speech. Thus, although Mr. Kruisinga is doubtless right in saying (II, 175),

The use of *whom* being largely artificial, it is natural that *who* should be used sometimes either by writers who refuse to modify genuine English in obedience to traditional rules founded on ignorance, or by those who are willing to conform to them but in whom nature is occasionally stronger than the memory of school teaching,

yet the use of *whom* in accordance with these same traditional rules seems to be on the increase, as Mr. Curme has recently pointed out (*Syntax*, p. 102). But whatever the shortcomings of Mr. Kruisinga's work, its importance cannot be questioned, and no Anglicist who takes his studies seriously can afford to leave the *Handbook* unread.

Mr. R. Girvan's OE grammar²² adds yet another to the many elementary treatises on the subject which we possess. The volume was designed for Dutch students, who naturally prefer to use a handbook written in their native tongue. Mr. Girvan gives a full treatment of phonology and a good sketch of morphology, but says nothing about syntax, a subject the omission of which seems to be traditional in OE grammars. The author has done well what he set out to do, although beginners will not find his book easy reading, unless indeed they already have some knowledge of other Old-Germanic dialects.

Mr. Flasdieck has investigated with his usual thoroughness and acumen the development in Modern English of back vowels before *r*.²³ He promises a companion-piece on the front vowels. The

²² R. Girvan, *Angelsaksisch Handboek*, trans. (from English) E. L. Deuschle. Haarlem, 1931. Pp. xvi + 409. fl. 11.

²³ H. M. Flasdieck, *Studien zur schriftsprachlichen Entwicklung der neu-englischen Velarvokale in Verbindung mit R*. Halle, 1932. Pp. xii + 244.

volume before us is made up of two parts: first, some account of the materials which the author uses, inclusive of previous investigations in the same field (pp. 1-60), and, secondly, the author's own interpretation of the evidence (pp. 60-240). The critical analysis, in the first part, of the statements of the old grammarians and lexicographers is particularly valuable, and one must be grateful to the author for finally deciding to include this analysis in his monograph. As regards the investigation proper, one must pay tribute to the author's masterly treatment of a mass of evidence so confused and contradictory. The phonetic *nuances* the determination of which forms so conspicuous a part of the treatise remain, however, for one reader at least, little more than ingenious constructions, without sufficient basis in the evidence presented. Mr. Flasdieck has made clear the main lines of the phonological development, but the precise phonetic stages are still matters for speculation rather than for demonstration. In connexion with the discussion of *mourn* (p. 105) it may be noted that Mr. Wyld in his recent *Universal Dictionary* recognizes only the one pronunciation [mɔ̃n].

Mr. Jones has got out a third edition, rewritten, of his useful elementary treatise on English phonetics.²⁴ The volume consists of 12 chapters on general phonetics (pp. 1-59); a chapter on ear-training (pp. 60-61); 10 chapters on English vowels, diphthongs, strong and weak word-forms, and consonants (pp. 62-196); two chapters on nasalization and retroflex sounds (pp. 197-201); six chapters on assimilation, elision, quantity and rhythm, stress, breath and sense groups, and intonation (pp. 202-304); and four appendices. The value of the book is increased markedly by its 116 illustrations. The well-known defects of Mr. Jones's phonetic treatises remain in the present work. The author describes [j, w] as glides (p. 25); he prefers the misleading term *plosive* to the scientifically accurate *stop* (p. 127 etc.); he denies, by implication, that a stop may be a continuant (p. 47), although he recognizes the existence of variations in the length of "plosives" (p. 220); etc., etc. As a practical manual for the guidance of foreigners who wish to acquire a good pronunciation of English, the *Outline* can be commended highly; as a treatise on phonetics, it has serious weaknesses. Much less can be said for the little volume on pronunciation which Mr. Larsen and Mr. Walker have given us.²⁵ The authors tell us (p. v) that "the book is not addressed to phoneticians," but rather to the layman, and in view of this fact we must of course overlook much that otherwise would be subject to criticism. Even the layman, however, is entitled to statements that

²⁴ D. Jones, *An Outline of English Phonetics*, New York, 1932. Pp. x + 326. \$2.50.

²⁵ T. Larsen and F. C. Walker, *Pronunciation, A Practical Guide to American Standards*. New York, (impression of) 1931. Pp. viii + 198.

do not mislead, and when we read that Americans give to *medicine* the pronunciation *medisin* (p. 13) and that "the *g* in the common *-ing* suffix, formerly silent, is now universally pronounced by good speakers" (p. 16), we can only wonder that the authors succeeded in finding a publisher for such a work as theirs. Different again in tone and character is Mr. Fuhrken's book in much the same field.²⁶ The author has a good practical knowledge of phonetics, and uses it to advantage throughout, although now and then he falls into error, as in calling the *l* of *belt* clear (p. 69). On the theoretical side he is less strong, and can be guilty of confusing an explosion with a mere unstopping, as when he speaks of his "nasal plosion" (horrible terminology!) in *given* (p. 71). He writes in a delightfully personal, informal way, and allows himself many an expression of distaste hardly scientific but enlivening to the reader. Etymological excursions likewise are to be found, as the (quite correct) derivation of *ain't* from *am not* (p. 85). On the whole, the book is distinctly to be commended.

Mr. Chiba has reported an important piece of phonetic research in his monograph on the Japanese vowels.²⁷ By the use of instruments of precision he has determined with a considerable degree of accuracy the salient characteristics of Japanese [a, e, i, o, u]. Of special interest is his determination of the place of articulation of these vowels. If we classify the Japanese vowels along orthodox lines, following the terminology of Sweet, [i] holds its traditional place as high-front, but [e] and [u] appear as mid-mixed (the latter a bit retracted), while [o] is low-back and [a] is low-mixed. And if with Mr. Chiba we ignore the category "mixed" and reckon all the vowels as either front or back, [e] falls to the front group, and [a] to the back, by the narrowest of margins. Mr. Chiba also points out (p. 31) that if "the highest points of the tongue positions of each Japanese vowel be connected, immediately will it be seen that no triangle is produced. Neither is there found the usual quadrangular diagram commonly used . . . for illustrating the positions of the Cardinal Vowels [of Mr. Daniel Jones]." The case of Japanese [a] is particularly instructive. In making this sound, as the X-rays show (cf. Mr. Chiba's comments on p. 38), the tongue articulates, not against the tectum (i. e. the roof of the mouth) but against the tergum (i. e. the back wall of the pharynx). It follows that a method of classification based (like those of Sweet and Mr. Jones) on the localization of the *highest* point of the tongue breaks down hopelessly in this case. The Japanese [a] is definitely and distinctly a back vowel, in spite of the advanced

²⁶ G. E. Fuhrken, *Standard English Speech*, New York, 1932. Pp. viii + 121. \$1.75.

²⁷ T. Chiba, *Research into the Characteristics of the Five Japanese Vowels*, Yokohama, 1931. Pp. 44.

position of the high part of the tongue, and this fact can hardly be ignored with safety by the system-makers.

Mr. Kokeritz's dissertation is devoted to the phonology of a dialect of southeastern England, that spoken in the county of Suffolk.²⁸ The monograph begins with a detailed description of the sounds used in the dialect today (pp. 1-110); this is followed by an account of the historical development of the sounds of the dialect from ME times down to the present (pp. 111-208). Then comes the text, with a phonetic transcription, of three phonograph records made by dialect speakers (pp. 211-233), to which is appended an index of the records; the book is concluded with a glossary of 60 pages and a bibliography. The author has done an unusually fine piece of work, and has made an important contribution to English dialectology. His study, moreover, throws light on the development of standard English speech, and on sundry phonological problems of more general interest.

The late Sterling A. Leonard, before his tragic death, had brought nearly to completion a study of current English usage. This study, to which the finishing touches have been put by the pious hands of Messrs. G. C. Johnson and Blandford Jennings, now lies before us as "English Monographs, Number 1" of the National Council of Teachers of English.²⁹ It consists of two parts, devoted to punctuation and grammar respectively, and followed by six appendices, an index and a "summary sheet of ballots—grammatical usage study." The last item suffices to betray the fact that the author gathered his evidence by means of a questionnaire. The task of determining what current usage actually is must ever prove formidable for the would-be objective investigator. Leonard's method of gleaning the needful information is thus explained in the Foreword of his book:

Sample sentences were submitted to a list of competent judges who were asked to indicate how the sentences should be punctuated, or whether certain constructions they contained were illiterate, permissible, or good. . . . There were 229 judges in the study of English usage and 144 in the punctuation study. The usage judges were well known authors, editors, business men, linguists, and teachers in school and college, the teacher group heavily predominating. The punctuation judges were publishers, magazine editors, and newspaper men, the newspaper men forming by far the largest group. . . .

The author treats with the greatest objectivity the evidence thus gathered, and the volume gives us precise information of the opinions of the judges on the various points at issue. These opinions themselves, however, are far from having the weight which Leonard seems to have attributed to them. In most cases they reflect, not conclusions drawn from research, but snap judgments

²⁸ H. Kokeritz, *The Phonology of the Suffolk Dialect*, Uppsala, 1932. Pp. xxiv + 328.

²⁹ S. A. Leonard, *Current English Usage*, Chicago, 1932. Pp. xxii + 232.

based on chance observation and personal likes and dislikes. The volume, therefore, is a summary of the views of certain chosen individuals, not a statement of the facts of current usage. A striking example of divergence between fact and opinion is the result of the ballot on *like* used as a conjunction (pp. 147 f.). This use in all its aspects was condemned by most of the judges, in spite of the overwhelming evidence in its favor which English literature affords. We may conclude that Leonard's book, useful and honest though it is, throws light rather on the mental processes of the judges than on the usages which these judges tried to evaluate.

Mr. Aronstein has written an interesting but highly speculative essay on the English language and English culture,³⁰ an attempt at interpretation and generalization of a kind much in vogue nowadays, but hardly destined to have permanent value. The boldness and sweep of his method are well illustrated on p. 12, where he sums up the development of "northern" languages as a change from the "primitive zest for speech-sounds" to the later emphasis on utility by virtue of which "prosaic utilitarianism got the upper hand and did away with everything which from a practical standpoint was superfluous." Such flights of the imagination have no proper place in a serious work, and are bound to prove harmful to the development in Germany and elsewhere of a sound *Englischkunde*. The author's opinion that English arose in the 14th century as a Germanic-Romanic mixed language (p. 17) sounds naïve in the face of recent research, and looks sadly out of place in a supposedly learned monograph. The author also tells us (p. 47) that in Cockney English the weak verb has only three forms!

Mr. Zipf resumes and supplements his work on relative frequency in language with the publication of a volume made up of two studies and four appendices.³¹ His main thesis may be put as follows: a linguistic unit varies in frequency in inverse proportion to its degree of conspicuousness, or, as the author puts it (p. 27), "Frequency times Conspicuousness is Constant." In other words, an increase in frequency of employment of a linguistic unit involves a decrease in its conspicuousness, and *vice versa*. By virtue of this simple law the author explains all sorts of linguistic changes, such as sound-shifts (p. 3) and abbreviations (p. 22). The relationship which the author formulates has long been known, of course, and is often taken into account, along with other factors, in linguistic study. The attempt, however, to give it a quasi-mathematical form and apply it systematically to all the manifestations of linguistic change is new, and the author deserves credit for taking the first steps in the survey which must be made

³⁰ P. Aronstein, *Engländertum und englische Sprache*, Leipzig, 1931. Pp. 68. RM 2.50.

³¹ G. K. Zipf, *Selected Studies of the Principle of Relative Frequency in Language*. Cambridge, Mass., 1932. Pp. viii + 51 and plates 62.

if the theory is to be substantiated. He does not seem to realize, however, that his task has just begun; indeed, he speaks of his statistical study of the Peking dialect as offering "final evidence" (p. 1) of the validity of his "principle." One notes likewise shortcomings in his scale, on the conspicuity side at least. Thus, he tells us that *d* is more conspicuous than *t*, since "the *d* possesses everything the *t* has, plus the increment of voice" (p. 2). Such a comparison not only fails to take into account a number of differences between the two sounds in question, but also ignores the element of contrast, so important in determining the conspicuousness of anything. In intervocalic position a *d* is less conspicuous than *t* would be precisely because it possesses the increment of voice. I wish to comment also on two of the author's illustrations. The word *lord* did not mean 'guardian of the loaf' in Old English (p. 10). The word *bil* is a Danish, not an Icelandic abbreviation for *automobile* (p. 22), although it is to some extent used in Iceland as a Danish loan-word (and in the form *bill*); *bil*, moreover, is not a worn-down form of the word of which it serves as an abbreviation, but is a form deliberately coined to win a prize in a newspaper competition. The actual history of *bil*, which we happen to know, shows us how dangerous it is to explain abbreviations by applying a general principle like the author's.

I will conclude this survey with an examination of two books devoted to general linguistics.³² Mr. Graff gives to his manual the subtitle "an introduction to linguistics." The volume is made up of 11 chapters, preceded by a glossary of 16 pages (in which a number of linguistic terms are defined), and followed by a bibliography of 35 pages and an index. The value of the text is enhanced by 23 illustrations and a linguistic map of the world. In his preface the author lays great stress on the importance of sound technical terminology, and one is therefore surprised and disappointed to find him in practice somewhat careless and inconsistent in the matter. Thus, he accepts *continuant* (p. 22) as a suitable equivalent for *fricative*, without considering the fact that a stop may be held as long as a fricative. He uses *guttural* (p. 357) to denote sounds not made in the throat. He tells us (p. 371) that the terms *Zend* and *Avestan* are nowadays used indiscriminately for the language of the *Avesta*, although in fact *Zend* is not only inaccurate but also antiquated. His statements that "Old Norse is more archaic than Gothic" (p. 383) and that the Celtic language current in Brittany "was imported in the 5th and 6th centuries by English emigrants" (p. 378) indicate a certain carelessness or at any rate heterodoxy in the use of terms. The author usually ignores the important difference in meaning between the

³² W. L. Graff, *Language and Languages*, New York, 1932, pp. xlv + 487, \$4.00; A. H. Gardiner, *The Theory of Speech and Language*, New York, 1932. pp. x + 332. \$3.00.

terms *Old English* and *Anglo-Saxon* (for which see *RES.*, v, 179 ff.) and treats them as equivalent, but he once (p. 301) gives to *Anglo-Saxon* a meaning obscure to me, but certainly not 'Old English.' The discussions of English linguistic history on pp. 272, 287 and 388 ff. are distinctly unsatisfactory. Mr. Graff must have been napping when he wrote (p. 387) that the language of the Ostrogoths "was absorbed by the dialects of Northern Italy during the reigns of Alaric and Theodoric." The best parts of the book are those which deal with semantics. The author's English is not always idiomatic; see pp. 353, 371, 374. Mr. Gardiner's book is a thoughtful and instructive piece of work, although the author's views do not have a novelty as great as he is inclined to think. He begins with an analysis of the four factors involved in speech: speaker, hearer (or reader), referent and symbol (word or word-group), and rightly lays great stress on the distinction between the referent itself and the meaning of the symbol. Here his analysis is decidedly better than that of Mr. Stern (*op. cit.*, p. 40). The distinction which he makes between speech and language is more artificial, but has genuine value, both theoretical and practical. The book is written in the style of the informal essay. It belongs perhaps rather to psychology than to linguistics, but can be commended to the linguist who wishes a non-technical exposition of psychological theory as applied to that form of behavior known as speech.

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REVIEWS

Doctor Faustus. By CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE. Edited by F. S. BOAS. New York: Dial Press, 1932. Pp. xii + 221. \$4.00.

The appearance of Professor Boas's edition of *Dr. Faustus* adds another volume to the splendid collection of the plays and poems of Christopher Marlowe under the general editorship of Professor Case, Emeritus of the University of Liverpool. Like the other volumes of the series this is a delight to the eye, beautifully printed and handsomely bound. And like the other volumes it adds very considerably to our knowledge of the poet-playwright and to our appreciation of his work.

Professor Boas has given the student of Elizabethan drama in general and of Marlowe in particular, a generous feast in the contents of this book. The introduction includes sections dealing with

the early editions, the date and source of the play, modern editions, the question of the relation of the two old versions of 1604 and 1616, the authorship of the prose scenes and the later additions, the transmission of the text, and three final chapters of appreciative criticism and stage history. Following the text of the play the appendices contain numerous passages from the English *Faust* Book of 1592, a sketch of the historical Dr. Faustus, the lines from *The Taming of A Shrew* (1594) which were conveyed from *Faustus*, two extracts from the Quarto of 1663 in which a scene at the Soldan's court with reminiscences of *The Jew of Malta* replaces the pranks of Faustus with the Pope, the 1675 ballad of John Faustus, and a short but satisfactory bibliography. For all this, the student owes Professor Boas very hearty thanks.

Professor Boas shows to demonstration what after all was known before, that the direct source of Marlowe's play is the English translation of the German *Faust-Buch* of 1587. The earliest known edition of this translation is that by P. F., 1592. It has long been believed that there was an earlier version now lost and an entry in Register B of the Stationers' Registers is interpreted by Greg and Boas to show that Abell Jeffes printed such an edition about May 1592. If this be so and if there were no edition before the hypothetical edition of Jeffes, the conclusion, accepted by Greg and Boas, follows that Marlowe composed his play in the Summer of 1592.

It is a little difficult to accept this conclusion. In the first place, it involves the chronology of Marlowe's plays in considerable confusion. If *Dr. Faustus* really dates from the summer of 1592, Marlowe must have produced an extraordinary, not to say incredible, number of plays between that time and his death, May 30, 1593. Further, Boas, like Flasdieck (*Eng. Studien*, 1929-1930), waives as of no importance the entry S. R. 28 Feb. 1588/9, of a *Ballad on the life and death of Dr. Faustus the great Cunngerer*. In spite of the fact that this ballad is lost and is not to be identified with a later one in the Roxburghe Collection dating 1675, the entry seems to me to be of prime importance. Where did the author of this lost ballad get his information about "the great German cunngerer?" Presumably not from the German folk-book, and if not, then either from the play itself or from the English translation. But it is certain that the translation, which stands to Marlowe somewhat, to use the phrase of Boas, "as North's Plutarch does to Shakespeare," precedes the play, and therefore it is highly probable that an English version of the German existed in print or in MS. in the early winter of 1589. If so, the conclusion that the play post-dates a translation of 1592 falls to the ground. There are, moreover, other reasons, if not definite proofs, for dating *Dr. Faustus* before 1592. The play seems to have belonged to the Admiral's men before 1591 (Greg, *Henslowe* V. 2,

p. 169); Alleyn is supposed to have created the part, in which it is known that he appeared. It is not unlikely, therefore, that he acted in the *première* of *Dr. Faustus* some time before 1591. The earliest recorded performance of the play is on September 30, 1594, more than a year after Marlowe's death. As Boas notes (p. 47) "the unusually large takings suggest that the revival had some special features." Probably these consisted of additional spectacle and buffoonery and it seems unlikely that a revision of a play dating from 1592 would have been taken in hand in 1594, all the more so since we know of a later revision in 1602. The old suggestion that Greene's *Friar Bacon* (before February 1592) was written for the Queen's men as a rival piece to *Dr. Faustus* is, in view of the imitative character of Greene's work, not without weight; and finally, as Flasdieck has pointed out, the characteristically academic tone of *Dr. Faustus* points to a date of composition not long after Marlowe's graduation as M.A. in 1587. In spite of the new evidence of Greg and Boas, therefore, I am inclined to accept the old date of ca. 1589 for the composition of *Dr. Faustus* and to assume that Marlowe used either a lost translation prior to the Jeffes version of 1592, or, what is perhaps more likely, that he saw P.F.'s ms., as we know he saw that of the *Faerie Queene*.

When one comes to consider the text presented by Professor Boas, very serious objections arise. He bases his edition upon the Quarto of 1616, as "presenting in the main a better text" than that of Quarto 1604. But Quarto 1616 includes, as Boas shows, the Rowley-Birde "additions" of 1602, and these should not be printed in the body of the text in the same type as the genuine work of Marlowe. Further where, as in the comic prose scenes, the two Qq. differ widely, Boas prints both versions in the body of the text. This must certainly confuse the reader; one or the other should be relegated to the appendix. Several times, moreover, Boas follows the later version when it seems clear that this has emended the first for the sake of greater intelligibility. For example in the Prologue, 1. 9, Q. 1604 reads "To patient Judgements we appeal our [qu. for?] plaude"; Quarto 1616: "And now to patient judgements we appeal." Is it conceivable that Marlowe wrote the later version and that a scribe or reviser altered it to the obscure line of 1604? Again, Prologue 1. 19, the first version has "Excelling all whose sweete delight disputes"; the later, "Excelling all and sweetly can dispute." Once more it seems plain that the earlier version preserves the original form, though probably corrupted—read "Excelling all whose sweete disputes delight." The later version is plainly an emendation. The rule of *durior lectio* is, after all, a good one to follow.

Passing from the Prologue to the last soliloquy of Faustus, we find that Boas here discards Q. 1616, which in this place, as else-

where, has been heavily censored by the licenser, and reverts to Q. 1604. He is quite right in doing so, but the question arises whether after all the earlier version is not as Simpson (*Essays and Studies* V. 14, p. 31) affirms "the least contaminated text" of the play.

This earlier version, no doubt, rests upon a ms. that preserves an altered and badly cut version of the original. The 1616 text, as Boas shows, derives from an independent ms. and includes more than the few lines of Marlowe's work missing in Q. 1604 which was all that Brooke (*Works of Marlowe*, 1910) was inclined to allow. The only modern version that can at least approximate Marlowe's creation must be an eclectic one, eliminating the evident corruptions, gags (II, ii, 96-7), and later additions. But such a version one must regretfully declare Professor Boas has not given us.

On the other hand, Boas has done something to clarify the original version. He makes it fairly evident that Marlowe is responsible for the serio-comic prose scenes, I, ii and iv, in which Wagner was introduced as a foil to his master in magic. The dropping of Wagner and his replacement by the clowns Robin and Ralph (or Dick) indicates another hand in the first form of the play, and that hand may well be Samuel Rowley's. We know that *Tamburlaine* when first presented included various "fond and frivolous gestures" (i. e., scenes of horse-play) omitted by the judicious printer. There is, accordingly, reason to believe that *Dr. Faustus* was originally equipped for presentation with just such scenes, and that these are preserved in both versions. Whether the shorter forms of these scenes in Q. 1616 represent the original, as Boas holds, seems to me an open question.

Professor Boas gives a clear and probably correct account of the transmission of the text. The earlier version containing the work of Marlowe and a collaborator rests upon a manuscript "edited" possibly for a provincial performance. It was obtained by Bushell ca. January 1601 when he registered it for publication. He may well have printed an edition now lost, since the extreme rarity of early copies of *Dr. Faustus* goes to show that the printed play was, so to speak, read to pieces. Later, ca. 1616, after the popularity of *Dr. Faustus* as a stage-play had waned, another version was released to the printer, containing the 1602 additions. These additions had evidently been inserted in a manuscript play-book other than the one Bushell had obtained twelve years before, a manuscript which possesses, therefore, independent authority. From these two versions we must gather as best we may the work of Marlowe himself as distinguished from that of collaborators and revisers.

Boas allows him the first two acts (with the possible exception of the Seven Sins episode, which seems likely enough); the Chorus and scene i, II. 1-54 of Act III in Quarto 1616; Act IV, ii (in the

earlier version); Act IV, sc. vii, ll. 1-36 (in the later version); and Act V substantially as it appears in Quarto 1604. In other words, Marlowe wrote practically the beginning and the end of the play; the middle is in the main spurious.

After all, this is a natural conclusion. The Faust story presents a highly dramatic beginning and end. What to do with the four and twenty years between the signing of the compact and the damnation of Faust has always puzzled playwrights. Goethe filled this interval with the Gretchen story, a tragic-pathetic interlude, but one which has no essential connection with the main theme. There was no need to invoke the aid of Mephistopheles to achieve the seduction of a simple maiden by a scholar and a gentleman such as Goethe's Faust. The Elizabethans, following the stage practice of their day, filled this interval with the exploits of Faustus and his followers as told in the folk-book, and this "filling" is substantially not Marlowe's.

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Classic Americans: A Study of Eminent American Writers from Irving to Whitman, with an Introductory Survey of the Colonial Background of Our National Literature. By HENRY SEIDEL CANBY. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1931. Pp. xvii + 371. \$3.50.

In Mr. Canby's estimation American literature is not a social document, an historical treatise, a native transcription of Old World culture, or a literary art divorced from environment but an artistic expression of a national character that has been produced by the operation of native forces "prepotent in our national existence." This character or attitude he denominates *intensity*. The native forces, responsible for this intensity, he describes first, as the intensity of the Calvinist mind, or "the will to be good"; second, as the tolerance of the Quaker mind with its mystic leadings of the inner Light; and third, as the political and literary conflict between the centralized thinking of the Federalist and the expansive, turbulent thought of the Democrat. Of these forces Mr. Canby considers intensity the most important, for he shows that under various names such as "the will to improve" or "the will to succeed" it permeated all three of the forces. He speaks of "the spiritual intensity of the Quaker," and "the will to succeed of the Puritan." It is Mr. Canby's opinion that in the study of American literature these forces with their resultant intensity are of fundamental value. He argues that even if an American production lacks "absolute excellence" it still may have a value for American readers, and that in a critical judgment of the rank which American writers hold in

relation to world figures, these forces must not be neglected. With this broad background in mind, he purposes to interpret seven major American authors of the national period.

A number of the American authors whom Mr. Canby treats emerge from the background of native forces with more significance for the reader than they have hitherto shown. Cooper, for example, gains in proportion as one knows him not only as a fierce Republican and aristocratic landowner but also as a "transformed Quaker." His Nattie Bumpo steps into the clearing a more understandable character in fiction when one realizes that it is the Quaker in him which endows him with no "gift" for wanton killing. Irving scores as one sees in him the "Federalist hope of urbanity." And although Mr. Canby does not fully recognize the constructive influence of foreign culture upon American writers, he does succeed in showing that native forces had much to do in making Emerson a writer possessing both native and universal appeal. Emerson's ideas on moral conduct, involving as they did the "will to be good," serve as an index to the moral life of American readers and to world critics as well. This native force of intensity, moreover, when transfused into the form of Emerson's literary style ranks him, according to Mr. Canby, with great seventeenth century divines of England and with Bossuet and Pascal.

But Mr. Canby disregards some important implications in the action of the native forces which he describes. He does not make a critical use of the intensity that he finds in the centralized or controlled thinking of the Federalists. He does not grant that this centralized thinking played a part in introducing Old World culture into America, or that intensity, particularly with Poe, conditioned the form of artistic expression. He does not, therefore, successfully classify Poe either as a native writer or as a universal artist. Endeavoring to discover native forces at work in Poe, admittedly for the purpose of establishing Poe's value for American readers, Mr. Canby connects intensity with Poe's adventures in American journalism, and in so doing asserts that back of Poe's excellence in literary technique lay the journalist's needs for brevity and for arresting at once the reader's attention. He states emphatically: "No one but a journalist could have invented the detective story." Undoubtedly Poe in the midst of America's first great interest in magazine production did work superbly in the journalist's medium. But when the author insists that journalism "shaped" Poe's art, he fails to grasp the significance of the historical environment enveloping Poe's art, and the nature of the art itself. Much more justly Mr. Canby might have connected intensity with Poe's part in the constructive work of the Federalists' attempt to counteract a tendency toward what was called mob style or democratic diction. To offset such War-of-1812 spirit as: "We have got outselves a navy, now let us get ourselves a literature," Federalists brought to

American criticism and American creative writing the best of foreign models. Poe, imbued with the controlled thinking of the Federalist, constructed an art theory from purposive studies in Aristotle, Plato, Coleridge, Schlegel, and scientists such as La Place and Newton. With equal justice Mr. Canby might have connected intensity with the nature of this theory that Poe developed. In Poe's mind intensity described the nature of scientific thinking. It meant the close interaction of the five steps in the process known as the scientific method; or the nice adjustment of part to part in an organized whole. For him it meant unity. Such a closeness of relationships Poe found illustrated in Newton's statement of the law of gravitation. And he endeavored, in *Eureka*, to explain that this same closeness characterizes a perfect plot structure in literary composition.

This explanation of what intensity might imply unquestionably renders pointless certain of Mr. Canby's conclusions regarding Poe, especially as a world figure. It justifies one in dismissing the charges that Plato was "meaningless to Poe" and that Poe could only pretend to the method of Leonardo. As a matter of fact, Plato, Leonardo, and Poe in common held unity as a scientific doctrine. This point is testified to by Poe's use of *The Dialogues* and furthermore by the fact that his argument in his critique "The Ivory Christ" would, in all probability, have satisfied the artistic demands of the Florentine. And the same explanation of intensity will doubtless negate Mr. Canby's charge that Poe's detective story was primarily the invention of a journalist. The ratiocinative process in "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" and "The Purloined Letter," to cite the best-known of Poe's detective stories, systematically transcribes Poe's understanding of the five steps in the scientific method. It is difficult, therefore, to be anything but mystified by the terms "fudge" and "trick" that the author applies to the machinery of these stories.

In general, it may be said that Mr. Canby's treatment of the broad background of native forces in his plan for the study of American literature does not measure up to the excellence of the plan itself. The least constructive of the three forces receives a disproportionate share of the author's attention. It would be expected that an ideal embraced by a sincere minded people such as the Quakers should project itself into the literature of the country. Mr. Canby is here working in an interesting field. That force is not, however, a constructive one as he admits when he says that it did not further artistic expression. In thus stressing the least influential of the forces he loses the opportunity of adequately considering those of more constructive value. As has been pointed out, he fails to credit the centralizing force of Federalism with improving American literature by bringing into America Old World culture and by shaping literary expression into an artistic mould. The author's attitude toward his plan, it may also be

added, undoubtedly leads to a confusion of critical standards. He particularly emphasizes the point that an American work may lack "absolute excellence" and still possess a "value for American readers." But in spite of these drawbacks, the plan in its own integrity performs an exceptional service for American literature. It so clearly draws to a focus the various forces "prepotent in our national existence" that the much talked-of but intangible thing known as the American mind takes on a surprising degree of definiteness.

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A History of Early American Magazines, 1741-1789. By LYON N. RICHARDSON. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1931. Pp. xi + 414. \$5.00.

The Periodicals of American Transcendentalism. By CLARENCE L. F. GOHDES. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1931. Pp. vii + 264. \$3.50.

Professor Richardson's monograph, fully and even elaborately worked out within its distinct limits, takes its place at once as the definitive work on American colonial magazines. Its careful scholarship, based on laborious investigation, and its skilful arrangement of materials win it immediate acceptance.

Thirty-seven magazines are considered, of which only three have histories covering as long a period as five years; yet there is not one of them that does not repay study by shedding light on social, religious, literary, economic, or political questions of their times. Apparently the author is not only indefatigable in research, but also (and this is particularly noticeable in his ascriptions of authorship to anonymous pieces) shrewd in his hypotheses.

The book belongs not to popular *belles-lettres*, but to the class of scholarly monographs. The masses of material, all having its importance for the student, get in the way of what might conceivably be a pleasing flow of narrative in a book designed for a popular audience. But Professor Richardson knows what he is about, and his writing is competent for his purpose. He might, however, profitably have given more attention to generalizations by way of sketching in a picture of a forest the individual trees of which he has portrayed so meticulously. The scholarly apparatus of citations, biographical notices, bibliographies and check-lists, as well as an adequate index, is well handled.

Dr. Gohdes' book is a valuable contribution to the study of that phase of American thought and expression with which it deals. It summarizes with care and fullness the contents of ten periodicals

having greater or less connection with the movement known as New England transcendentalism so far as those contents relate to that movement; it also mentions something of the other contents of the ten periodicals studied and gives some of the facts related to their various histories. This latter function of Dr. Gohdes' study, however, is not always satisfying. For example, we are told in regard to the *Western Messenger* that "An effort has been made to determine the actual circumstances of its editing and publishing, but to little avail." As a matter of fact, the chief data of both the editing and publishing of the *Messenger* are available. But Dr. Gohdes is not greatly interested in the basic facts of publication. "Since most of them," he says, referring to the periodicals studied, "have little significance to a study of American journalism, the details of publication have been reduced to a minimum." I fear the word *journalism* is here used in an indefensible sense; at least I am certain that the fundamental bibliographical data of the file of the periodical afford a necessary basis upon which to study its contents. It cannot be denied that the circumstances of publication (which, by the way, Dr. Gohdes does set forth satisfactorily and illuminatingly in respect to some of his periodicals) are often of the utmost importance in relation to the material published.

But the most distressing shortcoming of the work before us is that in spite of its title it gives us only negligible bits about certain of the most important periodicals connected with New England transcendentalism. I refer especially to the *Dial*, which is, of course, far the most important of them all. The *Dial* is not given a separate chapter, but only an incidental paragraph here and there because of its relation to other magazines. This omission is explained in a footnote as being due to the existence of George Willis Cooke's introduction to the Rowfant Club's reprint. While acknowledging the excellence in many respects of Cooke's essay, the present reviewer cannot agree that it constitutes a final study of the problems presented by the *Dial*; and even if it did, at least a summary of its conclusions would be necessary to the completeness of a treatment of "the periodicals of American transcendentalism." The other omissions are of less importance: the Brook Farm *Phalanx* and Conway and Sanborn's *Commonwealth*. It is true that the former was largely concerned with Fourierism and the latter with abolition, but their close connections with transcendentalism in some of its phases seem to me to give them claims to inclusion (by way of brief consideration, at least) equal to those of the *Harbinger* or the *Index*, for example.

There are some slips in regard to matters of fact connected with periodicals which come into Dr. Gohdes' discussion incidentally. The *Brother Jonathan*, edited by Park Benjamin, Rufus Griswold, John Neal, and others, was important because of various activities in popular literature; but it had no connection, or at least a very

slight one, with the Cooper quarrels. (See Ethel R. Outland's *The Effingham Libels on Cooper*. Probably Dr. Gohdes has confused Benjamin and Griswold's *New World* with the *Brother Jonathan*.) Nor was the *Western Messenger* the first important western magazine to combine religion and *belles-lettres*: the Reverend Timothy Flint had already done that in his *Western Monthly Review*.

But I have given too much space to picking flaws in a very useful work. More than half of the ten significant periodicals which the volume considers have not previously received full-length treatment: the *Western Messenger*, Brownson's *Boston Quarterly Review*, Channing's *The Present* and *The Spirit of the Age*, Ripley's *Harbinger*, Miss Peabody's *Aesthetic Papers*, Parker's *Massachusetts Quarterly Review*, Conway's *Dial*, Morse's *Radical*, and the Free Religious Association's *Index*. The period considered may be described roughly as 1835 to 1872, though the *Index* lasted until 1886, when it was succeeded by the *Open Court*, which still flourishes. In its discussions of the "Emersonidae" and of reactions to Emerson on the part of intellectuals, Dr. Gohdes' work is especially valuable.

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Expression in America. By LUDWIG LEWISOHN. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932. Pp. xxxii + 624. \$4.00.

This is a most provocative book. It is a subjective study of literary expression in America from the days of William Bradford to those of T. S. Eliot. Mr. Lewisohn, not constrained to inclusiveness by the requirements of formal literary history, roams at will, now leisurely interpreting an arresting figure or feature, then entirely passing over writers of interest presumably only to the antiquarian. Claiming originality of interpretation rather than research, Mr. Lewisohn's book is frankly a work of criticism rather than scholarship, and must be judged as such.

In one way this is the most original book in American literary criticism, for it is the first analysis of the entire product of American creative expression by the use of "the organon or method of knowledge associated with the venerated name of Sigmund Freud." That the method does not yield convincing inferences and deductions is not always the fault of Mr. Freud. Mr. Lewisohn rides his theses too hard. Had he accepted Freud less uncritically, his analyses of certain figures in American literature might have disclosed greater vision and sharper penetration.

Thus Mr. Lewisohn finds that Thoreau was "hopelessly inhibited, probably to the point of physical impotence or else physiologically hopelessly undersexed" and that Whitman was a "homosexual of

the most pronounced and aggressive type"—he passes over "A Woman Waits for Me." Moody, a fine poet, was "influenced by a powerful mother-fixation." The popularity of Jack London, especially of his *The Sea-Wolf*, is explained on the ground that, in the case of many readers, there is a "satisfaction (through the relations of the cruel captain and the delicate lad) of unconscious homo-erotic wishes." Dreiser, too, is influenced by "a strong mother fixation" and consequent "father hatred."

Mr. Lewisohn's critical pronouncements, often categorically expressed, are even less convincing. Most of them are not so much judgments of the works discussed as confessions of personal predilections. We learn that Poe "as a critic does not exist"; that "certain parts of Whitman's work are not less than great; the whole is unendurable"; that "Fayaway [in Melville's *Typee*] is not beautiful in the memory"; that Moody's appearance in the American theater "helped to put in their dreadful place the Bronson Howards and Steele MacKayes and Hernes and Gillettes and Clyde Fitches"; that Norris's novels "no longer belong to living literature"; that a liking for Poe is a disclosure of "the taste of weary and jaded souls"; and that those who find it "almost impossible to read three consecutive pages" of Cabell are characterized by "rational and virile minds." One wonders whether Mr. Lewisohn has read Herne's *Margaret Fleming*, made available by Professor Quinn in 1930, whether he has recently reread or, better still, witnessed a revival of Moody's *The Great Divide* or *The Faith Healer*, and whether he is aware that Poe is popular reading among high-school students.

If Professor Norman Foerster is right in his belief that there is need for a new type of interpreter of American literature, the critic-scholar, Mr. Lewisohn's performance makes clear that the new interpreter, while cultivating the refinements of style and the boldness of original critical opinion, will still have to submit to the discipline of objective scholarship. For only sound scholarship can produce sound criticism.

N. BRYLLION FAGIN

The Johns Hopkins University

On Being Creative And Other Essays. By IRVING BABBITT.
Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1932. Pp.
xliiv + 266.

Professor Babbitt's latest volume is compounded of eight essays from periodicals and lecture courses, together with an "Introduction" of some thirty pages mainly devoted to a re-statement of the principles of "humanism." The eight essays range in subject from

one quarreling with Professor Lowes over the absolute merits of Coleridge's poetry to one in which the author attempts to correct the whole western attitude towards the Orient. Followers of Mr. Babbitt will look upon the book as another portion of the scripture which runs from *Literature and the American College* through *Democracy and Leadership* and read it reverently, whereas those for whom this critic has no appeal are likely to regard it as possessing all the vitality of error and all the tediousness of an old friend.

What position should the academic reviewer take? Were this volume presented as a work of literary scholarship, it might be possible to comment upon its findings, to discuss its method, and to evaluate its importance as an objective study. Mr. Babbitt's writings have never pretended to scholarship of this order, and though he is vastly erudite, his lack of footnote reference has made it impossible to follow him through all the windings and turnings of his essays and to ascertain whether he has been fair to the vast number of authors he quotes only to condemn and whether he has understood their total doctrines. If one can not take Mr. Babbitt's essays as contributions adding to the sum of scholarly knowledge, neither can one take them as philosophy in any sense of the term which would make comment upon them possible in a specialists' journal, since the author does not pretend to a metaphysic of his own, but merely presents a group of ideas gleaned from the wisdom of the world out of which he has constructed a cultural doctrine. Moreover, his terminology is so inexact that it is impossible to take him seriously as a metaphysical or philosophical thinker, and his sweeping dismissal of all psychology and his refusal to recognize the metaphysical relations of modern scientific theorems render his arguments naive. Finally, it is equally uncertain whether one should deal with these pronouncements as literary criticism since it is the first business of literary criticism to be in sympathetic, though candid, relation with the artists concerning whom the critic writes, and the most obvious quality in Mr. Babbitt's writings is his deep dislike of almost every writer in the modern world.

Perhaps the reviewer ought here to cease upon the midnight with no pain. But a remark in Mr. Babbitt's "Introduction" is interesting. He finds it necessary to recapitulate the tenets of "humanism", "because it has become apparent that it is in certain respects in need of further elucidation." After writing six books elucidating humanism, Mr. Babbitt still feels that he is not understood. Why should this be? Now one can not oppose Mr. Babbitt without the risk of bringing upon one the charge of prejudice against him. I may as well admit that dogmatism irritates me, but at the risk of being thought either a very stupid or a very prejudiced person, let me add that I have read Mr. Babbitt's "Introduction" carefully three times and tried honestly to understand

it, and that I have still only a hazy idea of what Mr. Babbitt is talking about. When I seek the reason for my confused impressions, I find it in the loose use of general terms and the absence of proper paragraph subordination and construction. As I do not wish to occupy space here to prove how confused and ill-assorted are the various meanings which Mr. Babbitt pours into such general terms as "grace," "will," "reason," "nature," "humanism," "humility" and the like, changing their meanings as it is convenient to the argument, I must simply beg the candid reader to fix in his mind any good working definition of any of these words, read Mr. Babbitt's "Introduction", and see whether he can make any agreed on meaning stick for the whole of the discussion. I can make nothing of it but *confusio in terminis*. And when he has struggled with Mr. Babbitt's loose use of general terms, let the reader next consider a typical paragraph—the book lies open at the one beginning on p. xv and extending to p. xix, as I write—and work through it as he would a paragraph in any student composition, noting the lack of subordination, and the defects in the unity, coherence, and emphasis of the structure. Such writing can have little effect upon the creative artists of the present day.

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

University of Michigan

Toward the Understanding of Shelley. By BENNETT WEAVER.

Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1932. Pp. xii + 258 + viii. \$2.50.

The Best of Shelley. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by

NEWMAN I. WHITE. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1932. Pp. xlvi + 532.

An Analytical Study of Shelley's Versification. By LOUISE PROFST.

Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1933. Pp. 74. \$0.75.
(University of Iowa Studies.)

Desire and Restraint in Shelley. By FLOYD H. STOVALL. Durham,

N. C.: Duke University Press, 1931. Pp. xi + 308. \$3.50.

When Shelley called poets chameleons, taking their color from that on which they fed, he did not foresee that critics of the next century would try to stop the flux and change which is life and try to fix him in one color; he did not foresee that criticism would follow the methods of spectroscopy or microspectroscopy; that any critic would study minutely only one of his many colors, ignoring those others which at any given moment contribute the major part

to the white light of his poetry. Some of our critics see Shelley only as a Platonist; some as a Godwinian Necessitarian; one as a Newton; and now Dr. Bennett Weaver in his *Toward the Understanding of Shelley* sees him as a Hebrew. Like Milton, he is "Hebrew in soul."

Dr. Weaver finds an auspicious beginning for his thesis in noting (what Shelley stated in his *Defense*) that the poet and the prophet are akin; and that Shelley, like the Biblical prophets, has a passion for reforming the world. But anyone may object that all primitive poets were prophets, and that as good a parallel could be worked out with Lucretius as with Isaiah or Jeremiah. Of course no one doubts that Shelley's reading of the Bible had tremendous influence on his thinking and on his poetry. But after reading Brailsford (who tells us that we may regard *Prometheus Unbound* as Godwin's noblest work), and Professor Carl Grabo (who finds Shelley's avid reading of the scientific literature of his day the principal influence upon his mind), and now Dr. Weaver, who finds him Hebrew in soul, the sane reader must conclude that the truth lies not in these spectroscopic critics, but somewhere among them.

It was necessary for someone to make a systematic study of Shelley's use of Biblical material, and Dr. Weaver has a more than adequate background for such a work. He knows his Bible and he has poetic feeling. One regrets, however, that he was not a little more restrained in his enthusiasm for his thesis; that he did not choose his title first, and stick to it.

A major fault has resulted from his utter neglect of the principle of growth in his presentation of Shelley's mind. The youthful Shelley was suspicious of or hostile to nearly everything connected with religion. In a dialogue inserted into a note to *Queen Mab*, Falsehood utters this significant remark: "I brought my daughter, RELIGION, on earth; she smothered Reason's babes in their birth." Shelley's views on forgiveness, redemption, on the position of women, and on marriage were never Hebrew. While Mr. Weaver quotes at length from the *Essay on Christianity*, he mentions *The Necessity of Atheism* only once, and casually. His partial quotations are often misleading. From a note to *Mab* he begins, "A book is put into our hands when children, called the Bible," with a few lines more, presumably to show that Shelley came early under the influence of the Book. But from Mr. Weaver's quotation the novice could not know that the long note is denunciatory of the Christian religion, or that in other notes to the same poem Shelley wrote:

The state of society in which we exist is a mixture of feudal savageness and imperfect civilization. The narrow and unenlightened morality of the Christian religion is an aggravation of these evils. (Note to *Mab*, v, 189)

The genius of human happiness must tear every leaf from the accursed book of God ere man can read the inscription on his heart. (*Ibid.*)

In the last paragraph of the *Essay on Christianity* Shelley states his belief that Christ abrogates the system of the Jewish law, and makes it pretty clear that his admiration of Christ is owing in large part to his assumption that Christ "tramples upon all received opinions, . . ." In short, Shelley sees in Christ, as in Milton's Satan, a splendid rebel.

These old bones have been rattled before, and I should not bring them up again except as a reminder that Shelley himself supplied antithesis as well as thesis. Mr. Weaver habitually selects out of the Scriptures what modern social thought approves and calls it Hebrew, ignoring (even though he is sometimes forced to quote) the cruel and bloody aspects of the Bible. Even when he quotes with admiration a clause such as, "they have been washed in the blood of the mediator and redeemer, Time," he is more impressed with the Hebrew echo than with Shelley's agnostic, perhaps scientific, innovation, which, to me, indicates the temper of Shelley's mind. It is little more intelligent in our day to portray Shelley as a latter-day Hebrew prophet than it was in 1820 to denounce him as a devil from hell, or a madman with a maggot in his brain.

Like other great minds, Shelley borrowed wherever he found ideas and images to suit his purpose. Mr. Weaver has shown very well Shelley's borrowing from the Bible. But we should have had a clearer understanding of this chameleon, this Ariel, had he made it evident that in the Bible, as elsewhere, it was the literature of protest and rebellion against the old order which interested this romantic perfectibilist, and that much that is revered by Christian and Jewish sects today was anathema to Shelley. We do not clarify the total impression of a genius by concentration upon one part of his character. Mr. Weaver would have written a better book if the whole had been as sane as his title, or his last paragraph.

The Best of Shelley is in every way an admirable book. Professor White brings to his task a ripe knowledge of Shelley's work and of the entire body of Shelley criticism. He has, most important of all, a sane, well balanced point of view. The editor's thirty-page introduction is the best brief survey of Shelley's development that has yet been written. For the convenience of students there is a chronological table of events in the poet's life, showing their relation in time to literary and historical events in England, on the Continent, and in America. The "Comments, Historical and Critical" in the back of the book inform the reader, not only when and where each poem was written, but they reveal what events in the poet's life and what readings are reflected in the poem. For the philosophical poems there is a clear analysis of content. When critical opinion is sharply divided, Professor White presents the notable opinions, and then his own. These notes keep the main trend of Shelley's development very clear and are themselves models of lucid exposition. Doubtless some students of Shelley will think

that Professor White in his note on *Prometheus Unbound*, slights the importance of Necessitarianism; the present reviewer thinks he does not slight it enough. But in such matters there is no pleasing everyone. Professor White gives small space to Biblical influences. He makes several acknowledgments to Professor Carl Grabo's *A Newton Among Poets*.

In addition to the Comments, there is a brief set of "Annotations of Difficult Passages, Words, and Allusions" as well as a glossary of proper names.

The selection of the poems and prose justifies the title. *The Revolt of Islam* is well left out. *Queen Mab* is included, and rightly, for the later Shelley can hardly be understood without study of the half-digested and contradictory ideas and systems with which the poem teems. Some readers will wish the *Ode to Liberty* had been included and the *Mask of Anarchy* left out, and that all of *Hellas* might have found room in the book. Among the short lyrics, perhaps only *The Indian Serenade* will be missed. But anyone who reads this volume carefully, mature student, undergraduate, or John Public, will know the best of Shelley.

Miss Propst's analysis of the metre of Shelley's shorter lyrics demonstrates the poet's skill in the use of substitution of single feet, shifts in whole lines, reversal of rising and falling metres, and in the use of special feet, such as the spondee. All of the stanzaic patterns, with line length and rhyme scheme used by the poet, are listed. The study is informative, showing as it does Shelley's habits. It does not pretend to reveal "the whole secret of Shelley's versification" but does demonstrate Shelley's resourcefulness.

According to Miss Propst, Shelley used chiefly rising rhythm; he used iambic pentameter most, iambic tetrameter almost as much. In this he, of course, is conventional. The study further reveals that Shelley used trisyllabic substitution so much that anapaestic is often considered his most characteristic metre. Contrary to the general practice, he made free substitution in the second foot of a verse, and free use of inverted feet. More interesting is the section devoted to the study of pauses, *enjambement*, and the melodic effects, including refrain. The seventy-four-page booklet concludes with tables of metres and stanzaic patterns used by Shelley. While the study is rather formal, perhaps necessarily so, Dr. Propst has done a competent piece of work.

The aim of Mr. Stovall's study has been "to present a consecutive account of Shelley's development, as a thinker, a poet, and a responsible member of society, from the attitude of revolt, through conflict and suffering, to the attitude of compromise in his relations with the world and his own soul . . . and to portray him, not merely as a dreamer and a romantic poet of idealism, but as an earnest and perplexed citizen of the actual world. . . ." The book is divided into three parts: "The Enthusiast," covering

roughly the years 1810 to 1814 when Shelley sought to reform the world; "The Combatant," the period of dominant egoism, from 1814 to 1818; "The Sufferer," 1818 to 1822, the Italian period, when the desire for achievement in poetry was the dominant motive. Professor Stovall emphasizes in this period the poet's suffering through realization of the hopelessness of reforming the world, through loss of faith in his own power to interest the world, and through failure to find lasting satisfaction in love. He does not admit that this period in the poet's life is one of continued escape into subjectivity and metaphysics. Instead he stresses Shelley's striving for an objective view of the actual world.

The book is carefully planned, good tempered throughout, and reveals a close knowledge of Shelley's work and of the corpus of Shelley criticism. Unlike some of the biographers and psychologists, Professor Stovall believes that "Shelley's radical ideas were not the result of parental unkindness, or of persecution at Eton or of injury at Oxford." He finds Shelley's radicalism the result of ideas which early came to his mind, the truth of which he sought by reason to weigh and establish or reject, and "when he had extended his questioning beyond his own mind, . . . he found himself treated with contumely and persecuted as a criminal." Unlike Professor Grabo, whose *A Newton among the Poets* is nowhere mentioned, Professor Stovall takes little stock in Shelley's scientific study. "His mind was the opposite of scientific; in many ways it was medieval rather than modern. He was inclined first to formulate settled opinions and afterwards, as a disputant rather than as a searcher after truth, to set up reasons in support of them."

The book does present a well ordered account of Shelley's development, but with the emphasis on the perplexed citizen, rather than on the poet. It is reasonably brief, and since it nowhere departs radically from the main trend of Shelley criticism it may be taken as a reliable digest of a vast amount of complicated data. One feels, however, that Professor Stovall is more interested in the man than in his poetry; in fact, that he does not rate Shelley very high as a poet. "At the age of thirty, though he had done much, he had only completed his apprenticeship to poetry; he had but learned the great lessons of self-knowledge and self-control, and he was yet only half educated in the deep lore of the human soul. . . . If he had lived and continued to develop as before, it is conceivable that he would have earned a place in literary history beside Milton. . . ." Or, perhaps his spirit had already "burned itself out." In short, an interesting though imperfect personality, but an unimportant poet. The book does not, as the publisher's notice promises, "enhance one's appreciation of Shelley's poetry." Possibly the dichotomy of the title should warn one not to expect that. While there has been too much both of abuse and of rhapsodic

praise of Shelley's poetry, Professor Stovall seems unnecessarily cautious in promising to portray him "not merely as a dreamer and a romantic poet of idealism."

MELVIN T. SOLVE

University of Arizona

Contributions to a Milton Bibliography (1800-1930). By HARRIS FRANCIS FLETCHER. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1931. Pp. 166. \$1.50. (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, XVI, 1.)

This is an excellent addition to D. H. Stevens' *Reference Guide to Milton*. A considerable amount of material omitted by Stevens is here described; besides which, the years 1928-1930 are added to the survey. The author gives a welcome promise of publishing a new list every five years. He certainly deserves both congratulations and thanks, as in the present abundant, and even exaggerated output, a guide like this is highly necessary.

Fletcher continues Stevens' practice of adding his own comments to his description of many of the items listed. I have found these comments less irritating than Stevens'. I think they show greater fairness and sounder judgment. Yet sometimes they are as vigorous as Stevens', as where C. H. Barnes' *Milton and Modern Science* is described as "fantastic and worthless." But I am not sure that I agree with the principle at all in a work of this kind. Instead of abridged reviews, too short for Fletcher to give us the reasons for his statements, I should prefer more description and analysis. An excellent practice which Fletcher frequently follows, is to give a few essential sentences from the text listed. Yet Fletcher's own judgments are generally interesting and must be very useful to young students, as giving them a much needed lead. Perhaps it would be preferable to issue the comments separately.

I regret that Fletcher has not given a number to each of his items, as Stevens had done. It makes references much easier, as Fletcher himself proves by his perpetual references to, e. g., Stevens 2604, etc. The index is extremely incomplete, which is surprising, as I have not been able to discover a principle by which items mentioned in the book should not be listed in the index. Surely perhaps the greatest value of such a work to the user is in a complete index. (E. g.: Ainsworth, Blunden, Burdett. omitted; G. R. Elliott and Saurat incomplete).

I have been unable to discover, either in Stevens or in Fletcher, references to *the Year's Work in English Studies*, an annual publication which has the very highest prestige, at least in Europe,

and in which all the important works on Milton are regularly reviewed by the best English professors.

I do not quite dare to believe that it is Fletcher's aim to list every published reference to Milton; and yet here again I fail to see the principle on which some articles or reviews are omitted when others obviously not more important are listed. And is it necessary or useful to have a complete list? For instance, dozens of reviews or articles on my own work on Milton are not included in this list; and indeed I would not wish them all to be included, as most of them are futile; but on the other hand, many are included which seem to me even more futile. Fletcher ought to think out whether he wishes to give a selection only, and then on what principles he selects; and perhaps in his introduction to the next list, he would explain his practice. This is a general problem of bibliography, and a most vexed one. I suppose that the only really scientific principle is to list *everything*. But the consequences of that are rather appalling, for the recent or present periods, as we are then committed not only to preserve, since they are preserved in any case, but to draw the students' attention to writings that had better be forgotten. Fletcher goes so far as to list typewritten and unpublished dissertations on Milton. Certainly some such may be very important. But then why not list also lectures on Milton? Where is one to end? Someone ought to work out the ethics of bibliography.

No doubt many errors will be found and corrected. May I point out that Louis Reynaud's book (p. 119) is entitled: *Le Romantisme* and not *Le Romanicisme* (a non-existent French word) and that E. P. Legouis, mentioned on p. 125 is not Professor Legouis of the Sorbonne, as suggested, but his son. Such errors are almost inevitable; and it would be quite unfair to blame them too seriously.

In spite of all this, we all owe thanks and congratulations to Professor Fletcher; and I am sure that the collaboration of all Milton students, for which he appeals in his preface, will be forthcoming to him. He gives us a hope that perhaps by 1935, Stevens' *Reference Guide to Milton*, the present *Contributions* and the Addenda by then gathered may all be thrown together into a single list. That would indeed be most welcome, and the various faults which this and other reviews have pointed out could then easily be amended. Indeed it is with a bad conscience that such faults are mentioned, as every critic must feel that he would probably have committed worse faults himself on a task of such magnitude.

DENIS SAURAT

King's College, London

Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen. Realistik des Spätmittelalters, Band 3: *Heinrich Wittenweilers Ring*. Hrsg. von EDMUND WIESSNER. Leipzig: Philipp Reclam jun., 1931. 345 Seiten.

Es gehörte immerhin Mut dazu, in die neue Monumental-Ausgabe der *Deutschen Literatur* auch Wittenweilers *Ring* aufzunehmen und ihn so, wie Wiessner in seiner Einführung (S. 5) ausdrücklich bemerkt, "weiteren Kreisen der deutschen Leserschaft zugänglich" zu machen. Noch immer vermögen Männer, denen ein Urteil sehr wohl zusteht, darin nichts als "gemutlose Kotmalerei" zu erkennen, die freilich "ganz vereinzelt" dastande (Otto von Greyerz, *Merker-Stammlers Reallexikon*, III, 232). Und doch haben die Herausgeber gewiss keinen Augenblick geschwankt, denn es lässt sich schlechterdings keine Geschichte der dörperlichen Dichtung, des Lehrgedichts, des komischen Epos, der Parodie usw. denken, die sich mit diesem Werke des beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts nicht gründlich auseinanderzusetzen hatte — ganz zu schweigen von seiner Bedeutung für Sittengeschichte, Volkskunde u. a. Von einem "deutschen Rabelais" zu sprechen, wie es Singer wenn auch mit Vorbehalt tut, mag misslich sein, das Ganze möchte denn gar zu "deutsch" anmuten. Dass aber ein ganz ungewöhnlicher Wert vorliegt, dessen sich der Erfahrene nunmehr bequem bemächtigen kann, leidet kaum noch Zweifel.

Das Merkwürdige ist, dass dieser Wert bisher so gut wie verschollen war. Eine Ausgabe im Literarischen Verein, besorgt von Ludwig Bechstein, Stuttgart, 1851, eine Dissertation, ein paar gelehrte Abhandlungen, ein paar Seiten hie und da in umfassenderen Werken, das ist alles. Die Hauptarbeit an der Erschließung des Werkes, sowohl im sprachlichen wie im eigentlich literarhistorischen und erst recht geistesgeschichtlichen Belange, bleibt noch zu tun, und die hat Wiessner, durch seine Vorstudien bei weitem der Berufenste dazu, durch die vorliegende Ausgabe in dankenswertester Weise angebahnt. Er selber verspricht uns (S. 344) eingehende Untersuchungen zu den Sprach-, Laut- und Wortformen, zu Vers- und Reimtechnik, zum Stil sowie zur literarischen wie historischen Vor- und Umwelt der Dichtung, überdies einen fortlaufenden Kommentar. Die Ausgabe beschränkt sich dementsprechend auf einen bereinigten Abdruck des Textes auf Grund dreifacher Kollationierung der einzigen, seinerzeit von Bechstein in Meiningen entdeckten Handschrift, die samt ihren zu erschliessenden Schicksalen im Rechenschaftsbericht (S. 340-45) sorgfältig beschrieben wird. Die Lesarten verbuchen auch offenbare Schreibfehler. Die Einführung (S. 5-15) bringt in mustergültiger Zusammenfassung, was der Leser zu förderlicher Lektüre überschauen muss: Anlage und Aufbau, sowie literarhistorische Stellung der Dichtung, Persön-

lichkeit und Stil des Dichters; daran anschliessend die Literatur (S. 15 f). Die "Wörterklärungen" (S. 331-39) sind leider sehr knapp ausgefallen. (Eine hübsche Nachlese bietet Alfred Gotze, *Lbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, 53 [1932], 297.) Gewiss kennt Wiessner die Anekdote von Moriz Haupt, der bei ähnlichem Anlass bemerkt haben soll: "Wie soll ich denn wissen, was die Leute nicht verstehen?"

H. W. NORDMEYER

New York University

Arthur Schnitzler. By SOL LIPTZIN. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1932. 275 pp.

Perhaps it speaks well for Professor Liptzin as a safe teacher of the young that he does not know the difference between a coquette and a cocotte (p. 239, the seduced girl says "The only thing left for me is to become a coquette"—not a misprint since the word is employed four or five times in the same way on succeeding pages). But it is a sad symbol of his inability to appreciate Schnitzler in whose works the *nuance* is everything. The jacket blurb calls this "the first book in English on Vienna's leading literary figure," and it seems a pity that it had to be filled so largely with prosy summaries of plots, which will serve effectively to discourage from reading Schnitzler anyone who does not already know what charm this artist can lend to trite or melodramatic situations. This retelling of plots seems a particularly poor way of introducing Schnitzler to American readers in view of the fact that comparatively speaking many of his works are available in translation. On the one occasion where Mr. Liptzin discusses his author's literary power and presents as proof (in his own translation) a scene from *The Lonely Way*, he writes, (p. 126) "*To where will this longing lead you?*" (Italics mine: *Wohin wird sie dich führen?*) Worst of all Mr. Liptzin misses the point on numerous occasions, for example in his retelling of *Litteratur* and *Die Frau des Weisen*. In his discussion of *Reigen* he makes of Schnitzler a platitudinous moralist.

Professor Liptzin's contribution lies in the chapters which delineate the gradual growth of a drama through the various outlines and versions which he found in the author's unpublished writings. Here we are permitted to see a dramatist at work and to get an intimate view of the creative process. We learn, and at first glance this seems a bit paradoxical, that Schnitzler, the creator of the frivolous Anatol and *das süsse Mädel*, was an extremely painstaking, not to say pedantic, laborer in the composition of his works, recasting and rewriting with an infinite capacity for taking pains. These chapters make interesting reading.

About one third of Professor Liptzin's book was previously published in the *German Quarterly* (parts of chapters I and II), *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* (chapter VI), *The Publications of the Modern Language Association* (chapter VIII), and *The Philological Quarterly* (chapter IX), but the author makes no acknowledgement. In fact, the book is without any documentation whatever, without an index, and without a preface telling anything of the "personal friendship with Schnitzler" mentioned on the jacket. The numerous errors in the dates of publication and other slips cause one to wonder as to how close Professor Liptzin stood to Schnitzler.

Professor Liptzin gives as the date of publication of *Sterben* 1892 (pages 11 and 13); it was published in *Neue deutsche Rundschau* in 1894 and in book form in 1895. *Liebelei* is mentioned as published in 1894 (p. 13) instead of 1896, *Anatol*, in 1889 and 1890 (p. 13) instead of late in 1892, with date 1893 on the title page. He says of Schnitzler (p. 3) "Some of his poems and tales are signed 'Anatol'." Only his poems, not his tales, were thus signed. Furthermore (p. 175) "Then (Schnitzler) devoted additional years to specializing in psychiatry," while as a matter of fact he became his father's assistant in laryngology; he reviewed books on psychiatry. Whatever else one may say about Heinrich Bermann, to call him a "well-mannered hero" (p. 5) is going decidedly too far. *Freiwild* is not "intended as a polemic against the custom of dueling" (p. 15); Schnitzler was not opposed to dueling as such, but was against "Duellzwang"; secondly it was not intended as a polemic at all.

The book is not free from misprints (or are some of them Germanisms?) as for example "orgie" (p. 229). Despite some well done passages, the work in its entirety gives the impression of a book hurriedly rushed into print.

A. E. ZUCKER

University of Maryland

English Devotional Literature (Prose) 1600-1640. By HELEN C. WHITE. University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, Number 29. Madison: 1931. Pp. 307.

The widespread interest aroused by the distinguished volumes of the Abbé Brémond on French devotional literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has inspired in many readers a wish that someone would undertake a survey of similar books in England. The task of exploring this unvisited region has been accomplished by Miss White, who has presented her results in an excellent study. She has not discovered any neglected masterpieces; it appears that, with the exception of the works of Andrews, Donne, Baxter, and

Taylor, England did not produce any such really great devotional literature as did France during the same period. But this fact is in itself one of major importance to the historian, and raises a multitude of interesting questions regarding the development of religious feeling among the masses in the Anglican church up to 1660. As Miss White says, the book of devotion "concentrates its resources on the realization of that pattern of life which all religious effort strives to commend and to the exploration and the appropriation of those values which religion seeks to vindicate and to propagate." Now, the general impression received from Miss White's account is that the authors of English devotional literature before Baxter and Taylor were stern, sombre, harsh, and predestinarian—in short, imbued with the spirit of Calvinism. The traces of Renaissance humanism are not visible in them, as in the heroes and heroines of Brémond's charming volume on *Devout Humanism*. It is not only that one misses the spiritual joy, the adoration of the Virgin and the saints, and all the other imaginative resources of Roman Catholic devotion; but the spirit of Anglicanism as we have come to know it and as it was even then expressed in other forms of literature—the spirit of Hooker, or of George Herbert—is absent from these books of devotion, some of which went into dozens of editions and regulated the religious life of England. It is only in her discussion of the works of Jeremy Taylor, with which she closes her volume, that Miss White ventures to speak of "devout humanism" in any English devotional work. Do we not have here an illuminating commentary on the futility of Laud, on party feeling in church and state, on the gradual emergence of the English people from the shadow of Calvinism? At any rate, these speculations may serve to illustrate how this careful study of a minor *genre* raises questions of large consequence and places familiar subjects in a new and interesting light.

The thoroughness and system with which Miss White has made her survey would seem to justify her belief that she has not missed anything of consequence. She has explored also the survivals of pre-Reformation devotional literature and, most interestingly, the adaptation to English Protestant uses of Roman Catholic treatises, especially French and Spanish. The original English products she analyzes in a series of chapters devoted to "Types," "Methods," "Controlling Ideas," and "Temper and Style." Her monograph is at the same time a bibliographical guide, a descriptive history, and an interpretation, of the *genre* she has chosen to study.

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BELIAL AS AN EXAMPLE¹

Belial arose: "the great seraphic lords in close recess and secret conclave sat." Satan had proposed the question, and his proud imaginations had displayed; Moloch had followed him, declaring,— "My sentence is for open war." And now, after this abrupt and hammering eloquence, the voice of Belial stole upon the deliberating fallen angels like music, which, indeed, it is:

I should be much for open war, O peers,
As not behind in hate . . .

The passion here sinks into a subordinate clause. For the speaker is too well-bred to rage, too disillusioned to aspire, too consummate an artist to press his points. He emphasizes by contrast, not by added force; like the actor who at a great moment lowers his voice instead of raising it, or the contemporary actress who sets her feather boa in order as she faces the firing squad. And his thought is discreet and devious, his rhetoric supple and insinuating, his rhythm flowing, his emphasis hovering, his cadence a dying fall. I too should be for war, he confesses, if the reasons urged in favor of it were not—against it; if he who counselled it did not ground his courage—on despair,

And utter dissolution as the scope
Of all his aim, after some dire revenge.

There again the subordination; and on their own showing, these heaven-storming counsels are gently reduced to absurdity:

¹ The article is an illustration and application of the principles presented in my article "Literature and Life Again," *PMLA.*, March, 1932. These are developed in an unpublished article "Literature and Life Once More"; and, incidentally, in a book entitled *Art and Artifice in Shakespeare*, which appeared during the summer.

And that must end us, that must be our cure,
 To be no more; sad cure; for who would lose,
 Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
 Those thoughts that wander through eternity,
 To perish rather, swallow'd up and lost
 In the wide womb of uncreated night,
 Devoid of sense and motion?

"After some dire revenge"—"sad cure," he sneers, faintly and demurely, but with a languor that is only apparent. He is not indifferent or blasé. He thrusts as he retreats; and frankly lays bare before the embittered assembly his own delight in life—in thought and imagination—and his horror of nonentity. Though a son of Epicurus, he is of no lax or tenuous fibre, but makes light of the present disaster before the thousand demigods on golden seats, Satan above them. He loves company, discourse, the camp. "What can we suffer worse?" he echoes,—

Is this, then, worst,
 Thus sitting, thus consulting, thus in arms?

Yet he is not unmindful of the dread hours of combat and defeat—"that sure was worse"; anticipates disaster direr still, within the compass of the Almighty's power—"this would be worse"; and appreciates the folly and vanity of any resistance in view of greater torments—"better these than *worse*, by my advice." If then we really were brave and clever, we were from the first prepared for such an outcome:

I laugh when those who at the spear are bold
 And vent'rous, if that fail them, shrink and fear,
 What yet they know must follow, to endure
 Exile, or ignomy, or bonds, or pain,
 The sentence of their conqueror.

He can take his medicine, short of the hemlock; and, like your true Epicurean, is, in necessity, a Stoic, though with a grace, a smile. He can laugh—where the stern and stalwart Satan and Beelzebub can only scoff and jeer—in Hell. Things are bad, but may be better—

Besides what hope the never-ending flight
 Of future days may bring, what chance, what change;
 Worth waiting, since our present lot appears
 For happy though but ill, for ill not worst,
 If we procure not to ourselves more woe.

Again the subordination, again the dying fall, which is really the curl and upturn of irony; and he seems to bow, and decline upon his throne, as he utters the final languid yet pointed words.

What an example of a poet's original and plastic power! Belial is not Milton, just as Lovelace is not Richardson²—out of the book and on the street creator and creature would have had little in common. "A promise of genius," says Coleridge, speaking of Shakespeare's early poems, "is the choice of subjects very remote from the private interests and circumstances of the writer himself. At least I have found that where the subject is taken immediately from the author's personal sensations and experiences, the excellence of a particular poem is but an equivocal mask, and often a fallacious pledge, of genuine poetic power." "Specious" and "timorous," "slothful" and "counselling ignoble ease" (and we remember the similarly disparaging epithets in Richardson's footnotes and table of contents)—such a one would never have been understood by the man (rather than poet) who appears in these comments and is somewhat more at home with the rebel and recusant Prince of Hell. That uncompromising spirit, long afterward, in the epic sequel, disdains Belial's counsel—to tempt the Saviour with women—as he disdains it now, then (as at present) "bringing a mind never to be changed by place or time." Really he contrasts with Belial more effectively than the bullheaded Moloch, is an earlier Childe Roland—

And yet
Dauntless the slughorn to my lips I set,
And blew . . .

"And yet"—for now, even as in the beginning, he sees and envisages it all. To Belial such derring-do would be folly likewise; but not to Milton, man or poet.

And plastic—in the form and movement of the speech is the life of the character, as with Shakespeare. And (as when applied to Shakespeare also) a paraphrase or a résumé is nothing; an analysis, even in the pages of the best of critics, save as it echoes the poet's wording, is nearly nothing too. These are merely the framework, without soul or expression. The soul—the expression—lies in the

² Leslie Stephen (*Hours in a Library*, 1899, I, 86) says that judicious critics thought the novelist "must have been himself a man of vicious life . . . which is little better than silly."

cast of the phrase and the turn of the line, the personal accent and individual tone. Ordinarily Milton himself is supposed to be always speaking. God, Satan, and Adam, Abdiel, Raphael, and Gabriel, are really the Puritan himself; and Eve is but his ideal of a woman, or his experience of a wife. Somewhat too often, indeed, that is true. But what is best about all these personages, as well as Belial and Beelzebub, is—beyond the reach of Puritanism or humanism either—the work of an imagination. It is an act, not of self-expression, but of invention or discovery; not of imitation, but of origination and projection. Though the poet is still speaking, it is as a poet. And what startles us into delight is not his accents, coming through the mask, but another's—and as the mask changes, another still—though the voice itself is his own. Such is nearly always the case when he puts on Belial, or Eve, or the Son (in *Paradise Lost*, if not in the later epic), or (despite his Miltonic rebelliousness) Satan. And it is Adam, not the poet, that cries to fallen Eve,

How can I live without thee?

And it is God the Father that charges Michael,

So send them forth, though sorrowing, yet in peace.

For Milton as an epic poet is, like Homer and Dante, a dramatist, though in less measure, to a less degree. Paris is not cowardly or contemptible, though Hector and Helen sometimes call him so; and Farinata and many another are too good for Hell. Poet and dramatist are not one and the same.

And that fact appears most clearly in one respect in which, like Richardson again, Milton is superior not only to those epic poets but even to Shakespeare,—the matter of giving a character a point of view of his own. Far inferior in plastic power, in the gift for differentiating speech—vocabulary, figure, and rhythm—to fit and distinguish the individual, the epic poet and the novelist have a clearer consciousness of the relativity of moral judgments. Morals are ordinarily supposed to trouble art, but when they are at their highest potency they too may be a manifestation of mental and emotional intensity; Dante and Milton, Bunyan, Defoe, and Richardson have the plastic power none the less; and Milton and Richardson are preëminent among dramatic casuists, or relativists. In the lines of the sterner poet the man in the wrong does

not admit it, but puts others in the wrong instead; and what is good or noble to others is not made good or noble to him. Satan dwells on his own "injured merit," and the brute force and tyranny of God, whom he calls "the Thunderer"; as Belial calls him "the Enemy," and Eve, yielding to temptation, "our Great Forbidder, safe with all his spies about him." Also, despite his Puritanism, the poet knows—and makes it appear at the fall of the angels and of man—that temptations are, to the tempted, not ugly but beautiful; sin, to the sinner, not bitter but sweet; and remorse and repentance not necessarily or immediately attendant upon them. To Shakespeare, who was generally more flexible, and had seen more of life, these truths were, however, less clear; and his practice was in keeping. His villains, in general, avow their own wickedness, and acknowledge the goodness of their enemies; and if they do not repent, they undergo, save Aaron and Iago, some sort of internal torment. In this respect he is less dramatic.

For imagination transcends experience,—may transcend the poet's character. Any one—and how much more the poet!—sees farther than he can go, dreams of more than he can do, depicts both what he would and he would not be. In imagination he can think and feel what he cannot in reality. Even the lyrist is in a sense a dramatist; and "sincerity" is a word with a different meaning in the world of art. The greatest elegies in the English tongue—*Lycidas*, *Adonais*, *Thyrsis*, and *Ave atque Vale*—were not written upon the poets' dearest friends, if friends at all. *Thyrsis*, and not Arnold's *Rugby Chapel*, upon his father! Yet the great poems are not insincere, if the sincere one is not great. They are works of the imagination; and in art the only insincerity is want of imagination. And there is something in a sense dramatic, or histrionic, in the elegiac or lyric art, as in any. A painter is not necessarily in love with the woman he glorifies on his canvas, or religious because his madonnas breathe the spirit of devotion. Critics like Ruskin blame the artistic deficiencies of the Renaissance on a want of faith, true religious art welling, as in a state of enthusiasm or mania, "up from the burning core below." But the facts would show that it is as faith somewhat relaxes its hold upon painter or poet that he can be a great painter or poet; faith of itself, without imagination, produces pious but commonplace or silly hymns and images; and the beginnings of the Renaissance are

clear and unmistakable in both Dante and Giotto, as are those of rationalism and romanticism in Milton. The more we know of a great poet's experience, the wider generally is the cleft between it and his poetry; and we should not be so naively taken in by the grammatical first person which he employs. In novels we are not, and Jim Hawkins and David Copperfield do not pass for Stevenson or Dickens himself. But in songs, sonnets, and elegies the passions and griefs, the sighs and tears seem necessarily to be the singer's. And especially is this the case when they are addressed to known individuals, as "Mary," "Jane," or "Emily," "Edward King" or "Charles Baudelaire." But the striking thing is that the more we learn about these, often the more unrecognizable are they, or the poets' actual relations to them, in the poems; and, as Mr. Bailey has noticed, in some of the best lyrics, as Wordsworth's to Lucy and Shakespeare's Sonnets, the persons are unknown or undiscoverable. The Sonnets are certainly no mere poetical exercise, but they are in some measure, apparently, another dramatic achievement; and Shakespeare is sincere somewhat as is Shelley in *Epipsychidion*, or Lamartine in *Raphael* and *Graziella*,³ or Burns in his Farewell to Nancy, whom really he was then seeking to get rid of,⁴ each depicting characters and relations different from the actual ones, or assuming emotions different from his own. What a difference, generally, between the letters and the lyrics of the poets, their poetry and their lives! Poetry is not a confession, true or false—it is false or true only as poetry. Shakespeare's Sonnets, indeed, are not so much dramatic and impersonal as conventional,—in substance and general attitude are those of his Petrarchian predecessors. But not in style, and it is his imagination that makes them his own. And just so Milton is not insincere when he sympathetically and vividly presents the fallen angels and Eve as having done or doing that which is half right in their own eyes, however severe and unindulgent with such people roundabout him.

Yet art is of many sorts. There are dramatists like Dekker and O'Neill (and even Shakespeare when dealing with low life), and novelists like Dickens, George Eliot, and Hardy, all of whom

³ See my article, "Literature and Life Again," cited above, for the difference between the ladies in fiction and in life.

⁴ Richards' *Principles of Criticism*, p. 271: "Examples could be multiplied indefinitely."

depend for their success more upon their experience and observation; and there are lyrists like Christina Rossetti and Elizabeth Browning. Women, in both lyric and novel, are personal, and often you can be fairly sure who is speaking, and to whom. Nowadays, indeed, amid the popular craving for actuality, the woman's life with her husbands or lovers, a little colored or embellished, suffices. If irregular enough, she needs only to be herself in print, as on stage or screen. And George Eliot is not only not at home but not at her ease in Italy, in *Romola*.

In the novel, to be sure, which depends for its interest and success more upon actuality and (as it were) ocular rather than imaginative illusion, and upon the creation of a *milieu* and background, the writer keeps almost perforce to the country or region which he knows. But the figures which he has simply transferred from the landscape before him to his canvas, or those which are replicas of himself, are not his greatest work. This is rather to be found in those which, suggested by his observation of himself or another, are enlarged and enriched by the observation and experience of others like them, but, far more, by the activity of his imagination; and with such result that the original is often lost to the view of the writer, and is ordinarily irrecoverable by a critic. If a portrait-painter, the good novelist is like him approved by Aristotle; and makes the sitter handsomer, or (for our present taste) uglier, in any case, more interesting, than he is. The characters that can with certainty be identified are generally not worth the identification—by art so little changed.

And in great drama or epic, where necessarily the *milieu* is less important, and for the belief that the thing happened is substituted the heightened sense of its happening,⁵ the imagination has still wider sway. The characters of Æschylus and Sophocles, of Shakespeare and Molière, are Greek, English, or French, indeed, for the writers are. They speak the language. They dwell in their own country, and, literally or figuratively, allude to the local customs, flora, and fauna. But the finest drawn are not persons with whom the writer was ever acquainted, including himself. They are not his friends, neither are they (so sympathetically presented) his enemies; they are even, like Satan and Belial, personages of whom he could scarcely have had a glimpse. Prometheus and Œdipus,

⁵ Max Eastman, *The Literary Mind*, p. 226.

Electra and Clytaemnestra, Hamlet, Lear, Othello,—for their portraits they never sat. They are not myths, yet they are creations, and arose from the deep. They are the product of the mind, working, in the colors of human feeling and experience, and on the forms of human thought and speech, to frame beings, of the world but not in it, larger, fairer, yet esthetically "more real" than copies of "living man." They represent, not fact, but as Pater says, the poet's sense of fact.

Also Belial has much of that whereof a work of art, whatever the subject, must have at least a little; and that is, beauty. His tongue drops manna; his thoughts wander through eternity; and though "specious" and "timorous," "slothful" and "ignoble," he has a lofty charm. So it is, though in a different way, with Iago and Mephisto, and (to a less degree) Richard III, and Richardson's Lovelace, and Browning's Guido, wicked as they are. As in life people so brutal and cruel could scarcely be, they are witty and humorous, gay and fanciful, and are exalted by poetry. And as the villains are not villains, the bores, like Shallow and Dogberry, are not bores. They are not tedious, on stage or page. Folly and silliness, vanity and affectation, lust, greed, and bad temper—when we meet them incorporated in the flesh, and thereupon in the pages of Molière, Congreve, or Thackeray, they are, like Belial as speaking and as described by Milton's disparaging epithets, though recognizable, not the same. Of Nora in the *Doll's House* it has been said that "her talk is often silly and puerile"; but such words apply only because of the poverty of our vocabulary, and in so far as to noble art they can. And coquette and scold, vampire and schemer, poser, cheat, and liar—do we (uncomfortably) recognize these in Shakespeare's Cleopatra? Put her, as one critic says, into the prose of the daily paper—yes, put her there if you can! Even her sensual indulgences and seductions appear, not directly and nakedly, but in her calling for mandragora and music and her feeding "on most delicious poison," in the provocation or enchantment of her changes and artifices, in the vivacity or luxuriousness of her rhythms. Her voluptuousness is like the profanity of Shakespeare's rogues and villains and (to couple the big and the little) the pirates in *Treasure Island*, or, indeed, like the dialect of Shakespeare, Burns, and Synge, all of which is dealt with only in terms of dramatic, verbal, and rhythmic effect. (What

a deluge of billingsgate such people pour down upon us from the stage today!) So (however it has been of late) Praxiteles and Donatello did not put real hair on the heads of statues; nor would Haydn or Beethoven have inserted a phonograph record of the nightingale into an oratorio or a symphony. So, too, theatrical managers in those days did not, as in ours, require a real negro to play Othello, a Sandow (as a generation ago) to play Charles in *As You Like It*, or a genuine fallen woman for that rôle, as, recently, in *Rain*. And thieves, cheats, liars, and cowards like Falstaff and Autolycus are so blest with wit and good humor that the literal-minded have taken the former at least to be only pretending or feigning. It is the poet who is "feigning" (as the word was then used), and not the iniquities merely but the whole; it is the illusion of poetry again. One and all, these beings—these vices—so vivid and engaging, are not quite true or real, as art is not. In it the truth is never total, nor well-nigh. For charm or excitement of some sort, in form or matter, is its indispensable effect. Truth itself is bare and bitter, mean and dull. Art is the world created anew;—not always nearer to the heart's desire, but in such fashion that, by both its likeness and its unlikeness to the world as we know it,—both its simplicity and its mystery,—we are forced to think and feel. Art is no flat, faithful mirror, to look at, but (as it were) the magical glass of legend, to look into, with

composiciouns

Of angles and of slye reflexiouns,

and a light in it not of earth or heaven.

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INFLUENCE OF THE FRENCH FARCE IN *HENRY V* AND *THE MERRY WIVES*

It will be my purpose in this study to show that the Latin examination in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (IV, 1) and the French lesson in *Henry V* (III, 4) are closely related to similar scenes in the French farces, and that it is not unlikely that the idea and at least a part of the dialogue came directly from these

plays.¹ That plays of this *genre* were known in England has been proved by Professor Karl Young, who in his searching article, "The Influence of French Farce upon the Plays of John Heywood,"² shows that *Johan Johan the preest* and *Pardoner and Frere* were clearly influenced by French farces.³ Since Professor Young has discussed the problem of how these plays might have been introduced into England, I shall not go over the same ground. But with the exception of this one article on Heywood no effort has been made to show farce influence on any of the English playwrights of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Even in the case of Shakespeare, whose sources have otherwise been so thoroughly studied, no consideration has been given to the farce. It may be that others of his scenes of pure "divertissement" stem from the popular comedy of France, but the two which I shall treat here seem definitely to do so.

Others before me have noticed that these two foreign language lessons exist in Shakespeare and only in Shakespeare in England.⁴ So far as I have been able to discover, there is no precedent for them either in English or in classical drama. There has always been, of course, much use of foreign languages for comic effect; examples are found in Shakespeare and Dekker among many others of this same period, in the Restoration drama, and among the Italians and French of the Renaissance. But in the earlier continental plays it is used only by pedants or by mocking gallants and lackeys, and in the English plays of Shakespeare's time it is used only to give easy amusement to the pit. The scenes in which foreigners appeared were amusing only in so far as it is always amusing to an audience to hear a foreign language on the stage,

¹ Citations of Shakespeare will be from *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*, Student's Cambridge Edition, 3rd. ed. (Cambridge).

² *MP.*, II, 97-124.

³ These conclusions are now generally accepted; see Young's footnote (1) p. 100, also Legouis and Cazamian: *Hist. de la litt. ang.* (Paris, 1925), p. 231.

⁴ The short scene in *The Merry Wives* appears to have passed without any special notice from editors. Much moral comment has been wasted on the lesson in *Henry V*, but nowhere have I seen any indication of a possible source. Most editors have been content with a terse statement like this one of Neilson: "The French lesson of the Princess is original" (*Shakespeare's Complete Works*, p. 599).

especially if it is obviously misused; and a foreign accent, for some mysterious reason, has always appealed to high and low alike in comedy, above all if the accent betrays the foreigner as a member of a race which is considered inferior.

Now the only other dramatic productions which used the device of the foreign language lesson is the French farce. But in France, although we cannot trace its history and development, we may be pretty sure that this comic device was not an invention of the farce writers. Certainly the germ of such scenes was present long before the sixteenth century. We find it already in the early didactic A B C poems, which very seriously present all possible meanings, both temporal and spiritual, of each letter. As early as the twelfth century, in *Li Abecés par Ekivoche* of Huon Le Roi de Cambrai,⁵ we find that among the letters Q has already been signaled out because of its shape and especially because of its pronunciation in French as a wicked letter:

Li Q est letre bestornee,
 Chou devant deriere tornee:
 Se li Q ne fust bestornés,
 En guise de P fust tornés . . .
 Al noumer est vilains li Q,
 Et cist siecles a tant vesqu
 Qu'en vilonnie a fait son ni,
 Par coi li pluseurs sont houni. (11.223-240)

In the first one of the farces which I shall consider we actually have a lesson beginning with the A B C's in which besides Q at least one other letter of the alphabet is, because of its pronunciation, made a wicked letter.⁶ Now in this play, *Farce nouvelle très bonne et fort joyeuse a troys personnaiges de Pernet*

⁵ *Œuvres*, éd. par Arthur Långfors (Paris, 1925), "Les Classiques français du moyen âge." Pp. 1-33. In his introduction (i-x) M. Långfors gives a short description and bibliography of earlier works of this *genre* along with detailed notes on the pronunciation and interpretation of the letters.

⁶ So far as I can tell only the French alphabet lends itself to any ribaldry simply because of the pronunciation of the letters. For information as to the pronunciation of the alphabet in the modern European languages see E. S. Sheldon. "The Origin of the English Names of the Letters of the Alphabet," in *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Boston 1 (1892), and *Further Notes on the Names of the Letters*, (*ibid.*, 155-71).

qui va a l'escolle,⁷ we have a set of characters much like that in the similar scene of *The Merry Wives*. There is Pernet, a far from brilliant boy, his rustic mother (called "la Mère de Villaige"), and the Maistre. The boy begins the play rather auspiciously:

Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.
Sursum corda. Habemus a Domine.
 Qu'en dictes-vous? Suis-je curé?
 Et, par mon serment, je ne sçay. (p. 360)

The proud mother is convinced that her son is already as good as a bishop, but she thinks it is best to go through the forms and to get him a schoolmaster. They find one who sets about immediately finding out what the boy knows. The lesson begins with the alphabet:

Pernet. A.
Le Maistre. Après.
Pernet. A.
Le Maistre. Encor ung.
Pernet. A. (p. 365)

It becomes immediately obvious to the Maistre that Pernet is not so precocious as his fond mother thinks. She is not, however, moved by the master's derogatory opinion, and she remains for most of the lesson in order to take Pernet's side and to add her lack of understanding to his stupidity. What further complicates the lesson is that Pernet is Norman, as the following example will show. The master evidently has a chart of some kind, and he points to the letters in turn:

Le Maistre. Laissons tout; c'est assez jase.
 Quelle lettre esse-là?
Pernet. Illà?
Le Maistre. Voyre là.
Pernet. C'est ung . . .
Le Maistre. D.
Pernet. Et, saint Jacques, il n'est pas vray.
 Ma mère, il dit que c'est un doy;
 Mais vous semble-il qu'il n'est pas vray?
 Il n'est (pas) fait ainsi que le mien.
La Mère. Nostre Dame, maistre, il dit très bien;
 Il cognoist mieulx que vous ne faictes. (p. 367-8)

⁷ *Ancien Théâtre François*, ed. Viollet le Duc (Paris, 1854), II, 360-72.

But the *pièce de résistance* of these farces was, as in the two similar scenes in Shakespeare, the ribald misunderstandings. The first comes in this play with the letter *K*:

Le Maistre. *K.*

Pernet. Ung cas?

Pardieu, vous mentez de cela;

Il n'est pas faict (ainsi) comme le myen. (p. 369)

Now the letter *K* had for long been a bad letter:

Comme li *K*, qui mout est leus.⁸

Originally disapproved of, not on account of its sound, but because it was the symbol of the insatiable clergy, *K* had probably by this time lost the latter meaning, while "cas," pronounced exactly as the name of the letter, had come to mean in Cotgrave's words "the privities."

Whatever the fate of *K*, the letter *Q* maintains its traditional comic value:

Le Maistre. *Q.*

Pernet. Fy, il (y) parle du cul;

Ma mère, il dit la paillardise.

La Mère. Par bieu, quelque chose qu'il dise,

Maistre, vous estes ung ort villain. (p. 370)

Explanations are then offered, and the lesson is resumed with the letter *Z*:

Le Maistre. Or avant doncques, dicamus.

Z.

Pernet. & [et].

Le Maistre. ? [cum].⁹

Pernet. Alez, villain, par saint Symon;

Vous estes plain de vitupère.

A-vous parlé du com ma mère?

(Mais) par saint François, je luy voys dire. (p. 371)

The pleasure which this farce gave to audiences of the period

⁸ *Li Abecés par Ekivoche*, l. 131.

⁹ The master here says *Z* and expects *Pernet* to repeat it. Instead, the boy goes on after *Z* and gives the French equivalent of our ampersand. This was a common custom in France then as it was in England and in America even as late as the last century. The master does not know whether the boy has said "et" or "zed" and asks him in the Latin fashion of the day "cum?"

may be measured by the fact that it is one of only two or three of these plays which were imitated by other farce writers. The *Farce Nouvelle Tres Bonne et Fort Joyeuse d'Un qui se fait Examiner pour estre prebstre* is an obvious imitation of the one just examined; and, if we need further proof that the original was popular, we have evidence in the fact that the imitation is to be found in both the considerable collections of farces which have come down to us, the British Museum collection¹⁰ and the La Vallière manuscript.¹¹ Although the imitation follows the original rather closely, there are certain differences. For one thing all the alphabet is omitted, which change fitted the play for a larger audience as so much of the alphabet humor depended on the appreciation of a Norman accent. Furthermore, even where the letters were given a pronunciation which might be understood all over France, the success of a play could not depend on them entirely. For example, the letter *K* was too unusual in French to get an immediate and enthusiastic response from any group of spectators; *Q* must have seemed rather tiresome if we consider that the joke about it had been current for at least three hundred years, and the play on *Z* was extremely laboured.

The opening dialogue between mother and son is considerably lengthened, and in the examination we find the mother taking a much larger rôle. It will be remembered that in the original she waited until her son had answered before adding her reply or suggestion to his, while in this second farce she, like Mistress Quickly in *The Merry Wives*, waits for no prompting. Here is an example of her ineptitude:

L'Examineur. Or sa, quo nomyne vocaris.
La Mère. Y ne fu iamais a Paris;
 Et sy est sientifique,
 Y sait toute sa retorique
 Courant comme son a b c. (p. 21)¹²

¹⁰ *Anc. Th. Fr.*, II, 373-387.

¹¹ Published by Leroux de Lincy and Francisque Michel in *Recueil de Farces, Moralités et Sermons Joyeux* (Paris, 1837), III, 17th play. It is here called *Le Filz et l'Examineur*.

¹² I quote from the Leroux de Lincy text, as the editors of the other carefully deleted everything but the first letter of the key words in the ribald jokes.

After more of such obvious horse-play, the master starts the examination:

Or, avant donq, *dicamus*. (p. 22)

But here again the mother misunderstands the word (she probably knew only one with the *mus* ending) and launches into another apology of her son:

Monsieur, y chante bien *Oremus*. (p. 22)

As in the first play, the mother appears to have left the stage after her final defense of her son. She is certainly not present for the last joke, as the son's speech indicates, but we hesitate to attribute her sudden departure without a single word of farewell to any delicacy on her part. At any rate her exit in each case gives the signal for the final joke which in the imitation is introduced with much more skill:

L'Examineur. Laissons tout ce iasement;

Dy moy, qu'esse a dire *mecum*?

Le Filz.

Ales, vilain, par saint Symon,

Vous estes plain de vitupere;

Parles vous du com a ma mere?

A! par ma foy, ie luy voys dyre. (p. 23)

In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, as in this play, the humor depends for the most part on the schoolboy's Latin plus the naive misunderstanding of a motherly old lady. Mistress Quickly is not, of course, the mother of William, but she acts a rôle corresponding to that of the mother in the French farce. Mistress Page, William's mother, is content to remain out of the action except for an occasional "Peace!" addressed to Mistress Quickly. Mistress Page does not think that her son is making the progress of which he is capable; therefore, when she sees the schoolmaster, Sir Hugh Evans, she asks him to examine the boy. Mistress Quickly is extremely interested in the examination, and she begins to interrupt from the very first question:

Evans. William, how many numbers is in nouns?

William. Two

Quickly. Truly, I thought there had been one number more, because they say "'Od's nouns."

Evans. Peace your tattling! What is "fair" William?

William. *Pulcher*.

Quickly. Polecats! There are fairer things than polecats, sure.

(iv, i, 21-30)

Some of the following dialogue depends for its humor on the wretched accent of Sir Hugh, but Mistress Quickly has her word in the climax of the scene, which, we shall see, ends on the same sort of note as the farces:

Evans. What is your genitive case plural, William?

William. Genitive case?

Evans. Ay.

William. Genitive, *horum, harum, horum*.¹³

Quickly. Vengeance of Jenny's case! Fie on her! Never name her, child, if she be a whore.

Evans. For shame, 'oman.

Quickly. You do ill to teach the child such words. He teaches him to hick and to hack, which they'll do fast enough of themselves, and to call "*horum*,"—fie upon you! (iv, i, 60-70)

After this outburst, Sir Hugh and Mistress Page succeed in quieting Mistress Quickly, but she has succeeded in venting her indignation at the corruption of the master, a speech which appears in all three of the farces which I have examined, the original and the two imitations.

The French lesson in *Henry V* is somewhat different in structure from the farce type into which the companion scene of *The Merry Wives* fits so handily, but there are enough earmarks to establish a family resemblance. In Shakespeare's scene only two characters appear on the stage, the Princess "Katharine and [Alice] an old Gentlewoman." The comedy of the first and larger part of this dialogue depends entirely on the fact that it is in French, except for the few English nouns which are taught to the young princess. Although there is mispronunciation of these few words by the teacher and a great deal more by the student, I find no trace of double-entente until the last few speeches. Here that part of the audience which could understand any French at all must have been immensely amused, for the fun of such a scene was certainly

¹³ It is probably no more than an odd coincidence, but one cannot but notice that this same word appears in one of the farce imitations and not in the other. Why the speech in which the word occurs should have been cut in the British Museum text I cannot tell. It certainly would not lend itself to any sort of misinterpretation in French. The son is boasting of the preparation which he has had for the priesthood: *Dominus noster, Te Deum Laudamus, / Et le grand Benedicamus; / Patris sapientia, Hora prima, / Vener Creator, Hora nonna, /* (p. 20)

much heightened if we consider that it is a charming and innocent young woman who makes the ribald speeches and not a young dolt of a boy as in the farces.

Kath. Ainsi dis-je; d'elbow, de nick, et de sin. Comment appelez-vous le pied et la robe?

Alice. De foot, madame; et de coun.¹⁴

Kath. De foot et de coun! O Seigneur Dieu! ce sont mots de son mauvais, corruptible, gros, et impudique, et non pour les dames d'honneur d'user. Je ne voudrais prononcer ces mots devant les seigneurs de France pour tout le monde. Foh! le foot et le coun! Néanmoins, je réciterai une autre fois ma leçon ensemble; d'hand, de fingres, de nails, d'arm, d'elbow, de nick, de sin, de foot, de coun.
(III, iv, 52-63)

It would seem highly improbable that mere coincidence could explain the fact that at least two farce writers, writing in French, and Shakespeare, writing a French scene in an English play, should have brought similar scenes to a climax with exactly the same French word.

To sum up: while there is no trace in English drama before Shakespeare of the foreign language lesson on the stage, the same comic device had long been known in France, starting possibly with the obvious comedy in didactic doggerel about the A B C's. By the beginning of the sixteenth century this comic device had become very popular in the farces. The scene in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is patterned exactly after the lesson scenes in the farces. The French lesson in *Henry V* is in structure somewhat unlike the farce scenes, but the striking use of the same French word to conclude the scene in Shakespeare and in all three of the farces which I have examined here cannot be easily explained away. It cannot be proved that Shakespeare knew these popular French plays (and I have shown that these were especially popular), but we do know that they were known to Heywood, and it is certainly not beyond reason to suppose that if Heywood could know them Shakespeare could also. As a matter of fact, he had a better chance to know them, for we are certain that both these plays were printed after Heywood wrote his interludes, and we have no trace of any printed edition before him.

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¹⁴ To Katherine these words must have sounded like 'futr' and 'k5.'

AN HISTORICAL BARDOLPH

Literary antiquarians may be interested to know that the historical Sir John Fastolf, whose name Shakespeare appropriated and corrupted, really had a soldier follower named Bardolf. Sir John was captain of Honfleur in 1428 and a muster-roll of 14 June names "Johan Bardolf" as a mounted man-at-arms in garrison there. (Bib. Nat., fr. 25768, No. 284. He is not on the roll of Aug. 24, 1427. *Ibid.*, no. 255.) Furthermore the *contrerolle* of this garrison for the quarter March 29-June 28, 1428 records, among other items, "Johan Bardoulf homme darmes a cheval luy et troys archiers—furent envoies par le commandement de monseigneur de Secroup vers monseigneur de Tallebot pour tant que monseigneur de le Regent avoit mande par lettres audit Secroup par lettres quil envoiait lez dessusdiz audit Tallebot pour aulcun besoing quil avoit pour leure abesoingner." They left Honfleur 16 April and returned 22 May. (*Ibid.*, no. 285.) From scattered records of payments to messengers we learn that at this time Talbot, governor of Maine, was gathering a field force at Alençon to resist an expected enemy raid from the region about Neufbourg, a raid intended to gather provisions for victualing Nogent le Roy. (Payment of April 10, 1428, Archives de l'Eure, B 100; order to pay another messenger April 16, 1428, Brit. Mus., Add. Ch. 519; ditto April 17, Bib. Nat., fr. 26050, no. 870). When, later in the year, similar contingents from the garrisons were called into the field to reënforce the army besieging Orleans, Bardolf and his archers were again sent. They mustered at Chartres Dec. 15, 1428, and were reviewed there on 13 January following. (Bib. Nat., fr. 25768, nos. 321, 337.) They seem to have been employed in the convoy of supplies to the siege, since on 20 February they mustered at Corbueil and on 9 April at Paris (*ibid.*, nos. 351, 375) and other contingents so mustered are labelled as on that service. (*Ibid.*, nos. 344-6, 373-9.) It will be remembered that Fastolf commanded the convoy which fought the battle of the Herrings in February.

It would be an unusually strange coincidence that such uncommon names as Fastolf and Bardolf should occur together in the same relationship both in history and in literature wholly by accident, but how Shakespeare could know, if he did, of the his-

torical juxtaposition will probably always be obscure. Had he chanced to see some of the numerous military documents of the fifteenth century? Perhaps his Stratford contemporary George Bardolf boasted an ancestor who had served in the French wars.

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A SIXTEENTH CENTURY FRENCH PLAY BASED ON THE CHASTELAINE DE VERGI

The *Chastelaine de Vergi*, composed near the middle of the thirteenth century,¹ was one of the most popular of medieval *contes*. The first modern edition was published by Méon in 1808. Dr. Emil Lorenz² has traced in great detail its earlier forms in various languages, as well as the translations and adaptations. The French versions, according to him, are that of Marguerite de Navarre,³ an adaptation in octosyllabic verse published at Paris in 1540,⁴ and Belleforest's translation from Bandello in 1580;⁵ after this, he continues, "Zwischen dem Erscheinen die Übersetzung Belleforests und dem der nächsten französischen Bearbeitung dieser Novelle liegt einer langer Zeitraum . . . der Verfasser . . . le comte de Vignacourt (1774)."

Dr. Lorenz, however, has overlooked *Radegonde, duchesse de Bourgogne*, a tragedy of four acts in alexandrins, published by the

¹ Lucien Foulet: Edition of *La Chastelaine de Vergi*, Paris, Champion, 1912, p. iii. See also an article by Schlatter in *Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, Madison, 1924; the Introduction by M. Louis Brandin to the English translation by Alice Kemp-Welch, London, Nutt, 1903; the edition and articles by G. Raynaud in *Romana*, 1892. The edition of M. Foulet contains the important facts from all of these.

² *Die Kastellanin von Vergi in die Literatur Frankreichs, Italiens, der Niederlands, Englands, und Deutschlands, etc.*, Halle, 1909.

³ *Heptameron*, Paris, Lermesse, 1875, II, 194, 70th nouvelle. First editions 1558 and 1559.

⁴ *La Chastelaine du Vergier, livre d'amours du chevalier et de la dame Chastelaine du Vergier comprenant l'estat de leur amour et comment elle fut continuée jusqu'à la mort*, Paris (sd.); Lorenz, *op. cit.*, says the date is 1540.

⁵ François Belleforest: *Histoires tragiques tirées de Bandel*, Paris, Jean de Bordeaux, 1582, volume v, histoire 5.

seigneur du Souhait in 1599.⁶ No one, it seems, has suspected the real source of this tragedy. The Frères Parfaict say that, "le sujet de cette pièce est purement de l'invention de l'auteur,"⁷ and the *Nouvelle Biographie* refers to the play as "une mauvaise imitation du sujet de *Phèdre*." In a sense, the latter opinion is true, for one incident of the story of the *Chastelaine* is similar to that of *Phèdre* or, more exactly, Joseph and Potiphar's wife.

It will be recalled that in the *Chastelaine de Vergi*, the duchesse de Bourgogne,⁸ repulsed in her amorous advances by a young chevalier of her husband's court, falsely accuses him of trying to seduce her. The chevalier, secretly the lover of the Chastelaine, the niece of the *duc*, has sworn never to reveal his good fortune; but in order to refute the strongest argument of the *duchesse*, that the popular chevalier made love to none of the ladies of the court, he is forced to reveal to the *duc* under pledge of secrecy the name of his mistress. The *duc* even witnesses an interview of the chevalier and his lady. He sees a little dog, trained to act as a signal, come out to meet the chevalier in a *vergier* (hence the subsequent confusion of the name) and accompany him into the room of his mistress, where he passes the night. The *duc*, now convinced of the innocence of the chevalier, shows him more favor than ever. He rebukes the *duchesse* when she complains, telling her the chevalier is guiltless and forbidding her to ask any more about the matter. The wicked *duchesse*, however, does not give up until she has learned his secret; she promises secrecy under penalty of death, but when the Chastelaine comes to the court, the *duchesse* makes a sneering allusion to her love affair and her ability to train little dogs. Realizing that her secret has been betrayed, the Chastelaine retires to a small room, where, after lamenting the perfidy of her lover, she dies of a broken heart. Her laments are heard by a little maid hidden in the room and reported to the chevalier when he finds the body of his mistress there. He kills himself with a sword, accusing the *duc* of being the cause. The *duc* takes the sword and kills the *duchesse* before the whole assembly. Then he relates the whole story. After burying the dead, he leaves for the crusades.

The story is essentially the same in all the French versions mentioned above, but certain minor details make it probable that du Souhait had read the story in the *Heptameron* or Belleforest.

⁶ Paris, Jacques Rezé in *Les Divers Souhais d'Amour*, and Rouen, Claude le Villain, 1606.

⁷ *Histoire du Théâtre François*, Paris, Lemerrier et Saillant, 1747, III, p. 515.

⁸ The fact that the play concerns the duchesse de Bourgogne makes the source more certain.

Since the play is not readily available, and no satisfactory analysis exists, a rather full synopsis seems necessary.

Act I. The shade of the mother of Ferdinand, *duc* de Bourgogne, gives warning of impending disaster.—The duchesse Radegonde laments, much in the manner of *Phèdre*:

. . . Quel subtil Demon, qui se repaist de sang,
Se glisse dans mes os pour se paistre en mon flanc
Ou quelque esprit rampant chaudement dans mes veines.
Ie traïsne à chaque pas, pour compagnon ma peine,
La nuit m'est un enfer: & les jours me sont nuicts.

.
Combien de fois mon lict tesmoin de mes alarmes,
Est la nuit humecté du fleuve de mes larmes,
Combien de fois poussé, & de rage & d'amours,
Ay-ie appelé Floran, qui m'évite tousiours.

Lucrece, Radegonde's dame d'honneur, offering her aid, finally asks her mistress,

Qui vous cause ces pleurs? . . .
Il faut à son ami un secret deceler,

but Radegonde thinks that, "C'est le meilleur qui peust soy-mesme le celer," and hints that her secret is so terrible that she sees no remedy except suicide. To this Lucrece objects: "Celuy offence Dieu qui se donne la mort. . . . C'est à Dieu non à nous, de borner nostre vie." After much persuasion, Radegonde confesses her love for Floran. Shocked, Lucrece preaches duty and self-control, but her mistress will have none of it: "Est-ce là le secours que tu me promettois? . . . Nenny, i'auray plustost recours à la lame."⁹

Act II. Boasting of his prowess as a warrior and his conquests among the ladies of the court, of no use to him, however, since he loves another whom his poor lineage keeps him from marrying, Floran continues:

Mon prince m'aime bien mais non pas que ie croye
Qu'il vueille m'enrichir d'une si riche proye
Qu'il me donne sa niepce.¹⁰

⁹ This act has little basis in the story of the Chastelaine. The author follows rather closely Seneca's *Phaedra* in the scenes between Phaedra and her nurse. There is a similar development and situation in act three of Jean Behourt's *Polyxène*, given at the Collège des Bons Enfants in 1597.

¹⁰ *Heptameron*, II-204: "Et, pour ce que n'estois de maison pour l'espouser." Belleforest has the couple secretly married.

Radegonde, finding him alone, begins:

Faut-il braue Floran, honneur de nostre cour,
Estre tout seul sans faire à nos dames la cour?

Manquez-vous de courage?

Floran does not, "mais le refus nous fait perdre toute asseurance,"¹¹ and he draws a picture of the disadvantages of love. Not at all discouraged, Radegonde continues:

Que sçaez vous Floran, si quelqu'un ne vous aime?
Voire ie dis aimer encoi plus que soy-mesme,

confessing finally that she loves him.¹² Floran rebukes her, declaring,

Ie ne feray iamaiz à mon prince ce blasmae,
Que d'abuser ainsi meschamment de sa femme.¹³

Radegonde

Ne doubtiez point Floran ie parle sans feinte . . .
Si vous ne me voulez briefuement secourir,
Faictes-moy briefuement de ce glaive mourir,

and Floran again rebukes her, concluding, "un loyal serviteur ne fait tort à son maistre."¹³

Act III. Radegonde interrupts the *duc* in his praise of Floran:

Vous pouuez bien priser ce Floran temeraire
Qui de ma chasteté tache de me distraire, . . .
Ie l'ay prié cent foys d'amortir ceste flame,¹⁴

¹¹ *Heptameron*, II-196: "J'ay le cœur si bon, que si j'estois une foys refusé, je n'aurois jamais joye en ce monde." Belleforest, p. 43: "doubtant qu'apres avoir esté refusé, on ne se moquast de moy."

¹² *Heptameron*, II-197: "Si Fortune vous avoit tant favorisé que ce fut moy qui vous portast ceste bonne volonté, que diriez-vous?" Belleforest, p. 32: "La duchesse commença . . . luy declarer en quel tourment elle vivoit pour son amour. Que dis-je vivoit? Mais bien mouroit cent fois le jour. . . . Que ce fust moy qui t'aymassé, que ferois-tu?"

¹³ *Chastelaine*, line 91 ff.: "Mes de cele Amor Dieus me gart qu'a moi n'a vous tort cele part ou la honte mon seignor gise, qu'a nul fuer ne a nule guise n'enprendroie tel mesprison comme de fere trahison si vilaine et si desloial vers mon droit seignor natural." *Heptameron*, II, 197, the chevalier says he will have no other "pensée que doibt à son maistre un loial et fidele serviteur."

¹⁴ *Chastelaine*, line 125 ff.: "Haez donc, fet ele, celui (sel nomma), qui ne fina hui de moi proier au lonc du jor que je li donaisse m'amor." The *Heptameron* and Belleforest have the same idea in different words.

but her remonstrances have been vain. Ferdinand at first believes her. Hurt and angry, he exclaims, "Ie regrette pensif le iour que ie fus né."¹⁵ He does not relish the loss of Floran's aid as a warrior, but his honor will not let the insult go unpunished. He sends a page to tell Floran:

Qu'il vuide ma terre, & qu'ailleurs comme traistre,
Il aille poursuivant la femme de son maistre.¹⁵

Floran sends the page back to request the *duc* to hear his defense. He denies his guilt, but, though he hints at the real facts, refuses to tell all he knows: "Vous seriez plus marry sachant la verité." Ferdinand, though not fully convinced of Floran's innocence, tells him to remain.¹⁶

Act IV. Constance, the niece of the *duc*,¹⁷ is distressed by Floran's tardiness; she fears "qu'il aime autre part . . . une plus belle," or that he has had some misfortune. Radegonde complains of the continued presence of Floran at the court, asserting that she has told the truth. If not,

Peut-il estre si braue, & viure sans amour?
Il ne fait toutes fois à nulle autre la cour.¹⁸

Impressed by the truth of this observation, Ferdinand calls Floran and asks him whether he is in love.

Si ie ne l'estois pas, ie viurois bien heureux.
I'ayme vne Dame chaste, autant qu'elle est constante.
Mon Prince, ie vous pri' que cela vous contante.¹⁹

The *duc* is not, however, satisfied, and forces Floran to confess that it is the niece of the *duc* he loves:

¹⁵ In the same circumstance in the *Livre d'amours du Chevalier et de la Chastellaine du Vergier*, the *duc* cries, "Que mauldicte soit la journée Que jamais je vous ay cogneu," and orders the Chevalier, "Allez vite hors de ma terre." In the *Heptameron* and Belleforest, the *duc* sends the chevalier an order of banishment, but grants his plea for a hearing.

¹⁶ Belleforest and the *Heptameron*, contrary to the *Chastelaine* and the *Livre d'amours*, agree with the play and do not have the *duc* exact a confession of the love affair until later.

¹⁷ She is not called the Chastelaine de Vergi in this play.

¹⁸ *Chastelaine*: "Et si puet estre chose vraie qu'il ait pieça a ce penssé: de ce qu'il a allors amé novele oie n'en avon." The *Heptameron* and Belleforest have about the same thing.

¹⁹ Belleforest and the *Heptameron* have this clearly. It is merely implied in the *Chastelaine* and the *Livre d'amours*. . . .

Depuis deux fois trois ans auons vescu ainsi
 Nostre sainte amitié, chaste autant que discrette,
 A rendu iusqu'icy nostre flamme secrette.²⁰

The *duc* shows no anger, but accepts an offer to watch Floran "parler chastement" with Constance in her room that evening.

Constance tells Floran, "le iour m'est vn ciel & la nuict m'est vn iour Quand ie puis avec vous discourir de l'amour." She is offended that Floran should compare himself to Tantalus, but pardons him and asserts: "plustost encore sept ans²¹ ie serois sans espous," before she will have any other than Floran. He leaves her as reluctantly as Romeo does Juliet, Constance exclaiming, "Il semble que le iour nostre bonheur enuie."²² Ferdinand recognizes Floran's innocence and promises him his niece in marriage. Radegonde represents to Ferdinand that Floran took advantage of the absence of the *duc* to make love to her again, a detail evidently invented by the author. The *duc* chides her severely, concluding, "Floran ayme autre part vne Dame qui l'ayme," but he finally reveals the name, threatening death if it is disclosed to any one else, for, he says, "Depuis sept ans passez ils s'entr'ayment ainsi."²³

Radegonde takes advantage of a momentary absence of the *duc*, when Constance comes to court, to ask why she has been so long absent. Constance explains that it is grief, "depuis que mon espoux endormy, d'un long somme, Quitta pour estre au Ciel la demeure de l'homme."²⁴ Radegonde then informs her that, since she loves Floran, the *duc* has decided to marry her to him. Left alone, Constance laments and stabs herself.²⁵ Floran finds her body, and the maid, Marceline, runs to tell the *duc* that Constance

²⁰ *Le Livre d'amours* . . . : "l'ayme madame du Vergier vostre niepce seigneur très-cher Loyalement et par bonne amour Sans penser à nul deshonneur." In the *Heptameron*, the chevalier is her "serviteur," while in Belleforest, the lovers are secretly married.

²¹ In the *Chastelaine*, the time is indefinite, but Belleforest and the *Heptameron* agree that it was seven years.

²² Du Souhait, probably with scenic difficulties in mind, omits the little dog, which all the anterior versions had included.

²³ *Heptameron*, II, 204: "Vostre niepce du Vergier . . . veufue & sans parents." Belleforest indicates that the niece was a widow and had married the chevalier secretly.

²⁴ The *chastelaine* dies of a broken heart in all of the previous versions.

has killed herself and that Floran is preparing to do likewise. The *duc* asks Floran, who is dying:

Qui vous a faict mourir? qui me cause ce tort?
Fl. Vostre langue, monsieur, a causé nostre mort.²⁵

The *duc* at once seeks his wife and kills her.

The play has, it is evident, all the elements of the *Chastelaine*, with the exception of the incident of the little dog. Du Souhait has invented names for all the characters,²⁶ and he has taken at least two details from the *Heptameron* or from Belleforest.²⁷ It is possible that the chaste love of the chevalier and Constance was suggested by the *Livre d'amours* mentioned above. At any rate, the *Heptameron* or Belleforest's translation must have been known to the author, but the similarity of the two versions makes it impossible to determine which. It is not unlikely that he had read both. Besides, the play owes a debt to Seneca's or to Garnier's version of the Phèdre story and to the literary usage of the day, for, as a whole, the tragedy, except for having only four acts, is much like the others of the time in style and form. Its existence gives evidence of continued interest in the story of the *Chastelaine*.

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MADAME DE GENLIS AND THE ABBÉ MARIOTTINI

While carrying out some research work in Paris on Mme de Genlis, the learned preceptress of King Louis Philippe, I found at the Bibliothèque Nationale, among the material relating to her tutorship of the princes of Orléans at Bellechasse, a curious and little-known brochure, entitled "Alla Signora di Sillery-Brulart (per lo innanzi Contessa di Genlis) Lettera dell'Abate Felice Mariottini," published in London, May, 1792.

²⁵ *Heptameron*, II, 203: "Helas! qui est cause de cecy? avecq un regard furieux luy respondit: Ma langue & la vostre, monsieur." Belleforest repeats about the same thing.

²⁶ The only name in the other versions is that of Charles Vaudray for the chevalier in Belleforest.

²⁷ That the lovers had loved secretly for seven years and that the heroine was a widow.

The object of this letter is to refute the charges made against Mariottini by Mme de Genlis in her recently published "*Leçons d'une gouvernante à ses élèves*,"¹ a record of her tenure of office at Bellechasse from 1782 to 1791. As a commentary on Mme de Genlis' educational activities, and an unofficial and somewhat flip-pant account of the strictly ordered mode of life in that sanctuary of learning, the letter is an illuminating piece of work, as well as being by the nature of its composition, an amusing complement to the impressively written "*Leçons d'une gouvernante*." There is a delightfully mischievous tone in the Abbé's revelations of Mme de Genlis' carefully concealed weaknesses, there are sustained flights of irony in which her so jealously guarded authority is ridiculed in a mock-heroic manner entirely appropriate to the pretentious disposition of the mistress of Bellechasse.

The opening phrases reveal the spirit in which the letter is composed:

Non mi è per alcun modo palese, o Signora, di qual fortunata Terra appresso il termine delle virili vostre e malagevoli imprese siate ospite divenuta. Stanca di vivere in compagnia de' bassi mortali in qualche solingo speco Marsigliese non vi riparaste già, imitatrice, ed emula della bella Penitente? Vi raggrate forse pellegrina Erminia per rozzi abituri, e talora ad udire il vecchio Pastore vi soffermate, che la ingannevole speme ridice, e gli aguati delle inique Corti? O più veramente letterata Amazzone in sulle sponde della irrequieta Senna ferite ancora di dardi, e scrivendo lottate cogli invitti Ercoli della Francese Filosofia?

After this bombastic introduction, in which Mme de Genlis' ostentatious moral propensities and anti-philosophical animosity are aptly satirized, Mariottini refers to the difficulty which he finds in selecting the one of her numerous appellations by which most suitably to address her. Shall it be *Félicité Duerest*, *Comtesse de Genlis*, *Marquise de Sillery*, or *Mme Brulart*? Turning then to the "*Leçons d'une gouvernante*," Mariottini compares it to the public statements issued by Necker and Calonne to show the condition of national finances, and describes Mme de Genlis as a worthy emulator of these two statesmen. But, alas, the effect of her "*publicco rendimento di conto*" was sadly short-lived; the English newspapers, which had announced with enthusiasm the forthcoming English translation, neglected to make further refer-

¹ Paris, 1791.

ence to it—and with reason, for what a revolting picture of internal discord it presented, this so-called treatise for the use of tutors, what an accumulation of trivial and pointless detail, of lengthy eulogies of the governess' own conduct and abilities, and bitter references to the inefficiency of her associates!

Mariottini has been provoked to this act of self-defence by the injurious passages concerning himself in Mme de Genlis' work. He enumerates the complaints made against him, and refers in the first place to the statement of Mme de Genlis that he wrote impertinent letters to her. This he denies, and proceeds to ask, why, if she possesses the letters, she does not publish them, and so convince her many enemies of the truth of her charge, and in an amusing aside Mariottini alludes to her facility for making enemies, explaining it thus:

Così voi non di rado chiamar solete tutti coloro che non sono d'entusiasmo infiammati, ed idolatri incensi non ardono dinanzi alla divinità del nostro secolo.

A further accusation against Mariottini is that he omitted to keep a record of the activities of Beaujolais, the youngest of the Orléans princes, entrusted to his particular care. It was Mme de Genlis' boast that she was acquainted with the actions of her pupils at every hour of the day, since she had imposed on her subordinates the practice of compiling detailed journals to furnish her with the necessary information. Lebrun, the mathematics master, performed his task conscientiously, but Mariottini was a delinquent in this respect, and his attitude of amused contempt is discernible in his comment on Mme de Genlis' charge:

Stanco alla fine di servilmente ogni giorno ripetere scrivendo, a quale ora del mattino si era alzato il Signor Conte di Beaujolais, che cosa detto avea a' suoi camerieri, e servitori, dove stato era a passeggiare, chi gli avea fatta visita, ed altre siffatte scempiaggini io senza incontrare opposizione alcuna, la grande, gloriosa, utile, necessaria opera del piccolo giornale intermisi.

To Mme de Genlis' complaint of Mariottini's failure to hold the attention of his pupils during Italian lessons, the Abbé replies that there were too many distractions, Mme de Genlis' presence at the lessons constituting the greatest of them. With hyperbolic eloquence he declares:

Voi, voi stessa ad un' ora i lavori di Aracne e le speculazioni di Pallade riunendo, per una parte colle rosee dita (ahi! non rosee, poichè erano spesso filisoficamente lorde di untume, ed unghiate) pungevatte d'ago la segnata tela da presentarsi in dono alla vezzosa figlia adottiva² con trasporto di Madre adorata, o un pacetto campestre disegnavate da inviarsi al vostro teneramente amato, ma lontano consorte,³ e per l'altra l'attento e diligente orecchio della mente alle Italiche traduzioni porgendo, e correzioni, ed osservazioni, e commenti di fare non isdegnavate, e frequentemente, siccome voi dite.

The recollection of Mme de Genlis' diverse occupations leads him to contemplate the opposite ideal of womanly grace, and he recommends her to ponder the lines:

For nothing lovelier can be found
In woman, than to study household good,
And good works in her husband to promote.

He recognizes, however, that such a passive rôle is not suited to one who affirms that two things alone are lacking to her glory—the pleading of a cause in the Parlement de Paris, and confinement in the Bastille.

Mariottini attributes the unsatisfactory relations between Mme de Genlis and himself, not so much to his deficiencies as to her overbearing character. The other teachers, Lebrun and Guyot, the latter being engaged for the princes' religious instruction, suffered equally from the governess' despotic rule. Further, it was a condition of their métier that they should minister to her vanity by celebrating her charms in graceful verses. Mariottini says, with malicious humour,

Come Contessa di Genlis voi rappresentavate una illustre Dama, che infra i membri della Educazione tutti gl'illimitati privilegi portava nel mondo socievole al bel Sesso accordato, i quali anco maggiori addiventano, quando alla beltà, ed alla grazia lo spirito, la celebrità, ed il favore vanno congiunti. Su questo aspetto era mestieri venerare così gli amabili, come i disgustosi vostri capricci, inviarvi dei leggiadri Madrigali, scrivervi galanti lettere, non contraddirvi mai, adularvi sempre, ed umili adoratori da cenni vostri, siccome da oracolo, servilmente dipendere.

It is the reverse side of the picture painted by Mme de Genlis

² The beautiful Pamela, who became the wife of Lord Edward Fitzgerald in Dec., 1792.

³ Charles Alexis Brulart, Comte de Genlis, guillotined in Oct., 1793.

in the "Leçons d'une gouvernante," where she would appear as the amiable and respected châtelaine of Bellechasse, wielding her sway with universally recognized tact and charm.

Mariottini says that she belittled the instruction given by the other teachers:

le lezioni tutte dei Precettori erano ai vostri sguardi bagatelle ed inezie: le lezioni alte, e purgate, e direi quasi gli Eleusini arcani doveano al misterioso gabinetto della Signora Contessa riserbarsi, al piede ed all'orecchio profano dei meschini cooperatori inaccessibile.

No Eastern harem witnessed such tyranny as that exercised in the peaceful convent of Bellechasse. Mme de Genlis reigned supreme, and scorned any distinction between the status of her inferiors—dancing-master and valet de chambre, preceptor and language tutor, all were equally her subjects.

After this spirited attack, Mariottini quotes a series of letters written to him after his resignation by Guyot and Mademoiselle Nonnon, the "femme de chambre" of Mademoiselle Adélaïde, only daughter of the Duke of Orléans, and Mme de Genlis' devoted pupil. Guyot complains of the capriciousness of the "Divinity," and goes so far as to condemn her entire system of education, saying that the princes have escaped from its perils through their own native abilities.

Dio voglia che in ugual modo si garantiscano felicemente dai pericoli della seconda educazione, che la gioventù riceve all'entrata nel gran mondo, come si sono garantiti dagli scogli della prima.⁴

Guyot, however, cherished a personal grievance, since Mme de Genlis had robbed him of his functions as religious instructor to the princes, thinking herself better qualified than he to fulfil them.

Mlle Nonnon's letter, written on the 2nd March, 1787, is full of bitter references to Mme de Genlis' inhuman conduct. The writer has apparently been dismissed from Mademoiselle's service without reason. Her vindictiveness is evident in the violence of her denunciations of Mme de Genlis:

tutti i mezzi le sono buoni purchè essa arriva a' suoi fini. Ha creduto anche naturale d'impiegare per me uno di questi (dopo avere adempito per lo spazio di quindici anni con distinzione l'impiego il più penoso della

⁴ Letter of 1st Oct., 1788.

Casa d'Orleans senza contare che da sette anni essa l'avea cambiata in Inferno colla sua presenza).

She is in despair at the thought of leaving the children, and above all, her dear princess, to the mercies of Mme de Genlis, whom she describes as "quella furia circondata dai rifiuti della natura." Mariottini testifies to Mlle Nonnon's efficiency, and attributes to her the most important part in the education of Mlle Adélaïde, a startling declaration when compared with Mme de Genlis' account of her own unremitting vigilance, and her practice of supervising all her pupil's occupations. The contradiction is brought out clearly in Mariottini's ironical phrases:

Di fatto, io posso santamente depoire, o Signora, che in tempo mio Nonnon ha interamente a tutta la educazione vegliato di Mlle d'Orleans, se vogliono eccettuarsi quei dolci baci vostri e carezzevoli amplessi. Vedete, s'io mento. Nonnon colla Principessa faceva colazione, passeggiava, leggeva nella mattina quando voi su morbide piume tranquilli sonni prendevate. Nonnon con lei trattenevasi il dopopranzo quando voi i Principi ammaestravate con lezioni di arcane discipline. Nonnon finalmente con lei tutta la notte trovavasi, o Signora, quando voi il sublimissimo autore del Paradiso perduto imitando, che nella più folte tenebre a suonar l'organo sorgeva, e la invisibile intelligenza aspettava ardori celesti al suo petto spirante, voi, dico, del riposo e del sonno schiva le agili dita svegliavate al concento dell'arpa fatidica, ed al vostro letterario soccorso le ombre dei morti Regni chiamavate. Però il buon Genio di Milton, ed il presente Demone di Socrate più nobili e chiari sensi ispirarono di quelli che a voi scrivente dettò il vindice notturno Demonio.

So the illusions created in large part by Mme de Genlis herself are mercilessly dispelled. The charming harp-player, the devoted teacher laboring in the night-watches for the edification of her charges, penning instructive works as the dawn rises and the lamp grows dim, the cultured student who prides herself on reciting much of Milton by heart, can it be that this amiable and well-informed creature is but an unscrupulous hypocrite, that the fascinating Mme de Genlis, in the cold light of reality, is but a tyrannical task-mistress?

These are the questions provoked by Mariottini's letter, which, as the product of a shrewd and critical mind, and the outcome of intimate experience, provides valuable material for the student of Mme de Genlis, and presents it, moreover, in such a witty and entertaining manner that the reader is inclined to sympathize with Mme de Genlis when she complains of having received impertinent

letters from the Abbé, for they were doubtless similar in tone to the one under consideration, and most probably Mme de Genlis found herself incapable, by reason of the cumbrous nature of her own controversial armor, of parrying the thrusts of her volatile opponent.

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FONTANE AS A PROPHET OF GERMAN POLITICAL LIFE

“Im Politischen fehlt uns sehr, sehr viel, und mitunter ist es geradezu zum Lachen und Weinen. Aber das gesammte Leben der Nation steht doch vergleichsweise auf einer Hochstufe. Es fehlt so viel Hässliches und Schaueröses, das sich bei den anderen ohne Ausnahme so reichlich vorfindet.”¹ This significant passage, written by Fontane two days before his death, is strikingly typical of the attitude of the great Berlin novelist toward the political life of his country. The complete harmony of Fontane’s personality enabled him to approach the problems of his day pragmatically and impartially. If occasionally he employed his pen to write scathing criticism of what he considered to be the political weaknesses of Prussia and Germany, it was not due to a lack of national feeling nor to a growing radicalism on his part. His ballads and novels, as well as his genuine desire to defend Prussia against unjust attacks, bear eloquent testimony to his sincere patriotism. Neither extreme conservatism nor radical liberalism could be for him a perfect philosophy of life, but the best in each was necessary in promoting harmonious happiness in the world, a synthesis that is clearly set forth in *Der Stechlin*, Fontane’s last novel, written at the end of a long life and as a sort of “Weisheit letzter Schluss.” To be sure, it may be pointed out that *Der Stechlin* reveals how Fontane’s sympathies remained with the Prussian Junkers to the last; but the importance given to the rôle of Pastor Lorenz in the same work would indicate that Fontane’s growing appreciation of the significance of the working class was determined by something more than political considerations or a purely intellectual analysis. It was this innate ability to understand the vital importance of a

¹ Fontane, *Briefe an seine Freunde*, herausgegeben von O. Pniower und P. Schlenther. Berlin, 1925, II, 474 (hereafter cited as “Fr. B.”).

synthesis of the two forces at work in German political life at the end of the nineteenth century that enabled Fontane to become not only a great constructive critic of the political life of his time but also a clairvoyant prophet of Germany's future.

This intuitive feeling toward the import of contemporaneous events with respect to the future is clearly revealed as early as 1872, one year after the founding of the Empire:

Ich kann es weniger beweisen, als ich es fühle, dass in breiten Volksschichten, berechtigt und unberechtigt, eine tiefe Unzufriedenheit gärt. Das Sozialdemokratentum wächst, reiht sich bereits in die standesgemässen politischen Parteien ein. Frankreich sinnt Revanche. Der Partikularismus sammelt alle politisch Unzufriedenen um seine Fahne, und die Katholiken . . . sind aufs tiefste verstimmt. Und von ihrem Standpunkt aus mit Recht.²

Of equal interest are Fontane's forebodings of a future war. With respect to the Alsace-Lorraine problem he saw that Germany was pursuing a wrong course in sending into the provinces young, inexperienced, haughty government officials, who referred to the natives as "Bande," and who asserted "dass sie um den Finger zu wickeln seien, wenn man sie zu nehmen verstehe. . . ."³ Fontane believed that Prussia must change its tactics if it wished to win the confidence of the new provinces:

Der französische Geist muss erst wieder heraus. Darüber ist man einig. Diesen französischen Geist aber vertreiben wir mutmasslich weder durch unsere zivile, noch durch unsere Heeresverwaltung. . . . Das Falsche, Schiefe, Verlogene aufzudecken, gesunde Bildung an die Stelle ungesunder zu setzen, darauf kommt es an; diese Aufgabe aber ist eine rein geistige und kann nur durch geistige Mittel gelöst werden. Die Berührung mit dem deutschen Geist allein kann diese Wandlung vollziehen: Lehre, Wissenschaft, Predigt, Lied. Vor allem auch die Presse. . . . Das Allerbeste, was Deutschland hat, wird dann gerade gut genug sein für . . . Elsass-Lothringen.⁴

² Fr. B., I, 303 f.

³ Fontane, *Aus den Tagen der Okkupation*. Gesammelte Werke. Berlin, 1908, v, 517.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 512 f. Fontane was aware that this supercilious and boastful attitude of the Prussian officials made a bad impression in Germany as well as abroad. Cf. passage in *Kritische Causerien über Theater*, Berlin, 1905, p. 434: "Es können Zeiten kommen und sehr bald, da das regierende märkisch-berlinische Wesen der Sympathien Alldeutschlands dringend bedürftig wird. Und Bismarck ist alt und Moltke noch älter."

Fontane's premonition of a future war was not deceived by a false security of armed peace. In 1888, after the excitement aroused by the Boulanger affair had abated, he wrote to his son Theodor, who occupied a responsible position in the Prussian War Ministry: "Das beste ist, dass kein Mensch an Krieg glaubt; er wird ja wohl 'mal kommen, aber es scheint wirklich, als ob er auf allerernsteste Falle eingeschränkt werden solle. . . . Je grossartiger der Vernichtungsapparat, je grösser die Verantwortung und die Sorge."⁵ And three years later in a letter to his wife we find the following significant sentence: "Ich trau' dem Frieden nicht recht. Es riecht nach Pulver. . . ."⁶

This voice of warning becomes more pronounced during the last years of Fontane's life. Several letters which deal with the possibility of a future war were written in 1897 to his English friend James Morris, who kept him informed concerning affairs across the Channel. Referring to a speech by Sir William Harcourt, Fontane wrote:

Endlich, nach all dem Diplomatenunsinn, ein erlösendes Wort, das erste vernünftig und natürlich gesprochene, das ich seit Jahr und Tag in dieser unglückseligen Orientfrage gelesen habe. "Wenn das europäische Konzert gesunden Menschenverstand besässe, so wäre alles längst gelöst" Aber noch richtiger ist der andere Satz: "Eine Vereinigung von Mächten, die dem Universum Gesetze vorschreiben will, macht sich lächerlich." Und diesen Unsinn gewollt zu haben, ist das Verbrechen und die Stupidität . . . , dessen sich die Grossmächte schuldig machen.⁷

Some of these letters are quite pacifistic in tone:

Mit Schrecken sehe ich die "englischen Rüstungen", und dass das so welt- und lebenskluge England schliesslich auch in diesen modernen Unsinn verfällt. Die Kultur, die dadurch geschützt werden soll, geht darin unter. England, weil es reich ist, kann die Sache eine Weile aushalten, aber wir in Deutschland, die wir durchaus eine grosse Flotte haben wollen (oder sollen), um sie nach vier Wochen verbrannt zu sehen, wir konnten unser bisschen Geld besser anlegen.⁸

How correctly Fontane predicted the circumstances under which a world war would be possible is indicated by the following passage from a letter written to Morris in 1898:

Ist mein Blick in die Zukunft richtig, so zieht das Gewitter diesmal noch vorüber. Die Wolken sind noch nicht geladen genug. Die Regierungen

⁵ Fontane, *Briefe an seine Familie*, herausgegeben von K. E. O. Fritsch. Berlin, 1924, II, 181 (hereafter cited as "F. B.).

⁶ F. B., II, 263.

⁷ Fr. B., II, 420.

⁸ Fr. B., II, 427.

führen noch das Wort, nicht die leidenschaftlichen Volksempfindungen. Sprechen aber erst diese mit, so werden wir furchtbare Kämpfe haben, nach deren Abschluss die Welt und die Landkarte anders aussehen wird als heut.⁹

Equally striking is Fontane's prophetic vision of the state of Germany after such a war:

Das Eroberte kann wieder verlorengehen. Bayern kann sich wieder ganz auf eigene Füße stellen. Die Rheinprovinz geht flühen, Ost- und Westpreussen auch, und ein Polenreich (was ich über kurz oder lang beinahe für wahrscheinlich halte) entsteht aufs neue.—Das sind nicht Einbildungen eines Schwarzsehers. Das sind Dinge, die sich, "wenn's los geht", innerhalb weniger Monate vollziehen können. . . .¹⁰

Many of Fontane's prophecies have been fulfilled. Within sixteen years after his death, the predicted catastrophe befell not only Germany, but all Europe. At the end of the nineteenth century it was impossible for him to foresee the magnitude of such a war, but that does not in any way impair the correctness of his intuitive foresight; his presentiments were correct as far as they went. And even the possibility of the state of post-war Germany, defeated, impoverished, on the verge of bankruptcy, may have been in Fontane's mind when he wrote the following words of consolation:

Alle Staaten müssen erst wieder den Mut kriegen, vor dem Besiegtwerden nicht zu erschrecken. Es schadet einem Volk nicht, weder in seiner Ehre noch in seinem Glück, mal besiegt zu werden—oft trifft das Gegenteil zu. Das niedergeworfene Volk muss nur die Kraft haben, sich aus sich selbst wieder aufzurichten. Dann ist es hinterher glücklicher, reicher, mächtiger als zuvor.¹¹

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THE TEXT OF POPE'S *TO MRS. M. B. ON HER BIRTH-DAY*

The latest text of Pope's birthday poem to Martha Blount appears in Professor Crane's *A Collection of English Poems, 1660-1800*.¹ It reads here as follows:

⁹ Fr. B., II, 445 f.

¹⁰ Fr. B., II, 305.

¹¹ Fr. B., II, 427.

¹ Harper and Brothers, 1932, p. 451. Mr. Crane remarks that the poem was published "in the *British Journal*, Nov. 14, 1724," and that he is using the text "of *Works*, 1743."

Oh be thou blest with all that Heav'n can send,
 Long Health, long Youth, long Pleasure, and a Friend:
 Not with those Toys the female world admire,
 Riches that vex, and Vanities that tie.
 With added years if Life bring nothing new,
 But like a Sieve let ev'ry blessing thro',
 Some joy still lost, as each vain year runs o'er,
 And all we gain, some sad Reflection more;
 Is that a Birth-day? 'tis alas! too clear,
 'Tis but the Fun'ral of the former year.

Let Joy or Ease, let Affluence or Content,
 And the gay Conscience of a life well spent,
 Calm ev'ry thought, inspirit ev'ry Grace,
 Glow in thy heart, and smile upon thy face.
 Let day improve on day, and year on year,
 Without a Pain, a Trouble, or a Fear;
 Till Death unfelt that tender frame destroy,
 In some soft Dream, or Extasy of joy;
 Peaceful sleep out the Sabbath of the Tomb,
 And wake to Raptures in a Life to come.

In going back to the 1743 edition Mr. Crane has not broken any particular tradition in so far as the text of the poem is concerned. His version, with the exception of capitals here and there, is the same as that printed, for example, in the Cambridge Edition (ed. H. W. Boynton, 1903), the Aldine (ed. G. R. Dennis, 1891), Elwin-Courthope (1882), W. Roscoe (1824), the "new Warton" (1822), W. L. Bowles (1806), and the Warburton (1752).² In

² R. H. Griffith's *Bibliography* (I, 293) refers to a version in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, ix (June, 1739), 323; this, I find, is precisely the same as Mr. Crane's except that it has no capitals. Mr. Griffith also notes the version in the *British Journal* mentioned in Mr. Crane's note, and here the poem contains not twenty lines but fourteen (lines five through ten being omitted), the first ten of which present many verbal variations (see note 15 below) from the definitive version printed above. The last four lines, however, are the most distinctly striking in their almost complete difference from the later ending:

And, oh! when Death shall that fair Face destroy,
 Die by some sudden Extasy of Joy.
 In some soft Dream may thy mild Soul remove,
 And be thy latest Gasp a Sigh of Love.

[I owe thanks to Professors Crane and Karl Young for copies of this version, for the *British Journal* is not available in Michigan]. The lines are addressed "To the Author of the *British Journal*" by "G. L.", under the title: "*The WISH; to a Young Lady on her Birth-Day. By Mr. Pope.*"

all these versions the third line prints "female world,"^{2a} in all the total number of lines is twenty, and in all the last four lines are like those above, except for minor changes in capitalization.

But the Warburton edition adds an interesting footnote³ which reads thus:

Ver. 15. Originally thus in Ms.

And oh since Death must that fair frame destroy,
Dye, by some sudden Extasy of Joy:
In some soft dream may thy mild soul remove,
And be thy latest gasp a Sigh of Love.

(Compare the *British Journal*, in note 2, above.)

Presumably, then, the four lines beginning at "Ver. 15" were at one time different from those in the definitive version; and the poem originally consisted of eighteen lines, not twenty. This same note is repeated in the Bowles edition of 1806,⁴ but Bowles has an additional note⁵ that after line ten four lines on the suicide of Harry Mordaunt were inserted, and the poem, in this version, then ended with these lines:

If there's no hope, with kind, tho' fainter ray
To gild the evening of our future day;
If every page of life's long volumn tell
The same dull story, Mordaunt, thou didst well! . . . Warton

Hence the poem was revamped at least once for an epitaph on Mordaunt, who committed suicide May 7, 1724.

The "new Warton" edition of 1822 reprints both of these notes, with some slight changes in spelling and capitalization.⁶ Similarly, W. Roscoe in 1824 continues the same two notes,⁷ without further comment, but the Elwin-Courthope edition of 1882 appends a long footnote⁸ explaining the application to Mordaunt's suicide and adding, "It is obvious, therefore, that the verses cannot have been sent to Martha Blount on her 33rd birthday in 1723."⁹ The note goes on to point out that Pope declared in a letter to Gay that lines five through ten were written "on *his own* birthday"

^{2a} The *British Journal* gives "Woman-World."

³ VI, 80 n.

⁴ II, 372 n.

⁵ II, 371 n.

⁶ II, 329-330 n. "Die," "ecstasy," "sigh," "love."

⁷ III, 304-5 n. "Die," "exstasy," "sigh."

⁸ IV, 495-6 n.

⁹ IV, 495 n.

and that perhaps afterward they may have been expanded to the compliment to Martha. In 1727, the editors continue, the verses appeared in the *Miscellanies* in the present form except for the insertion of lines 243-8 of *Moral Essay* II after line four; but they add that in Dodsley's 1738 edition these six lines were eliminated and the poem was printed afterward without them. The Elwin-Courthope edition does not, however, repeat the two notes printed in the previous editions, as given above.

The Aldine Edition (1891) added in a note¹⁰ not only the four Mordaunt lines but also lines five through ten to show the changes made in them to prepare for this Mordaunt conclusion. But there is no note in this edition to a difference in the last four lines in the MS.

The Cambridge Edition (1903) merely makes a casual reference of astonishment:¹¹ "Lines 5-10 were elsewhere adapted for a versified celebration of his own birthday, and for an epitaph on suicide!" No notation is made at all of the MS. difference.

The British Museum has two MS. versions, both listed as Pope MSS.:

To a *Young Lady on her Birthday.

June 15: 1723

*Mrs. Blount

By Mr. Pope.

Oh be thou blest with all that Heav'en can send!
 Long Health, long Youth, long Pleasure, and a Friend:
 Not with those Toys the woman-would admire,
 Riches that vex, and Vanities that tire.
 Let Joy, or Ease; let Affluence, or Content;
 And the gay Conscience of a Life well spent,
 Calm ev'ry Thought inspirit ev'ry Grace,
 Glow in thy Heart, and smile upon thy Face
 Let day improve on day, and year on year,
 Without a Pain, a Trouble, or a Fear
 And oh! when Death shall that fair frame destroy,
 Die by a sudden Extacy of Joy;
 Let the soft Soul in some mild dream remove,
 And be thy latest gasp a Sigh of Love!

Harleian MS. 7316 f. 150.

¹⁰ III, 49 n.

¹¹ P. 118.

A WISH

To Mrs. M. B. on her Birthday, June 15

Oh be thou blest with all that Heav'n can send!
 Long Health, long Youth, long Pleasure, and a Friend
 Not with those Toys the woman-would admire,
 Riches that vex, and Vanities that tire.

Let Joy, or Ease; let Affluence or Content,
 And the gay Conscience of a Life well-spent,
 Calme ev'ry Thought, inspirit ev'ry Grace,
 Glow in thy Heart, and smile upon thy Face!

Let Day improve on Day, and year on year,
 Without a Pain, a Trouble, or a Fear.

And oh! since Death must that dear frame destroy,
 Dye, by a sudden Ecstasy of Joy!
 Let the mild Soul in some soft dream remove,
 And be thy latest Gasp a Sigh of Love!

Stowe MS. 964 f. 90¹²

There are slight differences in these two versions in the title, and in lines five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve, and fourteen; possibly also in line three: I first read "woman-world" in the Stowe MS. and then decided that the words were "woman-would." But the significant differences lie in lines eleven and thirteen; and neither version of these last four lines fits what Warburton said they were.

According to Warburton's note¹³ the MS. apparently contained eighteen lines, but it actually—whether Stowe or Harleian—contains only fourteen as it did in the *British Journal*:¹⁴ lines five through ten of the traditional version are not in either MS. Furthermore, Warburton in his note has apparently combined both versions: his first line reads, "And oh since Death must that fair frame destroy," which is basically the Stowe MS., but the adjective "fair" came from the Harleian. His third line reverses both MS versions, but its adjectives are Stowe. All of his last three lines, incidentally, directly repeat the last three in the *British Journal*. Perhaps both "G. L." and Warburton saw a different MS. altogether, but it is

¹² These lines I found written at the back of a copy of Bacon's Essays presented to Mrs. Newsham by "A: Pope," 1725.

¹³ VI, 80 n He writes, "Ver. 15. Originally thus in Ms."—and then prints only four lines.

¹⁴ At first I thought I had found a sonnet.

rather significant that the latter prints "female world" in line three of the poem as a whole without any reference to the MS.; whereas the former does use "Woman-World."¹⁵ Both Stowe and Harleian have "woman" for "female."

In the light of these two MSS., the text of this birthday poem needs some historical reconsideration. Probably, as Professor Bredvold has suggested to me, the MS. version represents what Pope actually sent Martha Blount, whereas the traditional poem is his revision for the world's eye. In other words Pope is encroaching on Browning's domain in *One Word More*, and Miss Sitwell will now have one more bit of evidence for the romantic Pope.

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HOLLAND'S LIVY, 1600, AND THE 1686 VERSION

In 1686 there was published in London an anonymous translation of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*,¹ which Lowndes² incorrectly ascribes to Philemon Holland. A comparison of the texts reveals the later publication to be an unquestionably new translation.³

¹⁵ But Warburton's lines 1-4, 11-16 are all consistent historically with both the MSS. and the definitive printed version; whereas "G. L." prints [*British Journal*, No. cxxx (Nov. 14, 1724), 5]:

Oh! be thou blest with all that Heaven can send,
Long Life, long Health, long Pleasure, and a Friend;
Not with those Toys the Woman-World admire,
Riches that vex, & Vanities that tire:
Let Joy and Ease, let Affluence and Content,
And the glad Conscience of a Life well spent,
Calm every Thought, and spirit every Grace,
Glow in thy Heart, and sparkle in thy Face:
Let Day improve on Day, & Year on Year,
Without a Sigh, a Trouble, or a Tear;

There are distinct innovations in lines two, five, six, seven, eight, and ten. Is this, then, a reliable text?

¹ *The Roman History*, advertised in *The Term Catalogues*, ed. Arber, II, 157.

² *The Bibliographer's Manual* (London, 1853-64), v, 1374.

³ The unknown translator writes in his Preface that he attempts to render Livy's sense more briefly and more significantly than did Holland,

However, certain similarities between the syntax and the interpolated words and phrases of the two English texts make it evident that the Restoration translator is infrequently dependent upon Holland's *Romane Historie*.

It is necessary to compare only a few passages of Holland's text with that of 1686 to show that the unknown translator made some use of the work of his predecessor. Holland alters Livy's construction, "Poenus hostis . . . militem trahit,"⁴ by the rendering: "but the enemy that pursueth us, is a Carthaginian, drawing after him a traine of souldiers."⁵ The Restoration translator follows Holland's syntax and diction: "but 'tis the Carthaginian that is your Enemy, *drawing with him a barbarous Train of Souldiers*."⁶ Holland's expansion of the Latin, "nec puer hic dux erat,"⁷ by the introduction of an epithet into the rendering, "neither was this *beardlesse* boy our captaine,"⁸ appears in *The Roman History*: "nor was a *Beardless Boy* then your General."⁹ Holland's connective phrase, "*But to return againe to Scipio*: When he had called forth the hostages,"¹⁰ for the Latin, "ceterum vocatis obsidibus,"¹¹ is reproduced in the 1686 version: "*But to return again to Scipio*, when the Spanish Hostages appear'd."¹²

On the other hand, it is easy to find many examples of differences between the two translations, but a few will serve our purpose. Holland expands the Latin, "non in regno populum Romanum,

and more agreeably to the taste of modern readers, and adds that he includes part of the forty-third book, not available to Holland in 1600. Whereas Holland probably utilized the 1592 (or an earlier) ed. of Livy with the *scholia* of Sigonius, the 1686 translator made use of the Latin text of Livy published at Paris between 1679 and 1682, containing the notes of Dujatius and the supplements of Freinshemius.

⁴ *Ab Urbe Condita*, ed. Weissenborn-Müller (Berlin, 1879 ff.), Lib. xxiii, cap. 5, sec. 11. For a discussion of Holland's translation see Alfred Schäfer, *Die volkstümliche Liviusübersetzung Philemon Hollands* (Burgstadt, 1910) and F. O. Matthiessen, *Translation An Elizabethan Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931).

⁵ *The Romane Historie* (London, 1600), p. 476 G.

⁶ P. 353.

⁷ Weissenborn-Müller, xxi, 10. 8.

⁸ P. 399 A-B.

⁹ P. 288.

¹⁰ P. 622 M.

¹¹ Weissenborn-Müller, xxvi, 49. 7. In the text of Sigonius (p. 196 G.) and in that of Dujatius (iii, 392) the reading is: "caeterum Scipio vocatis obsidibus."

¹² P. 452.

sed in libertate esse,"¹³ by the addition of an introductory clause: "But as to the substance of the matter, this was the point: namely, that the people of Rome were not under the regiment of a king, but were a free state."¹⁴ The 1686 translator renders the original concisely: "that the Roman People lived now, not under a King, but at Liberty."¹⁵ Livy's phrase, "vae victis,"¹⁶ appears in Holland as "Wo worth men conquered, and downe with them still,"¹⁷ but in the 1686 text as "Wo to the Conquered."¹⁸ Holland alters the Latin, "tanta dulcedo est,"¹⁹ by his rendering: "so sweete and savorie it is."²⁰ The Restoration translator follows closely the Latin: "such a sweetness there is."²¹ These examples are representative of the considerable dissimilarities between the two English texts. It is clear that the anonymous translator made a new rendering of Livy but occasionally used Holland's phraseology.

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BORROWINGS IN *TESS OF THE D'URBERVILLES*

When Hardy wrote *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (published July 4-December 26, 1891, *Graphic*), he must have been quite sure of the adequacy of several descriptive passages in his previous work—for there are five passages in *Tess* copied with little alteration from articles he himself published earlier. The sections in question are the following:

I. From *Poems of Rural Life in the Dorset Dialect*, by William Barnes. A Review, Unsigned, in the *New Quarterly Magazine* for October 1879.¹

This fertile and sheltered tract of country, in which the fields are never brown and the springs never dry, is bounded on the south by the bold chalk

¹³ Weissenborn-Müller, II, 15. 3.

¹⁸ P. 149.

¹⁴ P. 54 H.

¹⁹ Weissenborn-Müller, VI, 41. 11.

¹⁵ P. 41.

²⁰ P. 247 E.

¹⁶ Weissenborn-Müller, V, 48. 9.

²¹ P. 174.

¹⁷ P. 211 A.

¹ This is Hardy's according to A. P. Webb, *A Bibliography of Thomas Hardy 1865-1915* (London, Frank Hollings, 1916, p. 58), who, by mistake, ascribes it to the *New Quarterly Review*. There was no periodical with this title published in 1879.

ridge that embraces the prominences of Hambledon Hill, Bulbarrow, Nettlecombe Tout, Dogbury, and High Stoy. The tourist from the coast who, after plodding for ten or fifteen miles over chalk downs and cornlands, suddenly reaches the verge of one of these escarpments, is surprised and delighted to behold extended like a map beneath him a country differing absolutely from that which he has passed through. Behind him the hills are open, the sun blazes down upon fields so large as to give an unenclosed look to the landscape, the lanes are white, the hedges low, the atmosphere colourless. Here in the valley the world seems to be constructed upon a smaller and more delicate scale; the fields are mere paddocks, so reduced that from this height their hedgerows appear like a network of dark green threads spread out upon the paler green of the grass. The atmosphere is cool, and is so tinged with azure that what artists call the middle distance partakes also of that hue, while the horizon northward is of the deepest ultramarine. The arable land has nearly disappeared; with but few exceptions the landscape is a broad rich mass of grass and trees, swelling over minor hills and dales. . . .

The district is of historic, no less than of topographical interest. The Vale was known in former times as the Forest of White Hart, from a curious legend of King Henry the third's reign, in which the killing by a certain Thomas de la Lynd of a beautiful white hart which the king had run down and spared, was made the occasion of a heavy fine.

In *Tess*,² the above passage reappears with the following slightly important changes; in sentence four "over-spreading" replaces "spread out upon." In sentence six "Arable lands are few and limited" is substituted for "The arable land has nearly disappeared"; "mantling minor hills and dales within the major" is found in place of "swelling over minor hills and dales." A seventh sentence "Such is the Vale of Blackmoor." is added to the first paragraph.³ I have not mentioned several unimportant alterations.⁴

² In Harper's Modern Classics (1920), pp. 9-10. All references are to this edition.

³ It is interesting to note that the sentence "This fertile and sheltered tract . . . and High Stoy" (*New Quarterly Magazine*, II, 469) is repeated, with a change of "in which" to "where," in *The Athenaeum* obituary notice for William Barnes of October 16, 1886 (p. 52, reprint of article in *Life and Art* by Thomas Hardy, Greenberg Publisher, New York, 1925) as well as in *Tess*. The obituary notice also contains (with more considerable variation) the passage running from "The prospect northwards" to "some of his happiest effusions" (*ibid.*, 52-53) published in the *New Quarterly Magazine* review (p. 470) and omitted in *Tess*.

⁴ In order to conserve space, the remaining passages are not quoted in full. The passages which Hardy reutilized are all to be found in *Life and Art*.

II. A passage in *The Dorsetshire Labourer*⁵ beginning "The great change in his perception" and extending to "the road to dusty death."⁶ is practically repeated in *Tess*.⁷

III. A second passage in *The Dorsetshire Labourer* beginning "The changes which are so increasingly discernible" and extending to "of water to flow up hill when forced"⁸ recurs in *Tess*.⁹

IV. A third passage in *The Dorsetshire Labourer* beginning "They are conscious of a disturbance" and extending to "when the loading of goods at once begins"¹⁰ is but slightly changed in its occurrence in *Tess*.¹¹

V. A fourth passage in *The Dorsetshire Labourer* beginning "The goods are built up on the waggon" and extending to "must not be handled slightly or overturned"¹² is to be found, somewhat altered in *Tess*.¹³ Most of the changes made in the later published passages (alterations of punctuation and tense, or the substitution of a synonym) are of minor importance;¹⁴ a few, however, are more significant. The following substitution of a semi-periodic sentence for a loose, unduly complex sentence is typical.

From *The Dorsetshire Labourer*:¹⁵

They are conscious of a disturbance of their night's rest by noises beginning in the small hours of darkness, and intermittently continuing till daylight—noises as certain to recur on that particular night of the month as the voice of the cuckoo on the third or fourth week of the same.

From *Tess*:¹⁶

During the small hours of the next morning, while it was still dark, dwellers near the highways were conscious of a disturbance of their night's rest by rumbling noises, intermittently continuing till daylight—noises

⁵ This article first appeared in *Longman's Magazine*, July, 1883.

⁶ *Life and Art*, p. 23.

⁷ P. 152.

⁸ *Life and Art*, pp. 45-46.

⁹ Pp. 448-449. There is somewhat more variation in this passage than in the others.

¹⁰ *Life and Art*, pp. 31-32.

¹¹ *Life and Art*, pp. 32-33.

¹² P. 457.

¹³ P. 458.

¹⁴ Cf. "Here in the valley" (*New Quarterly Magazine*, p. 470) to "Here, in the valley" (*Tess*, p. 9); "has become" (*Life and Art*, p. 23) to "had been" (*Tess*, p. 152); "tourists" (*New Quarterly Magazine*, p. 469) to "traveler" (*Tess*, p. 9).

¹⁵ *Life and Art*, p. 31.

¹⁶ P. 457.

as certain to recur in this particular first week of the month as the voice of the cuckoo in the third week of the same.

The metaphors and similes are invariably preserved. Occasionally the later passage seems inferior to the earlier.¹⁷

That the repetition of these passages was due to the exigencies of serial publication seems hardly probable as Hardy wrote *Tess* "in toto" during 1889 and 1890,¹⁸ and serial publication did not begin until July 1891. The more probable explanation seems to be that Hardy remembered these descriptions as adequate, wished to see them reproduced in a work that would have a wider circulation, and revised them because he was a careful stylist.

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"OLIVER GOLDSMITH, M.B."

The question here is not the source of Goldsmith's medical degree nor yet the validity of his claim to the possession of a degree, but the date at which the claim was first made.

This date has usually been thought to be 1763. On March 31 of that year, Goldsmith, it is well known, signed an agreement with James Dodsley for *A Chronological History of the Lives of Eminent Persons of Great Britain and Ireland*, and in this document, which is drawn up in his own hand, he refers to himself as "Oliver Goldsmith M.B."¹ The fact that this is the first known writing of Goldsmith in which the initials are used and that either they or the title "Doctor" appear after 1763 on the titlepages of most of his published works, beginning with *The Traveller*, and in many of his private letters,² has led Forster and others to assume that the

¹⁷ Cf. "and each of whom walks in his own way the road to dusty death." (*Life and Art*, p. 23) to "men every one of whom walked in his own individual way the road to dusty death" (*Tess*, p. 152).

¹⁸ See *The Early Life of Thomas Hardy*, London, 1928, especially pp. 290-291.

¹ James Prior, *Life of Oliver Goldsmith* (London, 1837), I, 465. The manuscript of the agreement is in the British Museum (Addit. MS. 19,022, f. 8, art. 2). On the fate of the projected work see R. W. Seitz, *MP*, xxviii (1931), 329-36.

² See *The Collected Letters of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. K. C. Balderston (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 78, 98, 120, 124.

decision to adopt them coincided in date with the agreement with Dodsley.³

An apparent confirmation of this theory is supplied by the references to Goldsmith in Percy's diary.⁴ These begin on February 21, 1759, with the following entry:

Br. at Grainger's:—din'd at Tavern with Mr. Johnson.—Evg. at Dr. Graingers.—Mr. Goldsmith there: Authr. of y^e present State of polite Literature in Europe.⁵

Opposite this entry in his pocket-book Percy has noted Goldsmith's address: "Mr. Oliver Goldsmith at M^{rs}. Martin's in Green Arbour Court, Little Old Bailey." The same form of reference—"Mr. Goldsmith"—is used in the entries for February 26 and March 6, 1759 (fols. 20^v and 21^v). Meanwhile, in the entry for March 3, 1759 (fol. 20^v), the name has become simply "Goldsmith," and so it appears in the four passages in which Goldsmith is mentioned during Percy's next stay in London in May and June of 1761 (fols. 25^v and 26^v). With the entry for November 16, 1764, however—there are no references to Goldsmith in the surviving portions of the diary for the intervening period—the style changes: "Drank Tea at D^r Goldsmith's. Supped at Dodsley's" (fol. 56^v). And thereafter it is consistently either "Dr. Goldsmith" or merely "Goldsmith" to the end.

* See Forster, *The Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith* (6th ed., London, 1877), I, 338, and Sir Ernest Clarke, *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, VII (1914), Part II, "Section of the History of Medicine," p. 96, and *Nineteenth Century and After*, LXXV (1914), 829. Miss Balderston makes the same assumption in her remarks on the chronology of two undated notes to a certain "Mrs. Johnson": "The use of 'Mr Goldsmith' [in the first of these] . . . indicates a period before 1763, since after that date his almost constant practice was to refer to himself as 'Dr. Goldsmith'" (*Collected Letters*, p. 70, n. 2). This last statement is not strictly accurate; among the letters written after 1763 in Miss Balderston's collection, "Mr. Goldsmith" occurs no less frequently than "Dr. Goldsmith." See pp. 106, 107, 113, 125, and cf. note 2, above. The anonymous author of "Literary Anecdotes of the Late Dr. Goldsmith," in the *Westminster Magazine* for April, 1774 (II, 167) gives a date only slightly earlier for Goldsmith's adoption of the title. After the middle of 1762, he tells us, Goldsmith removed from Green Arbour Court "to an elegant apartment in Wine-Office Court, Fleet-street," and about the same time "dropped the plain Mr.—dubbed himself, and was afterwards known as Dr. Goldsmith."

⁴ B. M. Addit. MS. 32,336.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 19^v.

All this would seem to be in harmony with the traditional belief that Goldsmith assumed the initials of a "Bachelor of Physic" and the courtesy title of "Doctor" only toward the end of his period of anonymous authorship, possibly as a means of giving himself added importance in the eyes of the more prominent and distinguished persons with whom he was then beginning to associate. There is, however, a certain amount of evidence, hitherto overlooked, that the habit of referring to him as "Dr. Goldsmith" had become well established, doubtless not without encouragement from himself, at a much earlier date.

In a letter to Percy dated June 6, 1759, William Shenstone speaks of having recently read "y^e 'Essay on the present State of Learning' etc: written by a Dr. Goldsmith, whom you know, & whom such as read it will desire to know."⁶ On February 15, 1760 he again mentions the *Enquiry* as "y^r Friend D^r Goldsmith's book,"⁷ and on May 16, 1762 he remarks that he will "probably buy Dr. Goldsmith's Book [*The Citizen of the World*] directly."⁸

In the meantime two interesting references to Goldsmith had appeared in print, and in both of them his possession of a medical degree is accepted as fact. One of these is in the *Court Magazine* for December, 1761. In a paper entitled "The Motives for Writing. A Dream," an anonymous essayist represents Apollo holding "a sort of court at the Bedford coffee-house, like our sessions, for the discharge of the poets: who I imagined had been confined for some time at the suit of the public, and that every author's motive for writing appeared as the compelling creditor." Then follows a list of fifty-six living authors with the "compelling motive" of each placed after his name. The sixteenth name in the list is that of "Oliver Goldsmith, M. D.," whose motive for writing is declared to be "Taste and understanding."⁹ Even more explicit is the notice of Goldsmith which William Rider included, in May of the following year, in his curious *Who's Who* of contemporary men of letters, *An Historical and Critical Account of the Lives and Writings of the Living Authors of Great-Britain*. The article, which dwells particularly upon the merits of the *Bee* and of *The Citizen of the World*, is headed "Dr. Goldsmith" and contains the state-

⁶ Printed by Hans Hecht in *Thomas Percy und William Shenstone* (Strassburg, 1909), p. 18.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁹ *I.*, 168.

ment that "He studied Physic at *Leyden*, and took the Degree of Doctor at *Edinburgh*." ¹⁰

Finally, it may be noted that in Benjamin Collins' record of his purchase of a third share of *The Vicar of Wakefield* on October 28, 1762, the name of the author appears as "Dr. Goldsmith," ¹¹ and that the manuscript "Register" of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, to which Goldsmith was elected on November 17 of the same year, designated him as "Goldsmith, Oliver, M. B." ¹²

In the light of these facts, the supposed significance of the agreement with Dodsley disappears. Goldsmith may or may not have had a rightful claim to the possession of a bachelor's degree in medicine—the solution of that problem is impossible with the evidence we now possess. It is clear, however, that he was *known* as "Dr. Goldsmith" from almost the beginning of his literary career.

RONALD S. CRANE

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REVIEWS

Three Chaucer Studies: I. "Chaucerian Problems: especially the Petherton Forestership and the Question of Thomas Chaucer." By RUSSELL KRAUSS; II. "The *Parlement of Foules* in its Relation to Contemporary Events." By HALDEEN BRADY; III. "Observations on the Shifting Positions of Groups G and DE in the Manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*." By C. ROBERT KASE. New York, 1932. Pp. vii + 182 + 101 + 89.

This volume contains three distinct studies, separately paged, which have grown out of reports presented in the Chaucer Seminary

¹⁰ P. 13. Rider's book was advertised as just published in the *London Chronicle* for May 27-29, 1762.

¹¹ See Charles Welsh, *A Bookseller of the Last Century* (London, 1885), pp. 58-59.

¹² For the privilege of examining this I am indebted to the present Secretary of the Royal Society of Arts.

at New York University. Professor Carleton Brown has reason to be proud of his pupils. Each of the studies is a significant contribution to Chaucerian scholarship.

I.

As a preliminary step to his consideration of Thomas Chaucer, Dr. Krauss has confirmed beyond any further possibility of doubt the generally accepted opinion, questioned by Furnivall and Kirk and recently contested by Viktor Langhans, that Chaucer was married before September 12, 1366, when Philippa Chaucer was granted a royal annuity of ten marks. From an examination of contemporary records Mr. Krauss has shown that the term *domicella*, applied to Philippa, is regularly used of married as well as unmarried ladies, and that there is nothing unusual in granting an annuity to a married woman without mention of her husband. He has thus disposed of the only objections that can be made against the obvious inference which biographers of Chaucer have drawn from this grant.

Students of Chaucer have long been curious to know more about the appointment which Chaucer received in 1390-91 as deputy-forester of North Petherton in the far-away county of Somerset. It is no fault of Dr. Krauss that the information which he has most laboriously gathered, and has presented in full detail, yields only meagre results so far as the elucidation of Chaucer's life is concerned, and contributes nothing towards settling the relation of Geoffrey to Thomas Chaucer. The most important fact brought to light is that the appointment was made, not by the Earl of March, but by Peter Courtenay, who from 1382 to 1405 held the lease of Newton Pacey and the bailiwick of the forests of Somerset, a lease which in 1413 came into the hands of Thomas Chaucer. This Peter Courtenay, Dr. Krauss has discovered, was closely associated with Chaucer when the poet was Clerk of the Works at Windsor. One would be glad to know what duties, if any, were involved in the appointment, and whether Chaucer ever had occasion to set foot in his forest. One gathers that it may have been an investment rather than an occupation.

The most striking part of Mr. Krauss's study is his last chapter, entitled "the Paternity of Thomas Chaucer." The evidence, in large measure heraldic in nature, is too complicated to summarize in brief space. Thomas's mother was certainly a Roet heiress and sister to Katherine Swinford, mistress and later wife of John of Gaunt. He not only bore the name of Chaucer, but on one occasion (in 1409) used a seal which had belonged to Geoffrey Chaucer. There is much, then, to indicate that he was the poet's son. Professor Ruud, in his life of Thomas Chaucer, is quite convinced of it. Thomas Gascoigne, a contemporary of Thomas Chaucer, definitely

asserts it; yet Lydgate, who never misses a chance to praise the poet, addresses a laudatory poem to Thomas with no mention of Geoffrey. Speght in 1598 records the tradition "that Thomas Chaucer was not the sonne of Geffrey Chaucer, but rather some kinsman of his, whome hee brought up."

Mr. Krauss argues the hypothesis—though he recognizes that he has not proved it—that Thomas was indeed the son of Philippa Chaucer, but that his father was no less a person than John of Gaunt, who was to the end of his life Thomas's munificent patron. The hypothesis is not a new one. It was advanced by Mrs. Haweis in *Belgravia* for 1882 and by Edward Walford in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1887. But hitherto the suggestion has been either unnoticed or contemptuously brushed aside. The hypothesis fits in nicely with the evidence—on Thomas's elaborate tomb in Ewelme Church much is made heraldically of his Roet connections, while the Chaucer arms do not appear. But however plausible—and to the reviewer its plausibility is considerable—it cannot get beyond the possible, or at most the probable. There is no evidence that John of Gaunt ever openly acknowledged Thomas as his son. I think, indeed, Mr. Krauss is at fault in speaking of Thomas as "illegitimate." Born in lawful wedlock (Mr. Krauss thinks, in 1373), Thomas would have been in the eyes of the law the son of his mother's husband, unless legal steps had been taken to prove the contrary.¹ Had Chaucer ever taken such steps, it seems probable that some record of it would have come down to us.

The bastardy of Thomas Chaucer is of no great consequence to us; but the position in which this hypothesis leaves the poet is of a good deal of consequence. Would his wife's liaison with John of Gaunt have caused him anguish of mind and bitter disillusionment? Or would the exalted rank of the paramour have shed lustre both on the lady and her husband? It is hard to recover the social prejudices of five hundred years ago. One guesses that much would depend on whether Chaucer married Philippa for love, or only for prudent advantage. To that question we shall probably never know the answer.

Mr. Krauss has himself asked me to call attention to two misprints. On p. 29, line 1, the phrase "it contains" should stand after "nevertheless;" on p. 55, line 17, "impalement" should be corrected to "quartering."

II

The interpretation of the *Parliament of Fowls* is one of the most teasing of the still unsolved riddles of Chaucerian scholarship. Is the poem merely a delightful play of poetic fancy, or do the courtly eagles stand for real suitors and a real lady? The present reviewer

¹ See Blackstone, *Comm.*, I, xvi, 457.

believes that there is a personal allegory, but is far from satisfied with any of the persons proposed. Dr. Braddy's study is an elaboration of the theory already proposed by him in *PMLA.*, XLVI, that the courtship allegorically shadowed forth is that conducted in 1377 on behalf of the youthful Richard II for the hand of the Princess Marie, daughter of Charles V of France. In the secret negotiations held at Montreuil on this subject Chaucer was personally concerned. This identification seems to me at least as satisfactory as the Koch-Emerson theory which relates the poem to the courtship of Richard for Anne of Bohemia, who became his queen in 1382. But if it avoids some of the very serious objections to the older theory, it involves others equally serious. One of these Mr. Braddy frankly admits—there is only one rival suitor, where the poem taken at its literal face value calls for two. We can more easily accept the arbitrary substitution of the magic number three, than we can some of the other difficulties. The negotiations were of a highly secret nature, whereas the poem gives as setting for the courtship a large assembly of birds of various estates. (I think Mr. Braddy weakens his main contention when he sees in this assembly a satire on the Good Parliament of 1376, which had no connection whatever with the marriage of Prince Richard.) The negotiations were, moreover, an affair of state, in which the conventions of courtly love, scrupulously observed by the eagles, had no place. Nor is this all. At the time of these negotiations Prince Richard had just attained the mature age of ten; Princess Marie was a child of six!

The chief points in favor of the theory are the fact that the negotiations of the early spring of 1377, like the courtship in the poem, came to an inconclusive end, and that the year 1377 suits exactly the astronomical data given in the poem. Chaucer tells us that when he began to write his dream he saw the planet Venus "north-north-west." Venus sets in the north-west in the late spring and early summer about every other year. Mr. Braddy has, on the authority of Professor Shapley of Harvard and Professor Graham of New York University, pointed out that in the high latitude of England, she was *visible* in this position only in 1374, 1377, and 1382, of the years during which the poem may have been written.

Mr. Braddy has presented his case with admirable thoroughness. If he has not finally solved the puzzle of the *Parliament of Fowls*, he has at least made an important contribution towards its solution.

III

Dr. Kase has given the clearest statement yet made of the complex variations among the manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* as regards the order of the several fragments. It has long been obvious to students of the subject that none of these variant arrangements

has Chaucer's own sanction. They represent rather the attempts, more or less intelligent, of scribal editors to put into order the mass of fragmentary materials found in the poet's desk after his death, materials which were contradictory in that they included links which look to more than a single intended sequence. The most that we can hope to learn from the existing manuscripts is something as to the state in which this material was found, and, where more than a single sequence is indicated, which was in Chaucer's mind the earlier, which the later, intention. It is with such questions as these that Mr. Kase's study is concerned.

Mr. Kase is the first scholar to call attention to the fact that (if one disregards a few quite erratic manuscripts) the confusion in order is caused by the variant placing of only a few of the fragments. The manuscripts point with overwhelming authority to a single order for what is in bulk nearly three-quarters of the material. This order is, in terms of the Chaucer Society symbols, AB¹—DE¹—CB²—HI. These four groupings, and this order of the four, are not disturbed. The confusion results from the various fitting into this fundamental pattern of E² (the Merchant), F¹ (the Squire), F² (the Franklin), and G (Second Nun and Canon's Yeoman). It would seem, then, that the order AB¹—DE¹—CB²—HI was clearly indicated by the arrangement of the materials found by the scribal editors. For the floating fragments, E², F¹, F², and G, there was no such clarity of indication—though a link of undoubted genuineness exists to bind together F¹ and F² into a single fragment. From this fact it would seem to follow logically that among these floating fragments (and perhaps also in DE¹) are to be found the poet's latest additions to his unfinished collection of tales.

There is one curious fact about the four fixed fragments which Mr. Kase has not noticed. Whether it has any significance, or is merely a freak of coincidence, I am not yet prepared to say. It is, however, true that fragment AB¹ is almost exactly equal in bulk to CB², and DE¹ to HI. Since the prose of *Melibeus* and the *Parson's Tale* prevents a consistent measurement by number of lines, a convenient estimate of bulk can be made from the space occupied in a printed edition. In Skeat's *Student's Chaucer*, for example, the material of AB¹ and that of CB² fills in each case 73 pages, the material of DE¹ and that of HI in each case 48 pages, or very close to two-thirds the space of the larger fragments. May these correspondences point to some standard size in the manuscript fascicules which contained the more ordered portion of Chaucer's materials?

With one element of Mr. Kase's study I cannot agree. He argues at some length that the Man of Law's end-link (misleadingly labelled by Skeat "The Shipman's Prologue") was designed by Chaucer to introduce the *Squire's Tale*. This link, indubitably genuine, is retained in only 32 manuscripts. In 29 of them it

is immediately followed by the *Squire's Tale*. But in four of the 29, and in two other manuscripts, the Summoner and not the Squire is named as the speaker of its concluding lines (only one very erratic manuscript names the Shipman). The tone of the lines in question marks them as spoken, as Manly has pointed out, by "one of the ruder members of the party," rather than by the fastidious young Squire, who is a model of "gentillesse." They are peculiarly appropriate to the Summoner, who had, parrot-fashion, a little Latin "in his maw." It seems to me clear that Chaucer intended the link to introduce the Summoner, for whom he later made new provision by involving him in a quarrel with the Friar. The scribal editors, finding it impossible to use the link for its original purpose, either suppressed it entirely or changed the name Summoner to Squire. The fact that the name Squire occurs only when the *Squire's Tale* immediately follows, and that the name Summoner is retained in six MSS., though the *Summoner's Tale* never follows, constitutes a high degree of transcriptional probability that Summoner and not Squire was the original reading.

Though the argument as Mr. Kase has organized it depends rather vitally on acceptance of his opinion that Chaucer intended this link to introduce the *Squire's Tale*, the matter is not really essential to his main position. Indeed, the statement of his position which I have given in this review, is to some slight extent a restatement in terms of my own belief that Chaucer never intended to link the Man of Law and the Squire. I hope Mr. Kase will not think that in so doing I have taken undue liberties with his stimulating and suggestive monograph—a monograph which no serious student of the *Canterbury Tales* can afford to neglect.

ROBERT K. ROOT

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Notkers des Deutschen Werke nach den Handschriften herausgegeben von E. H. SEHRT und TAYLOR STARCK. Ersten Bandes erstes Heft: *Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiae I und II*. Max Niemeyers Verlag, Halle / Saale, 1933.

The standard edition of the works of Notker, the German (Labeo), teacher of the cloister school of St. Gall about the turn of the Millenium (died 1022) is that of Paul Piper (three volumes, 1882-83), supplanting the earlier edition of Hattemer (1844-49). Piper was noted more for his assiduity in bringing out editions of the older German texts than for deep insight or reliability. It is therefore to be welcomed that two American scholars have undertaken to bring out a complete edition of Notker's works, starting

with his OHG translation and commentary of *Boethius De Consolatione*, the one complete manuscript of which on the whole preserves best Notker's admirable system of orthography, including an elaborate system of accentuation by means of acute and circumflex. Notker's prose is with one possible exception the best OHG prose preserved. The inflexion holds an intermediate position between the fuller endings of the older period and the uniform *e* of the MHG and the NHG.

The editors have set themselves the task of supplying a 'critical' edition, one that comes as near as possible to Notker's original text. Where changes have been made from the text of the solitary complete manuscript, St. Gall 825, the readings of the manuscript are in every case given in the foot-notes, and below these at the bottom of the page the relevant passages in the commentary on Boethius by Remigius (R) and an anonymous (X), both of which were used by Notker. The information for this is taken over from Hans Naumann's excellent treatise Notkers *Boethius, Untersuchungen über Quellen und Stil*, Strassburg, 1913. In spite of the relative excellence of the manuscript there are many deviations from the regularity that evidently characterized the manuscript that first came from the hands of the author. An outstanding feature of the orthography of Notker is the treatment of the Germanic *b*, *g*, *th* (in Notker's dialect *d*) and *f*. These sounds appear in the beginning of the sentence, or part of a sentence, as *p*-, *k*-, *t*-, *f*-, likewise in the sentence when the preceding word ends in a voiceless consonant. By contrast we find *b*-, *g*-, *d*-, *v*- (*u*) after voiced sounds. According to accepted opinion *b*-, *g*-, *d*-, *v*- are regarded as voiceless lenes, while *p*-, *k*-, *t*-, *f*- are of more or less pronounced fortis character. The editors have not entered in the Introduction on discussions of phonetic values of the various sounds but have confined themselves to establishing the original conditions on basis of statistical methods, constructing the reconstituted text on the basis of the usage in the preponderant majority of cases. Where the differing forms seemed in number too equally balanced the editors have rightly adhered to the manuscript. In estimating the value of the statistical material they have rightly paid special attention to orthographies that appear clustered in smaller well-defined areas and therefore to be eliminated in restoring the original condition. The present reviewer possesses a number of facsimiles of the codex and comparison with the printed text establishes the general reliability of the editorial work. The following slight errors were noted: *perfecto* 81₁₀, *profecto* Ms (an error traditional from Hattemer to Piper); *allero* 87₂₀, no accent; *contrahisceres* 81₁₀, rather *contra hisceres*, ?; 101₄ *upiga* Ms.

Scholars will finally welcome the prospect of the long-wished-for complete Notker glossary, for which Professor Sehrt has proved his competence in his complete *Worterbuch* of the *Heliand* and

O. S. *Genesis*. This will give full references supplementing the Introduction, which of necessity has to be somewhat summary.

It would seem that the editors have succeeded in utilizing all means of mature scholarly methods in attempting the restoration of the original text as far as it can be restored by the statistical method, to the exclusion of considerations of sound.

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Ausdruckswerte der deutschen Sprache. Eine Stilkunde. Von WILHELM SCHNEIDER. Leipzig und Berlin. 1931. B. G. Teubner. geb. RM. 9.60.

Die Notwendigkeit einer deutschen Stilkunde wird seit Walzels *Gehalt und Gestalt im Kunstwerk des Dichters* nicht mehr bestritten. Über das Stadium mechanischer und schulmeisterlicher Stilregeln sind wir glücklich hinausgewachsen und haben endlich die Stufe erreicht, auf der der Stil Problem geworden ist. Mit der plötzlichen Betonung des Stilprinzips war zunächst die Gefahr gegeben, daß die Analyse ohne genügende begriffliche Unterlage versucht wurde, daß man sich etwa mit einem einzigen Gegensatzpaar begnugte oder ohne Untersuchung der spezifisch literarischen Bedingungen Begriffspaare aus der Kunstwissenschaft übernahm. Dagegen trat zunächst die andere Gefahr zurück, daß der Stil aus der seelisch-körperlichen Einheit von Auszudrückendem und Ausdruck gelöst zu werden drohte und zu einer Selbständigkeit gelangte, die ihm auf Grund der modernen philosophischen Theorie nicht zukommen konnte.

Das vorliegende Buch von Schneider stellt sich in erster Linie die Aufgabe, eine größere Mannigfaltigkeit stilistischer Begriffspaare aus der vorhandenen Literatur zusammenzustellen und zu ergänzen, mit Beispielen zu erläutern, logisch zu klären und zu systematisieren. Diese Systematisierung geschieht unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Beziehung der Worte zum Gegenstand der Aussage, der Worte zueinander, der Worte zur gesamten Sprache und zum Verfasser. Schneider macht nicht den Anspruch auf endgültige Klassifizierung und Systematisierung; dafür sind namentlich die Einteilungsprinzipien in den Unterabteilungen noch zu wenig geklärt. Die Erläuterung der hier gebotenen 17 Begriffspaare jedoch wird mit solcher Sorgfalt und Ausführlichkeit durchgeführt, daß eine selbständige Anwendung und Weiterarbeit sehr erleichtert ist. Daß die Beispiele der Prosa entnommen sind, scheint mir ein recht glücklicher Gedanke, da hier die stilistischen Eigentümlichkeiten im allgemeinen zu wenig Beachtung erfahren.

Die letzte Aufgabe der Stilkunde sollte sein, die Formen des Ausdrucks auf den Gehalt des Werkes zurückzuführen, die innere zeitlich und persönlich problematische Grundlage für den Gebrauch bestimmter Ausdrucksformen aufzuweisen. Diese Aufgabe kann natürlich nur auf Grund eingehender Vorarbeiten in Angriff genommen werden. Schneider weist in der Erläuterung seiner Beispiele immer wieder auf diese Aufgaben hin. Aus diesem Grunde kann das Buch nicht nur als Einführung in die Stilkunde, sondern auch als anregendes Hilfsmittel für literarische Studien, besonders solche zur Prosa der klassischen und nachklassischen Zeit, empfohlen werden.

F. W. KAUFMANN

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Ben Jonson. Edited by C. H. HERFORD and PERCY SIMPSON. Vol. IV. Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1932. Pp. xvi + 620.

Volume four of the Clarendon Press *Ben Jonson*, which includes an exquisite tribute by Mr. Simpson to Mr. Herford, the senior editor, who died April 25, 1931, while this volume was in the press, presents the 1616 Folio text of four plays: *Cynthia's Revels*, *Poetaster*, *Sejanus*, and *Eastward Ho*. In the words of the editors, the Folio text has been collated "with the earlier Quartos and the Folio of 1640, and with the chief later texts." The Quartos are fully discussed in the textual introductions to the plays, and the list of variant readings for each page of the text is remarkably thorough and exact. A careful collation of the text and notes with four of the 1616 Folios and the Quartos in the Huntington Library shows, as indeed one should expect, that the editorial work is of the very first order, illustrating that "impossible standard of perfection," which was Mr. Herford's cause of reproach to his junior editor. Even those who are inclined to say with Robert Bridges "I'm afraid I don't like Jonson," can have nothing but admiration for the fine scholarship and beautiful presswork of this volume.

In view of Mr. Chambers' considered statement that in Elizabethan drama there "is throughout little evidence, so far as the records go, for any widespread theatrical practice of what may be called stylistic revision" (*William Shakespeare A Study of Facts and Problems*, I, 213-214), it is especially interesting to follow in the textual introductions the detailed account of Jonson's scrupulous care in correcting his text. Scholars, to be sure, have been well aware of Jonson's habits in this regard; but his practice, ranging from such minute matters as punctuation and spelling, in *Cynthia's Revels*, to considerable additions, in *Poetaster*, is here abundantly attested. One may, however, venture to question certain cases.

For example, the editors note Jonson's changing the '-y' of final syllables to '-ie,' and they test this preference for the '-ie' termination by the changes in the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, in which, they say, '-y' is changed to '-ie' in twenty three cases, and the '-y' spellings are retained in eight only. I observe that the Folios retain the final 'y' in the following examples not noted by the editors: 'any' (ll. 41, 121, 193), 'away' (ll. 64, 147, 188), 'vehemently' (l. 42), 'rascally' (l. 121), 'officiously' (l. 161), 'safely' (l. 172), 'penuriously' (l. 180), 'wholly' (l. 184), 'wantonly' (l. 187), 'only' (l. 216). If these fourteen examples of final y's unchanged are added to the eight examples recorded by the editors, the number, twenty two, almost equals the twenty three instances in which '-y' is changed to '-ie.' However, such corrections do not invalidate the editors' general conclusions.

I observe the following misprints: p. 7, l. 13. *For too read two*; p. 7, l. 18. Quarto E reads 'humour,' not 'humor'; p. 10, l. 5. Omit E from the first column; p. 115, l. 238. *For my read thy*; p. 191, l. 10, Quarto. *For you'd read you'd*; p. 192, l. 12. Quarto. *For doe; read doe*; p. 203, l. 2. *For splendour read splendor*; p. 240, l. 216. *For argued read Argued*; p. 254, l. 267. *For me read mee*; p. 294, l. 7. *For the read and*; p. 342, l. 29. *For in read is*; p. 355, l. 16. Insert 'pale' before 'authors'; p. 371, l. 499. *For long. read long*; p. 415. ll. 665-666. *For choice read choise*; p. 439, l. 73. *For now read now*.,

GEORGE W. WHITING

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Milton: Private Correspondence and Academic Exercises. Translated from the Latin by PHYLLIS B. TILLYARD; with Introduction and Commentary by E. M. W. TILLYARD. Cambridge: The University Press, 1932. Pp. xxxix + 144. \$3.50.

Five months before Milton died appeared a little book of 150 odd pages entitled *Joannis Miltoni Angli, Epistolarum Familiarium Liber Unus: Quibus accesserunt, Ejusdem, jam olim in Collegio Adolescentia, Prolusiones Quaedam Oratoriae*. The letters, thirty-two all told, date from his teens to his fiftieth year, chiefly during the Protectorate. The Prolusions or Academic Exercises, seven in number, were composed in his Cambridge days. It would seem that the old man, through all changes that had come over him, out of some tenderness for the gifted young enthusiast which he had once been, had carefully kept these themes by him and was not now unwilling to have them saved to posterity.

Of this book Mr. and Mrs. Tillyard have given us a charming English version. They have, in effect, renovated and restored an

exquisite early miniature of the poet, in which his traits long familiar come out with new reality.

Milton's delight in the sheer manipulation of ancient rhetoric takes on more and more human substance as his life advances and deepens, but he never altogether loses his love of it. From his scorn of outworn academic rubbish, from poetic inspiration, from his intense friendships, from his personal Renaissance aspirations and Baconian visions of future human attainment, from more intrinsic scholarship, from the warm influences of the climate, landscape, and tradition of Italy and the Mediterranean, from his intense effort for English and European freedom, from his blindness and heart-sick disappointments, one can here follow the process through which his academic rhetoric—"tall stuff," as the editor calls it—gathers sinew and power and life with the years.

From the beginning his unconscious egoism prevails, but nowhere more sweetly reveals itself than in the Prolusions. And like all scholars of his time he finds himself in no situation, action, state of mind that an ancient parallel, either from myth or history, does not suggest itself. This is not mere rhetoric or device; it is a part of the very identification of themselves with the ancients, by which the poets of the Renaissance impropriated the creative energies of Greeks and Romans. Milton, like one a bit intoxicate, revels and luxuriates in classic myth and idea, in "thoughts that wander through eternity." Yet he knows not only the delights of this high dissipation, but soon discovers its dangers, intellectual and spiritual. In *Paradise Lost* it is a pastime of the nobler fallen angels; in *Paradise Regained* it is the grand final temptation of Christ added to those in the Gospel account, because it was the besetting sin which Milton had in his own case found to be most subtle, most refined, but most deadly.

Mr. Tillyard is a judicious and learned editor, though he seems here and perhaps in general inclined to lay too much stress upon resemblance of passages as evidence that the two works in which they occur are contemporary. A strained parallel between the letter of 1657 and *Paradise Regained* is cited to support the conclusion that Milton was already occupied with the poem in that year. Instances to the contrary abound, even in the little book before us. Milton's fears that he is singing in "an age too late" (*P. L.* ix, 44) were expressed at least twenty-five years earlier in the seventh Prolusion, not later than 1632. The glorious passage, in the *Vacation Exercise*—"Yet I would rather . . ."—is substantially repeated in prose four years later in the seventh Prolusion. The editor himself cites even another instance in a note on this same superb seventh.

The letter (no. 12, June, 1652) to his Greek friend Philaras discussing the cause of Greek freedom, 170 years before Byron, embodies Milton's favorite idea—that political slavery to tyrants is

the inevitable result of the general enslavement of citizens to their passions, and political liberty is consistent only with the individual's control of himself. Mr. Tillyard cites various passages to the same effect, but overlooks the most important, *P. L.* xii, 79-101, which may indeed be taken as the clear proclamation of the Platonic conception of liberty, the *cantus firmus*, upon which the whole poem is established.

We are grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Tillyard for a fine example of humanistic scholarship, whose most serious defect is want of an index.

CHARLES G. OSGOOD

Princeton University

Drydens Fabeln und ihre Quellen. By WOLFGANG JÜNEMANN.
Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., 1932. Pp. 103.
5 M. (Britannica, No. 5.)

The title of Junemann's brochure does not indicate its nature and purpose; it is not a source study in the ordinary sense. Junemann is interested primarily in the modifications introduced by Dryden in re-telling the stories in the *Fables*, and he purposely avoids judging these as good or bad from the point of view of the original authors or from a modern point of view; he is intent solely on establishing that they are characteristic of the taste of the seventeenth century, more specifically, that they are all Baroque. Thus Chaucer's original lines are "Gothic"; Dryden re-phrased them to please the taste of his time, adding the Baroque features of "movement" or "Bewegung," splendor and shimmer, antithesis and the broken line, plastic picturization, and sensuous naturalism.

A good deal may be said for Junemann's general theory, and in places it has served him well. It is not, of course, original with him; there has been a noticeable tendency in recent years to extend the application of the term "Baroque" from the fine arts to literature. And literary history certainly gains by the addition to its resources of this new critical term; it is illuminating to compare Dryden with Baroque art, and Addison and Pope with Rococo—providing, however, that the proper distinctions between art history and literary history are kept in mind. It is helpful to see that Baroque sculpture and architecture are expressions of the mentality of the same age as produced Dryden's *Fables*; but the critical terminology that serves us in the study of sculpture and painting is not necessarily applicable without modification to poetry. A style in any art is conditioned, not only by the mentality of the age, but also by the technical problems of the art as a craft and by the evolution of this special technique belonging to each art. The out-

standing fault of Junemann's study is that he has not realized that Baroque poetry can not be Baroque in exactly the same way as painting and sculpture, and can not be adequately explained merely in the terms and traditions of the other arts. "Movement" in Bernini's sculpture is Baroque; but it does not follow that all movement in Dryden's narrative poetry should be so designated and explained.

Nothing but an illustration can do justice to Junemann's method; I choose the first paragraph of his discussion of *The Flower and the Leaf*:

Barock ist Bewegung. Eine Bewegung, die, in sich gefangen und bis zum aussersten mit auseinanderstrahlenden Energien gefüllt, ihre Fesseln jeden Augenblick zu sprengen droht; Barock ist schwellende Dynamik, ist der Moment der Krisis in jener Spannung zwischen Bewegungsabsicht und Bewegungsausführung.

Then, at their call emboldened out they come,
And swell the gems and burst the narrow room,
Broader and broader yet their blooms display,
Salute the welcome sun, and entertain the day.
Then from their breathing souls the sweets repair
To scent the skies and purge the unwholesome air:
Joy spreads the heart, and with a general song
Spring issues out, and leads the jolly months along.

(Dryden, 12-19.)

Im ersten Couplet steigt der Frühling schwellend empor, die Mauern bersten unter dem gewaltigen Druck. Im nächsten Couplet breitet sich die Bewegung weithin aus, das ganze Land halt wider von den Klängen heimlicher Melodie. Brachte das erste Coupletpaar die Entwicklung in die Breite, hebt sich die Bewegung im zweiten hinauf zu den Wolken, alles umfassend, der Frühling wandert singend und klingend vor dem Jahre her über die erwachenden Felder. (P. 78.)

To one reader at least, Junemann's commentary is more Baroque than Dryden's lines.

Inasmuch as we shall undoubtedly have to accept the word "Baroque" into our critical vocabulary, we shall be on safer ground if we avoid a loose descriptive use of it—as when an unbalanced plot in either Shakespeare or Goethe is called "Baroque"—and if we are careful that we do not use it to obscure or supplant the facts of literary history. Analogies to Baroque art have been found in the Metaphysical school, in Senecan prose style, in the heroic drama of Dryden and others, in Milton's epics, and in Dryden's translations. Obviously all such applications must be defined in terms of literary history, or they are no more serviceable than an attempt would be to explain Spenser's style merely in terms of Venetian painting.

LOUIS I. BREDVOLD

University of Michigan

Warburton and the Warburtonians. A Study in Some Eighteenth-Century Controversies. By A. W. EVANS. [New York and] London: Oxford University Press, 1932. viii + 315 pp. \$3.75.

William Warburton (1698-1779) at the age of 26 published a thin pamphlet of prosaic verse, at 29 a lawyer-like brief, at 37 a statescraft volume on the Alliance between Church and State, and at 39 the first tome of his *Divine Legation of Moses*. When 41 he met Pope and aspired to be and became guide, counsellor, and friend of the great poet. By him he was introduced to Ralph Allen, whose niece he married, and through whose strong political influence he won friends and advancement in the church. At the age of 48 he edited Shakespeare, at 52 issued a handsome, authorized, nine-volume edition of Pope, and at 61 became a bishop. Historian, editor, statesman, controversialist, he was an eminent personage through the mid years of the Eighteenth Century.

This importance considered, it seems strange that only three men, Hurd, Watson, and Stephen, have written biographies of him. Hurd's account, prefixed to a collected edition of Warburton's *Works*, is, though authoritative and sympathetic, too brief to be of great value; Watson and Stephen disliked him. The elder Disraeli said of him, "Nor is there, in the whole compass of our literary history, a character more adapted to excite our curiosity, and which can more completely gratify it." Now Mr. Evans has given us a *Life* that is scholarly, readable, and unprejudiced, and that for the first time presents a picture that is fair and comprehensive.

It is from Warburton's letters, not from his works, that we learn the truth about him, and Mr. Evans has made constant use of them. Watson and Stephen disregarded them, although there were many available, as Nichols's copious quotations show.

Mr. Evans has chosen to gather the events of Warburton's life about the groups of men with whom he associated, rather than to present them in strict chronological order. This method has much to recommend it, but it lessens the usefulness of the book as a work of reference, and increases the difficulty of the reader in forming a sequential idea of the Bishop's life as a whole.

Like Watson, Stephen, and Nichols, Mr. Evans has paid scant attention to one of Warburton's warmest friends. The letters from Warburton to Balguy, some 130 in number, dating from 1750 to 1779, still unpublished, and belonging to Prof. R. H. Griffith of the University of Texas, clearly demonstrate a very intimate friendship between Warburton, Hurd, and Balguy. The letters are full of such sentences as the following: "Be assured there is no one loves you better, esteems you higher, or is more faithfully yours." "Continue to love me, and believe no one loves you more sincerely than does. . . ." "I am sure Mr. Hurd wants you as much as you

want him; especially under his present occupation. But to say the truth you were made for one another's support and happiness; so that the separation must needs be like the loss of a limb to both of you." "I made a visit to Mr. Hurd for about ten days before I came hither. We wanted nothing but your company to make the pleasures . . . complete." "He [Hurd] is sensible of the extreme pleasure that this gives to the friends he most esteems, yourself and me." "You will believe me in earnest when I tell you that I have relied so much on Mr. Hurd's and your friendship for me, as to determine where to place the Guardianship of my son in case of accidents."¹

Five appendices contain lists of Warburton's works and of books and pamphlets in some way connected with him. The lists are far from complete, but, even so, give some idea of the volume and variety of Warburton's own writings and the mass of material involved in the Warburtonian controversies. The letters to Balguy, previously mentioned, name the writers of two books listed by Mr. Evans as anonymous: Nichols the author of *A Review of the Fiery Eruption which defeated the Emperor Julian's Attempt to Rebuild the Temple*, and Hill the author of *A Discourse on the Nature and End of the Lord's Supper*.²

EDLEEN BEGG

University of Texas

Philenia, The Life and Works of Sarah Wentworth Morton 1759-1846, by EMILY PENDLETON and MILTON ELLIS, University of Maine Press, 1931.

The chief contribution of the joint authors of this small volume is an exhibit of evidence by which they deprive their subject, Sarah Wentworth Morton, of the sole literary distinction she has hitherto enjoyed: namely, the authorship of *The Power of Sympathy*, published in 1789, and regarded as the first American novel. The credit for this stilted performance, important only as a pioneer

¹ So far as I know, the only biography of Balguy is a short and very sketchy one, used as a preface to a volume of his discourses edited by his relative, James Drake. The book seems to be very rare. One of the discourses, *Advice to an Unmarried Lady*, is altogether charming.

² I have not noted many mistakes. Three errors in dates, obviously typographical, occur: 1739 for 1737 as the year of Queen Charlotte's death; 1745 for 1743 as the date of Cibber's *Another Occasional Letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope*; and April 22, 1738 for 1728 as the date of publication in *The Daily Journal* of Concanen's third communication to Warburton. A living held by Warburton from 1730 to 1756, spelled Frisby in *The Gentleman's Magazine* and everywhere else so far as I have observed, is spelled Firsby through the book by Mr. Evans. Ralph Warburton died at the age of 19, not 18.

attempt in a new direction, they would assign to the previously unknown William Hill Brown, neighbor of the Mortons. This transfer of authorship is accomplished in a workmanlike fashion which need not be questioned. The flimsy foundation upon which the false ascription to Mrs. Morton is shown to have rested, emphasizes afresh the necessity for re-examining other eighteenth century literary traditions in the same thorough-going manner.

As for Mrs. Morton, this discovery will probably cause her name to be deleted in future from all but the most encyclopedic histories of American literature. Her authentic work, since it chiefly reflects current trends in magazine verse of the period, especially as contributed by "female poets," gives her scant basis for individual fame. Wisely, her present biographers make no effort to press her claims to larger consideration. They are content to do her the justice of an accurate personal history, and within these narrow limits, their work is admirably done. One wishes, however, that the facts of Mrs. Morton's life had been presented less for themselves, and more with reference to the background against which her life was lived, and the conflicting currents of thought which her work reflects. Regarded as a chapter in American literary history, this study would possess more significance than can be accorded it as a compendium of fact concerning the Mortons. Sarah Wentworth Morton, relatively unimportant in herself, is one of those minor writers through whose work a whole period can be reconstructed, and often better understood than through the work of a more original writer. Her entire literary offering, including her prefaces as well as her verses, even the *nom de plume* she chose, illuminates the history of post-Revolution literary taste, and helps to explain why so few poets of her time are remembered or perhaps deserve to be. More important still, her verse documents those early chapters of a militant patriotism struggling to be articulate in meter, and searching feverishly for subjects "wholly American." Much remains to be done with the half century to which Mrs. Morton's work belongs. But discriminating critical interpretation waits on accurate assembling of fact. To that further end, such a volume as the present study is necessary and distinctly valuable.

OLA ELIZABETH WINSLOW

Goucher College

The Novel and the Oxford Movement. By JOSEPH ELLIS BAKER.
Princeton University Press, 1932. Pp. xiii + 220.

Mr. Baker in his Princeton dissertation surveys the novels of contemporary manners reflecting the Oxford Movement, which he defines somewhat broadly as running from 1833 "at least until the

end of the century." He shows that one hundred and twenty-seven novels between 1837-91 were influenced by the religious ferment originally set about by Newman, Keble, and Froude. Although some of the influences Mr. Baker describes might be attributed to religion in general, he has shown how long it took the leading ideas of the Oxford group to find reflection in purely secular literature. It was not until the 'fifties that any considerable influence is discoverable, and by that time the Movement proper was decaying.

The Oxford reformers made a slighter impression on the public than has been supposed. If they wrote voluminously, it was, aside from the Tracts, in a limited number of church journals, some of them founded for the purpose. In the 'forties they deliberately extended their propaganda into fiction and encouraged their friends to write novels, many of them with little plot and no love interest, depending upon theology for appeal. These writers "did not consider themselves novelists or romancers at all." Herein lies the weakness of Mr. Baker's book. He bases the major part of his discussion of the early fiction upon the works of only two men, William Gresley and Francis Paget, both of considerably less than minor importance in the history of the novel (of their thirteen novels cited, Harvard has six, Yale two, and Columbia none). These two were intimately connected with the Oxford Movement, and their partisan writings (frequently in the *Englishman's Library*, founded as a propagandist organ) are scarcely indicative of any influence upon the general development of the novel. Whatever influence the Movement had upon the more prominent of the "legitimate" novelists of the early period is often limited to the passing reference of a few paragraphs.

Mr. Baker demonstrates, however, that a great deal of minor fiction does reflect the Movement. He shows clearly that the anti-intellectualism of its leaders was directly reflected in the novels, particularly in those of Charlotte Yonge, whose ideal clergymen are invariably described as being none too clever. He also points out evidence of the reformers' ideas on church architecture, governmental and social conditions. The chapter on Trollope is among the best. It shows that Trollope has given us "the most insidiously false picture of the Victorian clergyman in so far as it concerns the Oxford Movement." Trollope was unaware, for instance, that the term "Protestant" was a fighting word to the true Anglo-Catholic.

The subject is a difficult one for a layman to cover adequately, but Mr. Baker gives evidence of careful research and writes in a delightful style; his book will be a valuable if scarcely indispensable addition to the history of one phase of the thought of the nineteenth century.

GORDON H. HARPER

The Johns Hopkins University

BRIEF MENTION

The second edition of the late Wendelin Foerster's *Wörterbuch zu Kristian von Troyes' sämtlichen Werken*, by HERMANN BREUER (*Romanische Bibliothek*, No. 21; Halle: Niemeyer, 1933, xii + 281 pp., 8 Mk.) is decidedly welcome. The first edition, which has been out of print for some time, was one of the few Old French glossaries of moderate size in which meanings were given with sufficient care to make it safe to put the book in the hands of students. The new edition has been improved in various respects. Numerous additions, in good part based upon Hilka's new edition of the *Perceval* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1932), make the *Wörterbuch* of 1933 indispensable for every serious Old French library. References to literature that has appeared since the publication of the first edition are very useful, and the changes in the etymological statements seem judicious. The fact that Foerster's long introduction, which had little or nothing to do with the dictionary, has been omitted, has made it possible to make the book handier and cheaper. Is it too much to hope that in some future edition the Old French will be translated into modern French instead of (or at least as well as) into German and that the abbreviations for the poems of Crestien and the spelling of his name will correspond to the usual French names of the poems and the poet? Frequent non-German users of the *Wörterbuch* are obliged to consult the list of abbreviations *ad infinitum* without ever learning that G (*Gral*) means *Perceval* and L (*Löwenritter*) *Yvain*, etc. It is to be regretted that desire for brevity led to the omission of a number of references given in the first edition, so that for complete information one is obliged to have both editions. It would be a boon if editors would incorporate lists of proper names uniformly into their glossaries; there is little use in separating the two lists, and much time spared by uniting them. The separation is moreover not always easy; thus the first edition considers *Deu* a dictionary word and *alixandrin* a proper name, while the second edition reaches diametrically opposite conclusions! The second edition, again, adds to the list of proper names references to *Amors* as the goddess of love, while leaving older references to the same sense in the dictionary. Despite these reservations, however, the book is a learned and valuable contribution to Old French lexicography, and the editor deserves our sincere gratitude.

D. S. B.

Religionssoziologische Probleme in Roman der deutschen Aufklärung. Von WALTER GEBHARDT. Giessen: 1931. Pp. 116. The combined efforts of Pietism and Rationalism gradually undermined the

restrictions which the orthodox Protestant church put on its members. Hand in hand with the new worldliness goes a secularization of the reading matter. While good Protestants continue to read the Bible, they no longer take the same delight in reading homilies and family sermons, now they want to be entertained as well as edified. It is interesting to see how the Protestant clergy adapts itself to the changing conditions. Since the reading public remains the same and the reading objective on the whole remains the same, the clerical authors simply insert some tales of adventure à la Richardson into their moral exhortations. The effect is surprising and immediate, the public simply devours these disguised sermons as it would eat up "verzuckerte Pillen." By the catalogues of the *Leipziger Messe* of that time the author shows how the reading public increased in proportion to the vanishing distrust of the Protestant reader with regard to books of a purely secular nature. The important outcome of this process of secularization is this: the coming great epoch of German literature found a well prepared German reading public.

LYDIA ROESCH

West Virginia University

Romantische Lyrik, nach Motiven ausgewählt und geordnet, von Dr. MARTIN SOMMERFELD, Junker und Dünhaupt. Berlin, 1932. 185 pp. Nachwort. This volume is the fourth in the series of anthologies arranged according to subject matter by Professor Sommerfeld, whose keen knowledge of the field has brought into this collection many fine poems by authors not represented in the usual anthologies. In the *Nachwort* he expresses the hope that the arrangement of the poems of romanticism under different groupings, eighteen in this collection, e. g., *Wanderlust*, *Im Walde*, *Der Rhein*, *Der Einsiedler*, *Nacht*, *Maria*, etc., might aid in reviving the discussion regarding the unity in variety of romantic creation. Curiously enough he has not included *Liebe*, as a motive of this period, and hence finds no place for poems such as Eichendorff's *In einem kühlen Grunde*.

A. E. ZUCKER

*University of Maryland,
College Park*

Germany, A Companion to German Studies, Edited by JETHRO BITHELL, Lincoln McVeagh. The Dial Press, N. Y., 1932. With Map and Bibliography, xii + 402 pp. \$4.00. A very useful introduction to things German in eleven chapters dealing with the history, literature, painting, architecture, sculpture and music of the country from the earliest times up to 1931. The editor, Reader in German, University of London, writes the introductory

chapter and also the longest chapter in the book, that dealing with German literature from 1880 to 1931. The work is soundly done with a great deal of sympathetic appreciation albeit with here and there some British prejudices. The criticism does not, on the whole, differ much from that of German literary historians, yet in some cases, as for example with Hebbel, the writers refuse to be awed by great reputations. The work deserves to be recommended to students and teachers of German, particularly since it offers a broader basis than merely literary history.

*University of Maryland,
College Park*

A. E. ZUCKER

Medieval Story. By W. W. LAWRENCE. New York, 1931. Pp. xiv + 236. \$2.50. The first edition of this book came out in 1911. The second edition of 1926 differed from the first only in that the suggestions for supplementary reading were brought up to date. The present edition is nothing more than a reprinting of the edition of 1926, and the legend "second edition" is appropriately retained on its title-page. In spite of the lapse of time, Professor Lawrence's lectures have not lost their value as an introduction to medieval story, and though a revised edition of them would be welcome, it is good to know that the book has not been allowed to go out of print.

K. M.

CORRESPONDENCE

ON BEING CREATIVE. In the June number of *MLN*. Mr. H. M. Jones has published a rather harsh review of Mr. Babbitt's book *On Being Creative*. I do not wish to question Mr. Jones's individual judgments, because of considerations of space; but I should like to raise the question whether Mr. Babbitt does not deserve more sympathetic criticism, especially from Mr. Jones, who demands sympathy (with candor) as a condition of good criticism. I am not likely to be regarded as a representative of classicism in my own studies, but I feel that Mr. Babbitt has been the source of so many critical ideas which we all use that even his adversaries are as deeply in his debt as his disciples. His significance in American critical thought should at least preserve him from being dismissed with contempt in the pages of a conscientious learned journal. Mr. Stoll also, though utterly different in his critical attitude, has suffered from reviewers in a like manner because of the individuality of his point of view. This seems to me alien to the spirit of receptiveness which is professed by all scholars.

THOMAS M. RAYSON

University of Nebraska

VALENTINE AND ORSON. With Mr. Arthur Dickson's regret of our apparent inability to agree on all points (*MLN.*, XLVIII, 207) I can only concur. Such an agreement is, in the nature of the case, perhaps impossible. Put in a nutshell, the problem may be defined thus: Mr. Dickson prefers to find the source of the romance in a *märchen* recorded in Europe as early as 1550, although this *märchen* lacks the most characteristic features of the romance (*MLN.*, XLVII, 495), rather than looking for it in a twin story known to us only in folk-lore. The basis for his preference is, then, the assumption that everything told orally in the middle ages was also put on paper and that everything that was put on paper has come down to us. I admire such robust faith without finding myself able to share it. Fortunately, in this scepticism I do not stand alone but am happy to refer Mr. Dickson to an essay of Mr. R. W. Chambers, *The Lost Literature of Mediaeval England* (*The Library*, Fourth Series, v, 293-321). Mr. D. furthermore asks, if *Valentin und Namelos* rests upon 'universal superstitions' (better: upon a twin story of simple structure ultimately derived from such superstitions), what of the Eustace legend, *La Belle Helene*, *Octavian*, *Parzival*, *Maugis d'Aigrement*, *Merlin*, *Generides*, and *Tristan de Nanteuil*? Was each of them independent of all the others, and have they no connection but the common basis of superstition? Although tempted to quote a well-known English proverb about the relative ease of asking questions and the greater difficulty of answering them, I may perhaps be permitted, for the Eustace legend and one of its derivatives, to refer Mr. Dickson to *Nuovi Studi Medievali*, III, 223-58, and *Englische Studien*, LXVII, 174-77. For the other romances, I hope, if a few more years of life are granted to me, to take them up one by one and eventually to answer Mr. Dickson's queries.

ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE

Las Vegas, New Mexico

RICHARD STEELE. Since the printing of my article, "Some Unpublished Letters of Richard Steele to the Duke of Newcastle," in the April number of *MLN.*, another Steele researcher, Mr. Willard Connely, has called my attention to the fact that these letters were published, some in full and others in part, by George A. Aitken in the *Athenaeum* for December, 1890. Aitken's summary, which was written about a year after the publication of his monumental work on Steele (and very shortly after the Newcastle Papers were acquired by the British Museum) is still another piece of research for which students of Steele are deeply grateful and deeply indebted to him. The text of the letters as given in *MLN.* tallies, with a few minor exceptions, with that of Aitken. The letter I have dated Jan. 29, 1715, he excerpts and dates the 28th; and that which he places at "perhaps about this time," that is, October, 1718, is dated in my transcript, Nov. 8, 1719. Although our interpretations of the contents are similar, there are differences in our understanding of the two written in the summer of 1715, and I was enabled because of Tickell's recently printed papers to go a step further in annotating that of September, 1718. Our

readings of the last letter are different, and Aitken's is undoubtedly right. He includes and explains an enclosure—overlooked by me—which puts the contents in another light.

RAE BLANCHARD

Goucher College

BUTLER. Recently, while glancing over my article on the Butler-Oxenden Correspondence (*MLN.*, January, 1933), I perceived to my annoyance that I had been unconsciously manœuvred into a clear misstatement. I wrote, "Since Butler's association with Gray's Inn is established by Richard's letter," and again, "Richard Oxenden's letter . . . definitely associates Butler with Gray's Inn." Richard Oxenden's letter, taken alone, establishes no such relation. Gray's Inn Walkes was of course a fashionable promenade (cf. Pepys's *Diary*, *passim*). In any case, a meeting here between the Oxendens and Butler would prove nothing. What I ought to have said, and all that I intended to say, is that a number of details, taken together (a complex which for me Richard Oxenden's letter must have come to symbolize), make Butler's association with certain men at one time or another at Gray's Inn seem quite certain.

RICARDO QUINTANA

University of Wisconsin

SHAKESPEARE AND BACON. When I wrote the note on Shakespeare and Bacon as horticultural prophets, which appeared in *MLN.* for February, 1933, I was unaware that the matter had been discussed in the April, 1932, issue of the *Journal of Heredity*, by Drs. W. E. Praeger and Robert C. Cook. Credit for priority of notice obviously goes to them. Subsequent study, still incomplete because of inaccessibility of some of his works, inclines me to believe that Perdita's lines in question were inspired, directly or indirectly, by della Porta.

F. C. BRADFORD

Michigan State College

CENTILIVRE AND GOLDSMITH. I have just seen, for the first time, Walter and Clare Jerrold's *Five Queer Women* (London, 1929), and I regret to say that in their chapter on Susanna Centilivre I have encountered the suggestion (made three years before a similar suggestion of mine appeared in *MLN.*) that Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* was influenced by Mrs. Centilivre's *The Man's Bewitched*. The brief exposition which the authors give to the parallel between the two plays concludes as did my note: ". . . it is difficult to avoid believing that he (Goldsmith) had read Mrs. Centilivre's play." May I therefore offer here my apologies to the authors of *Five Queer Women*?

MARK SCHORER

University of Wisconsin

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

ENGLISH

[The *English* list includes only books received.]

Austen, Jane.—Volume the First. *New York*: Oxford Univ. Press, 1933. Pp. x + 140. \$2.00.

Beowulf: A Paraphrase by Harry Morgan Ayres. *Williamsport* (Penna.): Bayard Press, 1933. Pp. 100.

Bissell F. O., Jr.—Fielding's Theory of the Novel. *Ithaca*: Cornell Univ. Press, 1933. Pp. xii + 90. \$1.00. (Cornell Studies in English, XXII.)

Bitter, August.—William Whitehead—Poeta Laureatus. Eine Studie zu den literarischen Strömungen um die Mitte des 18 Jahrhunderts. *Halle* (Salle): Niemeyer 1933. Pp. vi + 106. RM. 4.50. (Studien zur Eng. Philologie, LXXXVIII.)

Blunden, Edmund.—Charles Lamb and his Contemporaries. *New York*: Macmillan 1933. Pp. x + 216. \$2.00.

Boas, F. S.—An Introduction to Tudor Drama. *New York*: Oxford Univ. Press 1933. Pp. viii + 176. \$1.50.

Boillot, Felix.—Apprenez l'Anglais en Angleterre. *Paris*: Agence Française de Propagande, 1933. Pp. x + 82. Fr. 5.

Brittons Bowre of Delights (1591).—Ed. H. E. Rollins. *Cambridge*: Harvard Univ. Press, 1933. Pp. xxviii + 116. \$4.00. (Huntington Library Publications.)

Brönnner, Oskar.—Das Leben Arthur O'Shaughnessy's. *Heidelberg*: Winter, 1933. Pp. 80. M. 3.50. (Würzburger Beiträge zur Englischen Literaturgeschichte, 5.)

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THE VALUE OF HEIDEGGER'S ANALYSIS OF EXISTENCE FOR LITERARY CRITICISM

Heidegger's work *Sein und Zeit*, the first part of which appeared in the *Jahrbuch für Philosophie und phänomenologische Forschung* 1926, is considered by many to make a most important advance over Kant's critical idealism. In this treatise three trends of modern thought come to a synthesis: Kierkegaard's existential conception of man, Dilthey's and Yorck's interpretation of history, and Husserl's phenomenological method. Although Heidegger does not refer to modern psychological and biological investigation in detail, his point of view may be considered as a serious attempt to lay the philosophical foundation of modern science. While the idealistic philosophy accepted consciousness as the first and basic fact and the objects of consciousness as secondary, the modern philosophy of existence considers consciousness as a secondary factor. For it existence is not given primarily as knowledge of an external world and of other selves, but as a process of handling something, an experience of being together and acting together with others, as "Being-in-the-world."

The significance of this interpretation of existence for literary theory and criticism is to be found in the fact that it offers a theoretical standpoint as a result of which we can more clearly distinguish between classical idealism and the realistic tendencies of the 19th century. The danger of being misled by a mistaken theory of the ethical and esthetic values of classical literature will be greatly minimized by the recognition of the fact that the underlying idealistic philosophy neglects an essential part of the structure of existence. It is impossible to do justice, e. g., to the dramatists of the 19th century, as long as one continues to interpret them from the classical-idealistic point of view. From here, Kleist's *Penthesilea*, the majority of Grillparzer's and Grabbe's

dramas cannot but appear as expressions of pessimistic and melancholic resignation, as a decline from the sublimity of the classical spirit and will to live. From the point of view of the philosophy of existence, however, these poetic products gain in depth and also in philosophical significance. In a recent study of Kleist,¹ Fricke let himself be guided by Kierkegaard's conception of existence and showed that Kleist—far from following the classical idea of universality (as, e. g., Kühnemann² assumes for *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*)—develops towards the unconditioned acceptance of destiny in its entire existential singularity and conditionedness. Also Grillparzer cannot be understood as the poet of resignation and the Schopenhauerian renunciation of the will to live. As is the case for Schopenhauer, life is for him of a decidedly positive character. So it can be shown for Grillparzer's *Sappho* and even more convincingly for the *Goldene Vliesz*, how the poet attempted to root his characters in their natural and human environment, and how even the factor of time begins to assume a modern biological and existential form. Alker's³ exhibition of elements of the baroque and the Josephinian enlightenment as poles of Grillparzer's poetry does not do justice to the poet, because it takes into account only the causal forces which determined Grillparzer's mind, whereas according to the philosophy of existence the final determination has to be considered also, as will be explained below.

Since existence is essentially and primarily "Being-in-the-world" and being-together-with-others, it implies the danger of a domination by others, of accommodation to the average, of *Verfall an das Man*, not only as an effect of deteriorated nature, but necessarily and essentially. This *Verfall*, this yielding to convention and tradition obstructs the immediate contact between the Self and the world. The unessential Ego is dependent on the casual constellation of his environment; it is momentary. The true Self, however, is essentially temporal, i. e., it is qualified in every instant through its initial determination, the *Geworfenheit*, and at the same time through its future potentiality, which in its turn is

¹ Gerhard Fricke. *Gefühl und Schicksal bei Heinrich von Kleist*. Berlin, 1929.

² E. Kühnemann. "Kleist und Kant". *Jahrbuch der Kleist-Gesellschaft*, 1922. Berlin, 1923.

³ E. Alker. *Franz Grillparzer. Ein Kampf um Leben und Kunst*. Marburg, 1930.

founded in the limited character of existence itself. This final determination is achieved through the anticipation of death. In it the Self recognizes its entire potentiality in its limitation, and from this recognition it gains the power to resist the danger of lapsing into the trite conventionalism of the *Man*-attitude. Through the exposition of the contrast of the Ego and the Self (*uneigentliches* and *eigentliches Ich*) the polar tension, which has been recognized as a fundamental condition of artistic creation, is anchored in the structure of existence. Accordingly the poetical process is to be understood and interpreted as an attempt toward liberation from the *Man*-sphere to the sphere of the Self with its immediate relation to reality. As long as time is taken as a succession of moments, polarity can be understood only as momentary tension without extension in time. This extension of polar tension in time, as it most obviously reveals itself in the drama, can from this point of view only be taken as a literary fact. Through Heidegger's analysis of existence as temporality, however, this extension receives a deeper ontological foundation. We have seen before that the Self is characterized by *Geworfenheit* in the past and the anticipation of the finite potentiality, both factors being effective simultaneously in any present instant. If now the poetic process is not the elaboration of a theme in the philological sense, but is to be explained existentially as liberation involving a change from the *Man*-attitude to the Self, this temporality will leave its impression on the inner form of the work of art. It is most clearly noticeable in the drama, although the traditional interpretation with its stress on merely causal motivation conceals this fact.

From the point of view of existence as temporality the scheme of the dramatic process may be analyzed as follows: the starting point and aim of the drama is the present tension, the Self-Ego-tension. This tension is not, however, the abstract, impersonal and therefore unpoetic conflict of individual and society, but the very personal danger faced by the artist of yielding to expedient accommodation, to the situation of the moment, to traditional evaluation, to the commonplace attitude of the *Man*. The poet frees himself from a danger which implies a decline of his personal value by anticipating in his creation the consequences of the *Man*-attitude to which he is liable to yield.

The Goethe interpretation has long applied a similar principle,

when it explained his work as confessions with the effect of liberating the poet from the hold of passions. *Werther*, the monologue of Orestes, and the *Parzenlied* are the classical examples of this type. The principle applied here, however, has a much wider range and is founded in the temporal structure of existence as presence, past (*Gewesenheit*), and future in any moment of true existence.

This temporal structure is of even more importance in what might be termed its historicity. Inasmuch as the drama treats a personal problem, it reflects in some way the *Geworfenheit*, the initial determination of the artist, his personal retrospective conditionedness and his prospective tendency. In Kleist's *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg*, the stages of enlightenment, idealism, his despair in idealism, and the final evolution to the resumption of destiny into his Self can be traced. Grabbe's drama can only be understood, if the idealistic starting point and the realistic aim are considered simultaneously in each drama.* On account of this "historicity" any, even the earliest work of art must be interpreted in the light of the whole development of the artist.

Here also the poet's literary development becomes apparent as an urge to continue his creation until the aim of the realization of the Self, inherent in him from the very outset, is attained. Kleist's *Familie Schroffenstein*, e. g., reveals to a certain extent the final solution of the poet's problem, but it remains unsatisfactory on account of the unrelatedness of emotion and destiny; the subsequent works, then, show a continuous progress toward the active resumption of destiny into the Self, and an expansion of the range of sympathy from the limited sphere of individual love to the complex form of national life.

Possibly the typical development of the dramatic work as a whole may be elucidated from this point of view. In general, the following stages may be discerned with tragic poets: (1) the emancipation of the Self from the *Man*-attitude through a desperate anticipation of the last consequences of this attitude. In this stage we find a decided preference for the theme of inescapable fate and of the absolute worthlessness of the world. Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, Schiller's *Räuber*, Kleist's *Familie Schroffenstein*, Grabbe's *Herzog Theodor von Gothland*, Grillparzer's *Ahn-*

* Cp. F. W. Kaufmann. "Die realistische Tendenz in Grabbes Dramen." *Smith College Studies in Modern Languages* XII (1931), No. 4.

frau, Hebbel's early stories and his drama *Judith* are the most striking examples; also the death theme is really not so paradoxical as it first seems to be in the early works of Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal. (2) The second stage is the period of tragedy proper, in which the fight for the realm of values is carried through, as in *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Iphigenie*, *Wallenstein*, etc. (3) In the third period, the Self has found its temporality,—past and future potentiality are effective in every present moment; the Self understands itself as grown through the previous stages. At this point, Schiller's tragedy is supplemented by the sublime; prince Friedrich von Homburg, prince Albrecht in *Agnes Bernauer*, the king in the *Judin von Toledo* grow into their essential task. According to this each work is to be evaluated within the stage to which it belongs in the development of the artist.

Existence as essentially Being-in-the-world, being-together-with-others implies that the historicity of the individual work of art reveals through the personal problem of the poet the cultural situation in general. The *Man*-attitude is to a certain extent life in the process of petrification, and the attitude of the Self part of a new form of life. Hebbel's theory of the turning point of history (*Zeitwende*) indicates, although in a rather rational way, a similar idea. The drama, as any real work of art, must, thus, be considered at the time of its origin as a scene of biological adaptation, as a scene of history in the making; historical dramas of real artistic value are not a dramatization of past history, except in the form of expression which includes the historical setting. The transition from heteronomy to autonomy in Lessing's drama, the strife for humanness and freedom in the drama of Goethe and Schiller, the re-evaluation of life in Gerhart Hauptmann's dramas and in the work of Schnitzler—wrongly considered as indifferent to values—sufficiently illustrate this point.

The complicated nature of Heidegger's thought and the import of his analysis of existence could only be indicated on these pages. It was not my intention to offer new aspects for the interpretation of works of art, but to establish existing modern methods upon a uniform philosophical basis, viz. the interpretation of existence as temporality, i. e., a structure of life in which every instant is determined essentially and integrally by the past and the future, by *Geworfenheit* and *Vorlaufen zum Tode*.

NOTE ON CHATEAUBRIAND'S *ATALA*

The publication of *Atala* in 1801 and its successive editions gave rise to innumerable appreciations of a favorable and of an adverse nature, many of which found their way into print.¹ These were not confined to France alone nor to the Continent. Three translations in English of the work, one of which appeared in Boston,² as well as editions in the original, made it possible for Americans to become acquainted with it. In view of the violent controversy then being waged abroad over the merits of Chateaubriand's narrative, it was to be expected that a critical appraisal of its contents in some form would eventually appear on this side of the Atlantic. But if *Atala* aroused any considerable discussion on the part of American readers, we have so far no record of it, with the exception of an anonymous article in the *American Quarterly Review* for December, 1827,³ wherein the author questions the authenticity of some of the descriptions made of the Mississippi country by the French writer. To all appearances, this is the only early criticism of Chateaubriand's tale from an American pen that has come down to us.

There was, however, in America, another public which the Vicomte's book was bound to interest, because of its nature and because of the author's reputation. I refer to the French expatriates who had sought peace and refuge in the United States. It is not unreasonable to assume that the story of his heroine excited much more critical comment in this milieu, but here again the paucity of documents makes it difficult to determine the nature and extent of the criticism engendered. Our earliest evidence of its existence, hitherto, was to be found in two letters communicated from America to a Continental periodical⁴ in 1832 and 1835, by René de Mersenne, a French exile, who also voices doubts of Chateaubriand's claims as a traveler and a descriptive artist. But there is an earlier

¹ Cf. R. Kerviler, *Répertoire général de bio-bibliographie bretonne*, Rennes, 1894, VIII, 417 ff.

² Cf. G. Chinard, *Œuvres de Chateaubriand: Atala, René*, Paris, 1930. Introd., p. xxviii.

³ II, 458-482. Cited by J. Bédier, *Études Critiques*, Paris, 1903, p. 127 ff.

⁴ *L'Invariable, nouveau mémorial catholique*, Fribourg en Suisse, II (1832), 302-324 and VII (1835), 76-112, cited by Bédier, pp. 131-132.

letter, somewhat hostile in character, addressed to Simon Chaudron, the Editor of *L'Abeille Américaine*,⁵ one of the first newspapers to be printed in French in the United States. As the first part of it appeared in the issue of March 16, 1816,⁶ it antedates Mersenne's letters by several years.

Although it does not materially modify the published conclusions of Professors Chinard, Bédier, and others, concerning the question, it deserves reproduction here, because of its priority and also because it expresses the reaction of one, who, as an obscure contemporary and compatriot of Chateaubriand, was apparently unimpressed by the latter's description of a country he was supposed to have known at first hand.

Territoire du Missouri, Saint-Louis, le 10 Février 1816.

Monsieur.

Je vous prie de faire publier par votre Abeille qui, je n'en doute pas, voyage beaucoup, cette lettre, dont le but est de rectifier des idées fausses, données sur un pays encore peu particulièrement connu en Europe.

J'étais à Paris lorsqu'*Atala*, épisode du grand et pompeux ouvrage de M. J. A. Chateaubriand, intitulé *Géne du Christianisme* ou etc., fut imprimé et répandu dans le public. Cet ouvrage fit grand bruit et c'était tout naturel: du merveilleux qui semble venir de loin, il n'en faut pas davantage pour exalter l'imagination de beaucoup de lecteurs. Il y eut donc un grand nombre d'enthousiastes et un petit nombre de critiques, dont la voix fut étouffée par les éloges des premiers. J'étais fort jeune alors, et me souviens néanmoins de la renommée de M. Chateaubriand, laquelle n'a fait qu'augmenter jusqu'à ce jour, souvent en dépit du bon goût, du bon sens ou de la vérité.

Dans cet ouvrage, qu'il donne comme descriptif, et en même temps comme un fait presque historique, il abuse le lecteur de la même manière que lorsqu'il dit, dans un autre ouvrage, que les eaux de la Mer Morte portent les métaux les plus lourds. Son imagination entichée du merveilleux, le conduisant souvent loin du réel, lui fait annoncer des erreurs qui ne sont pas vraiment tolérables. Il dit avoir beaucoup voyagé et particulièrement dans la Louisiane; mais il faut que ce soit sous la protection et par la puissance de quelque génie, car il a vu bien des choses que les personnes qui visitent les mêmes lieux, n'ont pas la faculté d'apercevoir.

L'histoire d'*Atala* à la main, j'ai remonté le Mississipi, jusqu'à l'endroit où il reçoit les eaux de la Belle-rivière (l'Ohio), et même encore plus haut; et j'ai vu de mes propres yeux que la description donnée par M. Chateaubriand des deux rives de ce fleuve, n'a pas la moindre ressemblance avec

⁵ *L'Abeille Américaine, Journal Historique, Politique et Littéraire*, Philadelphia [July 9, 1815, to April 15, 1818].

⁶ Vol. II, No. xxiii.

la vérité. Il parle de monts, de montagnes, et d'arbres suspendus à des rochers sur la rive orientale; et le voyageur qui cherche ces objets, n'aperçoit, dans une étendue de près de cinq cents lieues, que les écores blanches audessus du village du Bâton rouge, la petite colline, nommée par les Français, Roche à Gavion (où il y a cependant peu de roches, s'il y en a), et au pied de laquelle est bâti le fort Adams; et ensuite quelques écores, un peu plus élevés sur ce côté, que sur la rive opposée. De ce nombre sont ceux des Natchez, ceux appelés les écores à Margot et celui de la Mine-de-fer, à sept lieues environ, au-dessous de l'embouchure de l'Ohio: dans tous les autres endroits sur la rive de l'est, le fleuve déborde presque tous les ans et inonde jusqu'à trois ou quatre lieues, au pied des côteaues, dont il a éloigné son cours, et dont en se rapprochant et en dégradiant une partie, il a formé ces écores que je viens de nommer. Sur la rive de l'Ouest, il s'étend beaucoup plus loin, les terres de ce côté étant en effet plus basses.

Sur le bord Occidental, des savannes se déroulent à perte de vue, leurs flots de verdure, en s'éloignant, semblent monter dans l'azur du ciel où ils s'évanouissent, dit Mr Chateaubriand; et cependant depuis la Balise jusqu'à l'embouchure du Missouri, il n'y en a point, et il n'y en a jamais existé une naturelle d'un mille quarré. L'établissement de la petite prairie, à dix lieues au-dessous de la Nouvelle Madrid, n'est pas sur un terrain qui ait cette étendue il s'en faut de beaucoup. De sorte, qu'à l'exception des lieux habités, lorsqu'on remonte le Mississipi, on est continuellement entre deux haies d'arbres, de la plus ennuyeuse monotonie, lesquels sont difficilement pénétrables à l'homme, à cause des cannes, des lianes, des muriers de renard, des buissons et des ronces qui se croisent en tous sens.

Il faudrait des yeux d'une qualité particulière pour apercevoir, à travers ces bois inconcevablement touffus, (et non pas comme il dit, de *l'extrémité de ces avenues*,) les ours enivrés de raisins.⁷ Ces animaux en font peu de cas ayant une abondance indicible de glands de toutes espèces, de fênes et autres fruits farineux.

J'ai cherché le palmier *qui balance légèrement ses éventails de verdure auprès du Magnolia*: j'ai vu dans les forêts de la rive gauche, seulement, et dans l'intérieur de cette immense contrée le Magnolia⁸ ou Laurier Tulipe ou Tulipier, ainsi que l'appellent les Français et les Américains; mais j'ai perdu mes peines à chercher le Palmiste ou Palmier.

M. Chateaubriand ne peut pas avoir vu le jasmin des florides sur les bords du Mississipi; cette fleur n'y a jamais été indigène. Les Cariboux, les Orignals et les Carcajoux,⁹ sont des animaux particuliers aux regions froides du Canada; quant au serpent oiseau, c'est un animal fabuleux,

⁷ Je laisse à décider aux chimistes si le jus non fermenté de ce fruit peut enivrer?

⁸ Il y en a en Amérique de quatre espèces; mais ce qu'il y a de singulier ici, c'est qu'il n'en exise [sic] pas sur la rive opposée, sinon quelques-uns qu'on y a transplantés.

⁹ Il y avait autrefois dans la Basse-Louisiane des Elans, on n'en trouve plus que dans la Haute.

dont il embellit ces retraites; et pour ce qu'il dit des contre-courans ce serait une chose curieuse, et qu'il annonce comme tant d'autres faussetés ou exagérations, en disant, qu'on voit sur les deux courans latéraux,¹⁰ remonter le long des rivages, des îles flottantes de Pistia et de Nénuphar &c. Les citronniers, les tamarins, les pistia, les bignonias, le smilax, les graines rouges d'azalée, les grosses chauve-souris, sont encore autant de choses que sa brillante imagination a placées dans ces contrées, en dépit de la vérité; mais quand on a entendu le gémissement des arbres et les cris des fantômes, que ne peut on pas avoir vu?

Il fait dire à Atala: *prends courage, le coeur de l'homme est comme l'éponge du fleuve &c.*; dans quel endroit du Mississipi a-t-il trouvé des éponges? dans quel fleuve, dans quelle rivière a-t-il entendu dire qu'on en trouve?

The letter is continued in the following issue of the *Abeille* dated March 23, 1816, under the heading "*Suite des observations sur l'ouvrage de Mr. Chateaubriand.*"¹¹

Le nom de son héros principal est celui d'une nation, autrefois nombreuse, qui l'est moins aujourd'hui, et occupe encore néanmoins une grande partie du pays compris entre le Mississipi et la rivière de la Mobile, et dont le langage est dérivé de la langue Mobilienne, qui semble être la racine de celles de presque tous les peuples des Florides. Il doit paraître singulier, que M. Chateaubriand ait appelé un sauvage des Natchez, du nom d'une nation voisine. Au reste, après la lecture de cet ouvrage, tous ceux qui ont vu la Louisiane, conviennent, d'accord avec les créoles et les habitans, que l'auteur avait sans doute la berlue lorsqu'il a exploré ce pays, dont il donne une peinture si pompeusement fausse.

C'est pendant la révolution française que M. Chateaubriand a, dit-il, parcouru l'Amérique et visité les environs de la cataracte du Niagara, qu'il semble qu'il ait trouvé déserts, quoique depuis long-temps, ils soient très-habités. C'est-là qu'il a vu des Natchez, émigrans du pays des Chikachas, d'où ils étaient chassés par les blancs de la Virginie; cependant, déjà à cette époque, les derniers rejets des Natchez étaient confondus avec les autres nations des Florides. Jamais les Américains n'ont dépeuplé les Natchez, ni les Chikachas de leurs terres; il y a anachronisme et erreur.

Je ne dirai rien des oraisons funèbres, des chansons et surtout des idées poétiques et tout-à-fait dans le goût *sauvage européen*, que M. Chateaubriand prête à ses héros. Je ne troublerai pas non plus la colombe, qui vient de temps en temps arracher un cheveu de l'enfant pour se faire un nid, tandis qu'il y a, dans ces lieux-là, des mousses, des plumes et du poil d'animaux de tous côtés. Je ne critiquerai pas non plus les *aigles entraînés*

¹⁰ Tout le monde connaît les effets du courant et sait ce que c'est que les contre-courans et les remous.

¹¹ Cf. II (No. xxiv), 374-376.

par le courant d'air, descendant en tournoyant & le Carcajou¹² suspendu par sa longue queue, au bout d'une branche brisée, pour saisir dans l'abîme les cadavres brisés des élans & des ours; mais je ne puis m'empêcher de demander si Mr. Chateaubriand parle sérieusement lorsqu'il dit: Quand la nuit, au clair de la lune, vous apercevez, sur la nudité d'une savane, une Yeuse isolée revêtue de cette draperie blanche (de la mousse. Il veut dire la barbe espagnole, sans doute.) vous croiriez voir un fantôme, traînant après lui ses longs voiles: et lorsqu'il parle, dans un autre endroit, de rochers taillés en forme de fantômes, il semble que Mr. Chateaubriand ait plutôt voulu faire un conte de grand-mère, pour les petits enfants et les niais, qu'un ouvrage sensé pour des hommes raisonnables.

On pourrait trouver, je crois, bien des choses à relever dans cet ouvrage, où l'auteur s'est, dit-il, efforcé de ramener la littérature à ce goût antique trop long temps oublié de nos jours. Je n'en ferai cependant remarquer qu'un passage ainsi conçu: *Ces nues ployant et déployant leurs voiles, se déroulaient en zones diaphanes de satin blanc; se dispersaient en légers flocons d'écumes, ou formaient dans les cieux des bancs d'une ouate éblouissante, si douce à l'oeil, qu'on croyait ressentir leur molesse et leur élasticité.*—*Des nues ployant et déployant leurs voiles; quel pathos! on croirait qu'il parle d'un navire; se déroulaient en zones diaphanes, &c., quelle ridicule redondance! des bancs d'une ouate éblouissante, si douce à l'oeil. . . . il faudrait si douce, en accordant l'adjectif avec ouate et non pas avec bancs: cet accord est dur; il faut s'arrêter et réfléchir, avant de l'apercevoir: qu'on croyait ressentir leur molesse et leur élasticité: il faudrait dire: qu'on croyait en ressentir la molesse et l'élasticité.*¹³ Des phrases empoulées, des idées outrées et incompréhensibles, un mépris de la vérité et une supersition qui se décèle; est-ce là ce que Mr. Chateaubriand appelle de la belle littérature?

Il dit, dans sa préface, en parlant de Voltaire: *qu'on n'est pas grand écrivain, parce qu'on met l'ame à la torture.* On pourrait lui demander si on l'est, pour y mettre l'esprit et la raison, en faisant sortir des forêts des voix de fantômes.

Depuis long-temps, dit-il encore, *je ne lis plus qu'Homère et la Bible; Heureux si l'on s'en aperçoit.* Quel rapport y a-t-il entre Homère et la Bible? Quel rapport y a-t-il entre le livre des fictions et le livre de la vérité PURE? Quoiqu'il en soit, comme nous ne sommes plus au temps des merveilles et des miracles; en cherchant à faire accroire qu'il s'en opère dans les forêts du Nouveau Monde, c'est s'écarter de ces deux grands et éternels modèles du beau et du vrai. La vérité, lorsqu'elle est belle, n'a pas besoin de clinquant, et dans son langage simple et élevé, elle n'a pas recours pour plaire aux rêveries, aux extravagances des contes. La naïveté et les couleurs naturelles doivent seules briller dans un tableau, et je suis

¹² Mr. de Chateaubriand, à ce qu'il paraît, ne connaît pas bien le Carcajou ou Quincajou, qui est une espèce de Hyène ou de Loup-cervier, qui n'a point la faculté de se suspendre par la queue.

¹³ Règle de grammaire: pronoms possessifs applicables aux choses.

parfaitement de son avis, *on ne doit point s'occuper de l'imitation des monstres.*

Il est peut-être bien hardi d'attaquer la renommée de M. Chateaubriand; mais lorsqu'il attaque Voltaire, Rousseau et d'autres gens, qui sont autant au dessus de lui par leur mérite, que je lui suis inférieur; lorsqu'il attaque les philosophes et les écrivains modernes; lorsqu'il écrit tant de choses insupportables, je ne vois pas pourquoi il serait épargné.

Je finis cette lettre, en priant mes lecteurs de comparer ses descriptions avec celles de M. M. l'abbé Barthelemy, l'abbé Raynal, Bernardin-de-Saint-Pierre, Marmontel, Buffon, et autres écrivains, alors ils jugeront si j'ai raison ou non, de dire qu'il s'est écarté du vrai beau, pour s'abandonner aux écarts ridicules d'une imagination extravagante.

Je suis, &c.

Signé, LOGUY.

BERNARD A. FACTEAU

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NOTES ON LOVENJOUL'S *HISTOIRE DES ŒUVRES* DE H. DE BALZAC

In comparing various editions of the works of Balzac I have noted a few apparent inaccuracies, omissions, and misleading statements in that *vade mecum* of all students of the great novelist, the *Histoire des Œuvres de H. de Balzac* by the Vicomte de Spoelberch de Lovenjoul. It may be of service to users of that indispensable book to point them out.

P. 25. Lovenjoul does not mention a reprint of tome IV of *Scènes de la Vie privée* issued by Werdet in 1837 that really makes a fourth edition of *Même Histoire*. The title-page is as follows: SCÈNES / DE / LA VIE PRIVÉE, / PAR / M. DE BALZAC. / quatrième volume. / PARIS. / WERDET, ÉDITEUR, / RUE DE SEINE, N. 49. / — / 1837. This edition is referred to in the *Lettres à l'Étranger*, I, 295, under the date of January 18, 1836.

Nous réimprimons en ce moment le quatrième volume des *Scènes de la Vie privée*, où j'ai fait de grands changements par rapport au sens général de *Même Histoire*. Ainsi la fuite d'Hélène avec le meurtrier est rendue presque vraisemblable; il a fallu longtemps pour trouver ces derniers nœuds.

The change to which he particularly refers is the interpolation of the passage beginning with the words: "Hélène était arrivée à un âge . . ." and ending a half-page below with the words: "Hélène

ne souhaitait plus aller au bal." (Balzac, *Œuvres*, édition définitive, III, 641.)

P. 31. Lovenjoul notes that *Autre Étude de femme* contains the beginning of *La Femme comme il faut*.¹ On page 43 he prints the end of *La Femme comme il faut*, "qui n'a pas été conservée dans *Autre Étude de femme*." But, with the exception of the first nine lines ending with the words: "le niveau de ses articles," all that Lovenjoul prints may be found, with few changes, in *Autre Étude de femme*. (Balzac, *Œuvres*, IV, 541-545.)

P. 67. In describing the various editions of *Le Lys dans la vallée* Lovenjoul says: "L'envoi était daté d'abord du 8 août 1827, date qui a disparu depuis et qui précisait l'époque où se passe l'histoire." It is difficult to see how one can arrive at 1827 as the date of the action of this story. Balzac gives, as was his custom, many precise dates in the course of the narrative, and these lead inescapably to 1820 as the year of the death of Madame de Mortsauf, or at the very latest to 1823.² The envoi is really more closely connected in time with *Le Contrat de mariage* than with *Le Lys dans la vallée*. We must allow at least a brief interval to elapse after the death of Madame de Mortsauf before the beginning of the liaison between Félix de Vandenesse and Natalie de Manerville which figures in the *dénouement* of *Le Contrat de mariage*.

P. 97. Lovenjoul's statement that the "partie judiciaire," added to *Le Cabinet des Antiques* between its first printing in 1838 in *Le Constitutionnel* and its publication in two volumes by Souverain in the following year, "va de la page 94 . . . jusqu'à la

¹ Lovenjoul does not mention an edition of *La Femme comme il faut* published by Gabriel Roux and Cassanet in 1847 or 1848. Such an edition was at least announced on the second cover-page of *Le Provincial à Paris*, 2 vols., Gabriel Roux et Cassanet, Paris, 1847. Lovenjoul gives the date of this edition of *Le Provincial à Paris* as 1848, but the title-page of the copy of the library of the University of Michigan has 1847.

² Cerfberr and Christophe (*Répertoire de la Comédie humaine*, Paris, Calmann Lévy, 1893), in the notice devoted to Madame de Mortsauf, give 1820 as the year of her death. In the biography of Madame de Listomère, however, they give it as "vers 1828." They are apparently misled by *Étude de femme*, the action of which, at least as it was originally conceived, can not be earlier than 1829. The allusion in that story to the death of Madame de Mortsauf is one of the innumerable inconsistencies in the chronology of the *Comédie humaine*.

page 125" is likely to give a somewhat wrong impression. While the long addition of more than thirty pages in which the legal battle is developed begins at p. 94, the introduction of this development had involved considerable changes and additions before this point. They really begin on p. 83 with the words: "Il resta, malgré la douleur que lui causait ce spectacle." The following five pages, as far as the words: "Ouvrez de par le roi!" on p. 88, have been added, except a line or two here and there. The Blanchereaus, the Blondets with the exception of Émile, the Camusots and Sauvager all come into the story by the way of the "partie judiciaire" and were absent from the original version.³

P. 102. Concerning *Un Grand Homme de province à Paris* Lovenjoul writes:

Deux de ces chapitres: *Comment se font les petits journaux et le Souper* avaient paru avant la mise en vente de l'ouvrage, dans *l'Estafette* du 8 juin 1839. Il s'y trouvait alors un portrait du poète Canalis tout autre que celui qui commence aujourd'hui ligne 22, page 285.

But this portrait does not come in that part of the story comprised in these two chapters, as Lovenjoul seems to say. It is not even to be found at all in *Un Grand Homme de province à Paris* as published in 1839. It is clear from Lovenjoul's statement on p. 105 that this second part of *Illusions perdues* began in that edition with Lucien's letter to his sister on p. 299 of the *édition définitive* and that consequently this portrait appeared originally in the first part, published in 1837 as tome IV of the first edition of *Scènes de la Vie de province*. The original text of the portrait offers several variations from that reproduced by Lovenjoul. It is as follows:

³ The Belgian contrefaçon published by Méline, Cans et Cie. has the title, *Les Rivalités en province*, under which the story appeared in *Le Constitutionnel*, and follows the feuilleton also in omitting the opening description of the d'Esgriignon family which had appeared separately in the *Chronique de Paris* of March 8, 1836. The title-page is dated 1838. It can not have been issued, however, till the following year. The text was apparently taken at first from *Le Constitutionnel*, for it does not contain the additions beginning at p. 83, but does contain all the additions indicated by Lovenjoul. It would seem that the Paris edition reached the publishers while the copy was being set up and that they, aware of the changed *dénouement*, substituted the text of the book for that of the feuilleton.

Le quatrième était un des plus illustres poètes de cette époque, un jeune homme qui n'en était alors qu'à l'aube de sa gloire, et qui partant n'avait ni façons byroniennes, ni prétensions impériales, ni plénitude de lui-même. Il se contentait d'être un gentilhomme aimable et spirituel, il en était à se faire pardonner son génie; mais on devinait dans ses formes sèches, dans sa réserve, une immense ambition qui devait plus tard étouffer la poésie; il avait une beauté froide et compassée, mais pleine de dignité; c'était Canning maigre et réduit à ses vers.

What is the source of the text given by Lovenjoul? The only other edition of *Illusions perdues* cited by him, previous to that of the *Comédie humaine*, is that of Charpentier, 1839. The presence of the name Canalis makes me hesitate to accept the conjecture that Lovenjoul's text is taken from that edition. *Un Grand Homme de province à Paris*, published in June, 1839, did not contain the name, though it was introduced twice in the next edition of that work, that of the *Comédie humaine*. Neither does the name occur in *Mémoires de Deux Jeunes Mariées* in 1841, though the place that Canalis was later to occupy there was already prepared for him.

P. 130. Lovenjoul gives the original ending, but not the original beginning of *Un Prince de la Bohême*. That as well as the ending was different from the version of the *Comédie humaine*, and naturally did not contain the names and allusions that presuppose *La Muse du département* (1843) and *Un Adultère rétrospectif* (1844).

P. 132. Lovenjoul does not notice that the date, "juillet 1836," given to *Les Employés* in the *édition définitive*, seems to be a misprint for "juillet 1838," the date which appears in the first edition of the *Comédie humaine*. If not a misprint, it was certainly an error. The first mention of *Les Employés* is in December, 1836.⁴

P. 181 (and p. 138). Lovenjoul does not mention an edition of a volume of *Scènes de la Vie parisienne* containing *Les Marana* and *Ferragus*, 1 vol. in-8, 1838, issuing, according to the title-page, from the "*Bureaux du Figaro*." A volume of this edition is listed in the catalog of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

P. 178. In saying that *Le Chef-d'œuvre inconnu* "entra en 1845, dédié, et le titre de son premier chapitre changé en celui de

⁴ Cf. *Lettres à l'Étrangère*, I, 367. Miss Mary W. Scott has already pointed out that Lovenjoul is in error in saying that the additions to *La Femme supérieure* found in *Les Employés* were added in the edition in two volumes published by Werdet in 1838. Cf. *MP.*, xxxiii, 315.

Gillette, dans le tome I de la cinquième édition des *Études philosophiques*." Lovenjoul implies that this chapter had not previously been so entitled. But in the Belgian contrefaçon of 1837, based apparently on the fourth edition of the *Études philosophiques*, the first chapter is already entitled *Gillette*. In the contrefaçon, however, the tale was not dated, though Lovenjoul says that the date was added in the fourth edition.

P. 178. *Melmoth réconcilié* did not appear in tome V of the fourth edition of *Études philosophiques* but in tome XIV (originally numbered XXII), as is stated on page 164.

P. 193. Lovenjoul does not record the second edition of *Le Livre mystique*, published in 1836. According to the *Lettres à l'Étrangère* (I, 293 and 300) it differed in important respects from the first:

Je désirerais que vous eussiez la deuxième édition du *Livre mystique*, où j'ai fait quelques changements, mais tout n'est pas fini en fait de correction. . . . Il est bien changé, *Louis Lambert*; le voilà complet. Les dernières pensées se raccordent avec *Séraphita*; tout est coordonné. Puis, la lacune entre le collège et Blois est remplie; vous verrez cela.

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UNE SOURCE DU "DÉCOR" DE RACINE

Dans sa belle étude *De l'Action dans la tragédie de Racine*,¹ M. G. Le Bidois a consacré un chapitre au rôle du visage dans le drame de Racine. Il affirme que les prédécesseurs de Racine n'avaient guère connu la ressource des notations du visage. Selon lui la figure concourait seulement, et pour une faible part, au spectacle du drame grec. Il donne de l'apparente négligence des dramaturges grecs plusieurs raisons. "Assujetti aux conditions d'une vaste scène, obligé d'offrir une image distincte aux regards d'une foule énorme et reculée, plus attentif . . . à la beauté qu'à l'expression,"² le théâtre grec n'aurait pas soupçonné que la figure fût un puissant instrument dramatique. Au surplus, on eût été bien empêché de s'en servir, car le masque qui recouvrait la figure

¹ Paris, Poussielgue, 1900, ch. IV.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

"ne la rehaussait qu'en la fixant dans l'immobilité."³ Le visage de l'acteur grec, immuable et distant, n'aurait donc guère contribué à révéler les sentiments ou les dispositions du personnage.

Tout ce raisonnement me semble reposer sur une méprise et un oubli. Il importe peu que les Athéniens aient pu ou non distinguer les traits de leurs acteurs, ou que le masque ne permît point de jeux de physionomie. Les spectateurs de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne n'observaient certes pas par eux-mêmes toutes les altérations de physionomie qui annoncent les péripéties des tragédies de Racine. Se serait-on aperçu, sans le secours du texte, qu'à tel instant tel personnage "changeait de visage"? L'altération est-elle praticable? Ne suffit-il pas d'ailleurs qu'un témoin la signale à l'auditoire? N'est-ce pas, pour ne citer qu'un exemple, la remarque de Monime qui fait passer la rampe au "changement de visage" de Mithridate?⁴ C'est dire que si les Grecs avaient eu l'idée d'interpréter par la parole la physionomie des personnages, ni le masque ni l'éloignement de l'acteur ne les auraient empêchés de le faire . . . bien au contraire. De fait, on relève chez Sophocle et Euripide bon nombre de cas où le dialogue souligne une expression de visage pour l'associer au spectacle ou à l'intrigue. Sophocle crée une atmosphère de malheur par la description d'un personnage:

Voyez-vous cette femme . . . ? elle s'avance vers nous l'air éploré, toute éperdue.⁵

Je vois la tendre Ismène alarmée pour sa sœur . . . un nuage de douleurs répandu sur ses yeux altère son visage . . . les larmes coulent sur ses joues délicates.⁶

Il note le trait qui, à un moment, donne le ton à une physionomie, quand ce ne serait que le pli d'une lèvre. A sa bouche "silencieuse et cruelle" Polynice a vu la sourde animosité d'Œdipe.⁷

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Mithridate*, III, 5. Le "changement" est si peu évident que Monime elle-même n'est pas sûre de ce qu'elle a vu; cf. IV, 1. A plus forte raison, il est douteux que les spectateurs puissent voir qu'un personnage a changé de couleur; cf. *Athalie*, V, 4.

⁵ *Les Trachiniennes*, V, 1. En ce qui concerne Sophocle les références se rapportent au *Théâtre de Sophocle*, Paris, Flammarion, 1926. Cf. *Œdipe à Colone*, I, 5.

⁶ *Antigone*, II, 2.

⁷ *Œdipe à Colone*, IV, 4.

Grâce aux indications que fournit un personnage, le spectateur peut suivre la marche du mal de Philoctète :

... pourquoi cette stupeur? ... Pourquoi lever ainsi les yeux? ... Le sommeil avant peu va s'emparer de lui ... il a les yeux fermés à la lumière. ... Faites silence ... il semble ouvrir les yeux.⁸

Au moment où ils vont entrer chez Clytemnestre pour l'assassiner, Oreste demande à sa sœur si elle saura se composer un visage :

... dites-moi ... comment ... vous pourrez empêcher que la gaieté peinte sur votre visage ne vous trahisse ... ?⁹

Le regard dit souvent plus que les lèvres. Dans les yeux des Athéniens Cléonte déchiffre l'attitude qu'ils vont prendre :

... je vois dans vos regards que mon arrivée ici vous fait éprouver quelque effroi.¹⁰

Philoctète a lu dans les yeux de Néoptolème une irrévocable décision :

Au nom des dieux de la patrie, ne me dépouille point de mes armes. ... Malheureux que je suis ! Il ne me répond plus. ... Il m'annonce par ses regards qu'il ne me les rendra pas. ...¹¹

Avec la même complaisance que Sophocle, Euripide dépeint l'aspect de personnages¹² et note les variations de physionomie.¹³ Il fait du visage un moyen d'action. Lorsque, par respect pour les lois de l'hospitalité, Admète cache à Hercule la mort d'Alceste, le visage d'un serviteur trahit le secret de son maître et change le cours de l'action :

Eh ! l'homme ! (dit Hercule) Pourquoi ce regard sombre et inquiet ? ... en voyant ici un ami de ton maître, tu l'accueilles avec un visage triste, les sourcils froncés, et tu paraissais préoccupé de quelque malheur étranger.¹⁴

⁸ *Philoctète*, III, 1, 2.

⁹ *Électre*, IV, 1.

¹⁰ *Œdipe à Colone*, III, 2.

¹¹ *Philoctète*, IV, 2.

¹² En ce qui regarde Euripide, les références se rapportent au *Théâtre d'Euripide*, Paris, Garnier, s. d. vol. I. Cf. *Hippolyte*, 236-240 ; *les Supplantes*, 377 et 378.

¹³ Cf. *Médée*, 210 ; *Alceste*, 296.

¹⁴ *Alceste*, 309.

Alarmé, Hercule interroge. Instruit du malheur de son ami, il entreprend de ramener Alceste de chez les morts.

Il y a dans *Iphigénie à Aulis* des "scènes de regards." Agamemnon ne parvient pas à se maîtriser, et Iphigénie soupçonne un malheur secret :

Éclaircis donc ton front et que la joie brille dans tes yeux.¹⁵

Agamemnon, à son tour, découvre dans les yeux d'Iphigénie, de Clytemnestre et du Chœur l'angoisse qui les tourmente. Il se sent environné de regards scrutateurs :

Ma fille. . . . Pourquoi ton regard n'est-il plus joyeux. . . . Qu'y a-t-il donc? Comme vous vous accordez tous à me montrer un visage éperdu, des regards troublés! ¹⁶

La querelle d'Agamemnon et de Ménélas débute par un duel de regards :

Regarde-moi, voilà par où je veux commencer.

—Crois-tu que je tremble et que je ne lèverai pas les yeux . . . ? ¹⁷

La tragédie latine (M. Le Bidois n'en a rien dit) a continué l'emploi de la "physionomie parlée."¹⁸ Sénèque interprète les traits de personnages entrant en scène,¹⁹ interroge l'aspect de gens qui voudraient taire leurs préoccupations,²⁰ note les changements d'expression.²¹ Il ajoute un développement: il engage le spectateur à surveiller les traits d'un personnage qui doit éprouver une horrible secousse. C'est sur le visage de Thyeste qu'Atrée se promet d'étudier l'effet de sa vengeance :

Je me fais une joie d'observer le visage du perfide, quand il verra les têtes de ses fils . . . de le voir muet et sans haleine, dans le saisissement

¹⁵ *Iphigénie à Aulis*, 440.

¹⁶ *Id.*, 457.

¹⁷ *Id.*, 429.

¹⁸ La comédie latine a fait usage des notations du visage (cf. Plaute, *le Marchand*, II, 3; III, 4; Térence, *l'Eunuque*, II, 4); mais il ne paraît pas qu'elle ait ajouté à la tradition établie. Sur l'usage du masque dans la comédie latine, cf. Schanz-Hosius, *Römische Literatur-Geschichte*, I Teil, 148-149.

¹⁹ Les références qui suivent se rapportent au *Théâtre Complet des Latins*, Paris, Didot, 1862. Cf. *Hercule furieux*, I et II; *Octavie*, II; *Agamemnon*, V.

²⁰ Cf. *Agamemnon*, II; *Octavie*, IV; *Hercule sur l'Œta*, II.

²¹ Cf. *Agamemnon*, III; *Hercule furieux*, IV.

du désespoir. Ce n'est pas quand il sera malheureux, mais à l'instant où il le deviendra, que je veux le voir.²²

Les citations qui précèdent montrent assez que la tragédie grecque et, à sa suite, la tragédie latine ont su faire de la figure humaine—en ses aspects soutenus et en ses expressions passagères—un décor et un moyen d'action. Il serait étrange que Racine, qui avait tant pratiqué les Anciens, ne leur eût pas emprunté une invention qu'ils avaient eux-mêmes si largement utilisée.²³

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JEAN BODEL AND ROMAIN ROLLAND

A striking example of the reproduction by authors in the late nineteenth century of medieval form and subject-matter is furnished by Romain Rolland's little piece, *Saint Louis*, first published in 1896, and later united with two other dramatic works to form a volume entitled *les Tragédies de la Foi*. In Act IV, as the crusaders of the saintly king's forces are about to join in battle with the Saracens, they begin a war-chant, which is borrowed, almost copied outright, from the song of the Christians and of the angel in Jean Bodel's *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*, of the thirteenth century. A glance shows the practical identity of the two selections. In the mediaeval work, the Christians first say:

Sains sepulcres, aïe! Segneur, or du bien faire!
Sarrasin et païen viennent pour nous fourfaire,
Vés les armes reluire: tous li cuers m'en esclaire.¹

Rolland has the people chant:

Saint Sepulcre, à l'aide! Sarrasins et païens viennent pour nous fourfaire. Voyez les armes luire; tout mon coeur en tressaille²

In Bodel, a single Christian then continues:

²² *Thyeste*, v.

²³ Certains rapprochements s'imposent: cp. Racine, *Iphigénie*, II, 2; IV, 4 et Euripide, *Iphigénie à Aulis*, éd. cit., 440 et 457.

¹ *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*, ed. Alfred Jeanroy, Classiques français du Moyen-Age, Champion, Paris, 1925, p. 18-20.

² *Les Tragédies de la Foi*, Paris, Ollendorf, 1913, pp. 88, 89.

Segneur, n'en doutés ja, vés chi nostre juise:
 Bien sai tout i morrons el Damedieu servise.
 Mais mout bien m'i vendrai, se m'espée ne brise.
 Ja n'en garira un ne coiffe ne haubers.
 Segnieur, el Dieu serviche soit hui chascuns offers!
 Paradys sera nostres et eus sera ynfers.

While Rolland's band of Christians sing together:

Amis, n'en doutez pas, voici notre jugement. Bien le sais y mourrons
 pour la gloire de Dieu. Mais bien cher me vendrai, si mon fer ne se brise.
 Nul n'en garantira ni coiffe ni haubert. Paradis sera nôtre, à eux sera
 enfer.

Next, an angel appears, in Bodel's play, crying:

Segneur, soiés tout asseur,
 N'aiés doutanche ne peür,
 Messagiers sui Nostre Segneur,
 Qui vous metra fors de douleur—
 Metés hardiement vos cors
 Pour Dieu, car chou est chi li mors
 Dont tout li pules morir doit
 Qui Dieu aime de cuer et croit.

A girl among the crusaders, named Bérengère, sings, in *Saint Louis*:

Amis, soyez tous assurés; n'ayez plus doute ni frayeur. Messenger suis du
 bon Seigneur, qui vous mettra hors de douleur. Ne craignez d'exposer
 votre corps aux blessures. Oh! que la mort est douce pour ceux qui
 aiment Dieu!

In *Saint Nicolas*, a Christian asks:

Qui estes vous, biaux sire, qui si nous confortés
 Et si haute parole de Dieu nous apportés?

And the answer is:

Angeles sui a Dieu, biaux amis;
 Pour vo confort m'a chi tramis.
 Soiés seur, car ens es chieux
 Vous a Diex fait sieges esliex;
 Alés, bien avés commechié;
 Pour Dieu seres tout detrenchié,
 Mais le haute couronne arés.
 Je m'en vois; a Dieu demourés.

In Rolland, the people sing:

Qui êtes-vous, beau Sire, qui doucement parlez, et si haut réconfort de
 Dieu nous apportez?

And Bérengère chants the answer:

Ange suis du Seigneur, beaux amis; pour votre appui m'a envoyé. Soyez paisibles; dans les cieus Dieu vous regarde et vous attend. Allez, bien avez commencé; pour Dieu serez tous massacrés; mais la haute couronne du paradis aurez. Je m'en vais; hosannah! à Dieu donc, demeurez.

Interesting as this close parallelism between the two texts is, the chief teaching, however, lies elsewhere. It arises from the different manner in which the song in question is fitted into the general body of its drama. In the modern work there is close integration, the war-chant being a natural prolog to a battle which is both inevitable and of great importance for the development of the plot. On the other hand, both song and battle in Bodel's play are redundancies, introduced for the sole purpose of furnishing a single survivor from among the Christian forces, around whom the drama will thereafter revolve. The inability to distinguish between essential and non-essential elements is not peculiar to *le Jeu de Saint Nicolas*, but blights all mediaeval stage productions. Repeatedly, in the *Miracles de la Vierge* and similar works, the anonymous author diverts dialog from the serious problems of his drama to strictly routine elements, or represents what might quite as well have been taken for granted. Apparently, pre-Renaissance dramatists either were unable to rise from the *explicit* into the *implicit*, or the mental limitations of their audiences made it inadvisable to do so. Bodel's personal interest in the military operations of the crusaders furnishes a possible second reason for his introduction of this unnecessary episode into the *Saint Nicolas*.

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NEW DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE CONCERNING CHAUCER'S MISSION TO LOMBARDY

It has long been known through the Foreign Accounts, published in *Life-Records*, that Geoffrey Chaucer departed from London May 28, 1378, on his second Italian journey, being "sent in the retinue" of Sir Edward de Berkeley to the parts of Lombardy "as well to the Lord of Milan (Bernabo Visconti), as to (Sir) John Hawkwood, for certain affairs touching the expedition of the King's

war."¹ The French Roll, in the same publication,² adds that Chaucer received on May 10, 1378, the letters of protection for his voyage abroad. More recently, Professor Manly has discovered a document which states that Chaucer, in making preparation for his absence from England, appointed Richard Baret on May 16 as his lieutenant at the office of Controller.³ Still another entry in *Life-Records*, also from the French Roll, relates that on May 21, a few days later, Chaucer gave power of attorney to John Gower and Richard Forester, "during his absence."⁴

In addition to these published records, there is a writ in the Exchequer Accounts,⁵ not hitherto printed, which supplies further information as to the number of persons in the commission and the route they followed in travelling to Italy. Although Chaucer's name is not mentioned, this document deals with his Italian journey. The dates are the same (i. e., May 28 to September 19); furthermore, we know that Chaucer was sent in Sir Edward de Berkeley's retinue. The present document relates also to Sir Edward's trip to Flanders in 1379, but for our purpose only the portions referring to the Lombardy mission need to be quoted.

Particule compotis Edwardi de Berkele militis euntis in quodam viagio per ipsum facto in seruicio Regis versus partes Lumbardie anno primo Regis Ricardi Neenon particule compoti eiusdem Edwardi de quodam alio viagio per ipsum facto in dicto seruicio Regis versus villam de Bruges in Flandria anno secundo. Berkele.

Membrane 1. xxviii die Maii anno primo Pasche.

Edwardo de Berkele militi misso in Nuncio Regis versus partes Lum-

¹ R. E. G. Kirk, *Life-Records of Chaucer*, Part IV (*Chaucer Society, Publications*, 1900), No. 122, pp. 218-19. See also "Forewords," p. xxix.

² No. 118, pp. 215-16.

³ J. M. Manly, "Chaucer as Controller," *Modern Philology*, xxv (1928), p. 123.

⁴ No. 120, p. 216.

⁵ Q. R. E 101/318/7. This writ is in a white leather pouch in the Public Record Office. Miss Edith Scroggs, of London, kindly sent me a transcript of the writ.

The following account of this document has been printed by Mirot and Déprez, "Les Ambassades Anglaises," *Bibl. de L'École des Chartes*, LX (1899), No. CDIX, p. 199. "1378, 28 mai-19 septembre.—Compte de Édouard de Berkeleye, chevalier, envoyé en Lombardie « tam ad dominum de Milan quam ad Johannem de Hawkwoode, pro certis negociis expeditionem guerre tangentibus ». Depart: Londres. Dépenses, 121 livres 14 sous 4 deniers. Gages 20 sous par jour."

bardie tam ad dominum de Melan quam ad Johannem de Hawkwode pro certis negociis expedicionem guerre tangentibus in denariis per ipsum receptis de Willelmo Walworth & Johanne Phelipot Receptoribus denariorum pro guerris Regis super vadis suis cxxxiii li. vi s.

Membrane 4.

Particule compoti Edwardi de Berkeleye militis de Receptis vadiis & custibus suis eundo in quodam viagio per ipsum facto in servicio Regis versus partes Lumbardie anno primo Regis.

Idem onerat se de cxxxiii li. vi s. viii d. receptis de Thesaurario & Camerario ad Receptam Scaccarii per manus Willelmi de Walworth & Johannis Philpote receptorum denariorum pro guerra Regis super vadiis suis missos versus dictas partes Lumbardie tam ad dominum de Melan quam ad Johannem de Hawkewode pro certis negociis expedicionem guerre tangentibus xxviii^o die Maii predicto anno primo termino Pasche. Summa Recepte cxxxiii li. vi s. viii d.

Idem computat in vadiis suis euntis in servicio Regis in viagio predicto ad partes predictas Lumbardie ex ordinacione predicti consilii ipsius Regis ob causam supradictam videlicet a xxviii die Maii predicto anno primo quo die recessit de Civitate Londonie super dicto viagio versus partes supradictas usque xix^m diem Septembris proxime sequentem quo die reuenit ad eandem civitatem scilicet per cxv dies utroque die computato capientis per diem xx s. cxv li.

Summa vadiorum cxv li.

Et in passagio & repassagio maris ipsius Edwardi X hominum & X equorum suorum cum hernesuis suis videlicet inter Douerram in Anglia & Caleysiam Francie infra idem tempus x marce.

Summa totalis vadiorum

& expensarum cxxi li. xiii s. iiii d.

Et debet xi li. xiii s.

iiii d.

This newly printed record, it is to be observed, makes it certain that the expedition travelled *via* Calais and thence overland to Italy. This appears from the fact that the commissioners were provided with horses for the trip from Calais. The document printed in *Life-Records*, on the other hand, mentions merely "le passage du dit Geffrey, et son repassage de la meer."⁶ Chaucerians have not known whether the entire journey was made by sea or

⁶ "Additions," No. 8, pp. 338-39. Professor Tatlock states (*JEGPh* xii [1913] 121) that the duration of Chaucer's second visit to Italy would have allowed him time to become familiar not only with the language but also with the country, "which many travelers find stimulates an interest in its literature." Added interest accrues to this suggestion in the light of our new evidence that Chaucer's journey from Calais to Lombardy was made overland.

not. The present record also states that ten persons, and not Chaucer alone, figured in Sir Edward's company. This circumstance, while it tends to increase the official dignity of the embassy, corrects the impression, received from *Life-Records*, that the undertaking was entrusted to Sir Edward and Chaucer alone. Who these other persons were, I have been unable to discover. Further search in the Public Record Office might bring to light records of some of the other commissioners.

The same entry in *Life-Records* (from the Issue Roll) which recounts that on May 28 Chaucer and Sir Edward were advanced wages for their Italian mission relates also that at this same date the army of John of Gaunt was paid some £4000 for service in the wars.⁷ It is possible, therefore, that the nine other members of the embassy sent to Lombardy were recruited from the personnel of Gaunt's forces. At least, it is interesting to observe that Sir Guischart d'Angle is mentioned in the document as a knight in John of Gaunt's service.

In this connection, we may inquire into Chaucer's diplomatic activities earlier in the year 1378. On March 6, 1381, according to the Issue Roll,⁸ Chaucer received payment for a mission abroad on which he had been sent in the time of Edward III and also for going to France in the reign of Richard II to negotiate a marriage between the English King and a French Princess (i. e., Isabel). On the basis of this record, Skeat plausibly suggested that Chaucer had been connected in some capacity with the royal deputation appointed January 16, 1378 (as in the French Roll),⁹ to treat in regard to this marriage, although Chaucer is not named as one of these ambassadors. The commissioners named are Sir Guischart d'Angle, Dr. Walter Skirlawe, and Sir Hugh Segrave. We find definite record in the Exchequer Accounts of the departure of the first two on this mission January 26, and they remained until May 30, 1378;¹⁰ but Segrave is not mentioned, nor is there any record

⁷ No. 121, pp. 216-17.

⁸ *Life-Records*, No. 143, pp. 230-31. Payments were not made to Chaucer for the balances of his expenses in the journey to Lombardy until November 28, 1380. See *Life-Records*, No. 140, pp. 228-29.

⁹ See Rymer's *Fœdera* (Record Edition), iv, 28.

¹⁰ Sir Guischart was employed from January 26 to May 30, Dr. Skirlawe from January 22 to May 31. See Mirot and Déprez, "Les Ambassades Anglaises," *Bibl. de L'École des Chartes*, lx (1899), Nos. cdiv and cvvi, pp. 198-99.

that he actually went on this mission. In fact, we have positive evidence that Segrave was in England on March 15, since on this date he appeared as a witness to the "grant of the reversion of the manor of Padeworth co. Berkes" to William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester.¹¹ This leads one to suspect that Segrave after being appointed was replaced or for some reason was unable to join the expedition.¹² If this be the case, the substitution of Chaucer for Segrave would explain why Chaucer's name is not included in the royal commission of 1378 and why he later received payments for making the journey. Added interest is attached to this explanation, for Sir Guischard d'Angle, as I have recently shown,¹³ was one of Chaucer's friends and was earlier associated with the poet in several other diplomatic errands.

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A POSSIBLE SOURCE OF CHAUCER'S BOOKE OF THE
 DUCHESSE—*LI REGRET DE GUILLAUME*
 BY JEHAN DE LA MOTE

The sources of Chaucer's *Booke of the Duchesse* have been identified in considerable detail. Skeat¹ and Kittredge² have pointed out numerous parallels between Chaucer's poem and the *Roman de la Rose*, Froissart's *Paradys d'Amour*, Machaut's *Le Jugement dou Roy de Navarre*, *Le Jugement dou Roy de Behaigne*, the *Remède de Fortune*, the *Dit dou Lyon*, *La Fontaine Amoureuse*, the *Lay de Confort*, and various Motets. The source of the general plan, how-

¹¹ *Calendar of Close Rolls* (1377-1381, Ric. II), p. 126.

¹² A strikingly analogous case of another man who was appointed but who, due to some last minute arrangement, did not go occurred in February, 1377, when Sir Thomas Percy was replaced by Sir Richard Stury. Chaucer's fellow-associate in the mission to Flanders and France was, then, Sir Richard Stury. See the following footnote.

¹³ *Three Chaucer Studies*, II (Oxford University Press, 1932), pp. 28 ff., 34-39.

¹ Skeat, W. W., *Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer edited from the MSS*, Second edition, Oxford, 1900.

² Kittredge, George, "Chauceriana—Booke of the Duchesse and Guillaume de Machaut," *Modern Philology* 7: 465-69 (1909-10); "Guillaume de Machaut and the Booke of the Duchesse," *PMLA*, 30: 1-24 (1915).

ever, is not so clear. Up to the present time, students of English literature have held that Chaucer's *Booke of the Duchesse* was the first poem either in French or English to use the conventional French love vision and lover's lament for the purposes of a personal elegy.³ I should like, in this paper, to call attention to a poem, hitherto not mentioned in connection with Chaucer's sources, which utilized this convention and with which I believe Chaucer to have been acquainted at least by hearsay.

In 1339, a plague year, died Guillaume, Comte de Hainault, father of Philippa, Queen of England, the mother of John of Gaunt. An elegy was written to celebrate Guillaume by a certain Jehan de la Mote.⁴ Jehan de la Mote was well known in his time as is indicated by Gilles Li Muisis, who, in his "Meditations" written in 1350, reviews contemporary French poets.⁵ He speaks first of Machaut, second of Philippe de Vitri, and mentions in the third place our Jehan de la Mote. La Mote's elegy was cast in the form of a vision, and dedicated as follows:

"Ce songe contai a ma dame,
Cui Jhesus sauve corps et ame,
Qui est roynne d'Engleterre.
Celle me commanda grant ierre
Que aucun traitié en fesisse
Sans plus a ce songe propisse.
Et jou volentiers l'acordai:
Ce traitié san plus fait en ai,
Lequel je voel rimmer tout noef,
L'an mil .iiij^e. et trente noef."

Il. 4564-73.

The poem tells how the author lay on his bed "endormant melan-colioie" and dreamed that he was in "unne haute foriest plaisant." The conventional description of the forest on a May morning is imitated from the *Roman de la Rose*. In the forest, the dreamer comes upon a beautiful castle where he hears the music of many instruments. Drawing near, he finds that the music has but

³ Kittredge, *Chaucer and his Poetry*, Cambridge, 1920, p. 54: "Here, for the first time, whether in French or English, we find the standard French convention—the love vision, and the lover's lament—turned to the uses of a personal elegy."

⁴ Jehan de la Mote, *Li Regret Guillaume, comte de Hainaut*, edited by August Scheler. Louvain, 1882.

⁵ *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, xxxvi, p. 67.

drowned out cries of despair which issue forth. He gains access to the castle where there are thirty damsels, personification of thirty virtues, mourning the loss of "leur cher sire Guillaume." Each eulogizes the departed and ends her complainte with a Ballade. When the dreamer awakes, he hurries to make his vision known to Philippa as related in the closing lines.

However unlike the *Booke of the Duchesse* this may be in detail, the machinery of the elegies is identical. Both open with the plaint of a sleepless sufferer; each embodies a dream containing the elegiac lament; they are concluded by the awakening of the dreamer who hastens to reveal the vision to interested parties. There are two other points of resemblance. First, both dreams commence with a description of a forest on a May morning. But May mornings were a drug on the market in the poetry of the day, and so borrowing is by no means conclusive. The second resemblance is more promising. As can be seen from Kittredge's two articles, the lines depicting Blanche's character mark the only considerable portion of the *Booke of the Duchesse* that cannot be traced to a source. Her virtues call to mind the virtues of Guillaume, making due allowance for differences in praiseworthy qualities between the two sexes. Here are the thirty personified virtues that extol Guillaume: Debonnaireté, Humilité, Largesse, Hardiesse, Prouesse, Sens, Loyauté, Manière, Mesure, Tempérance, Raison, Entendement, Suffisance, Plaisance, Diligence, Charité, Obédience, Courtoisie, Estableté, Conscience, Vrai foi, Grâce, Justice, Miséricorde, Prévoyance, Espérance, Révérence, Gentillesse, Puissance, and Perfection. He is thus beautifully inventoried. Now Chaucer was less methodical, but more imaginative and artistic. Chaucer has mixed the ingredients. One can pick out debonairite, wit, truth, steadfast perseverance, reason, and love. Lines 878-1021 of the *Booke of the Duchesse* describe Blanche. Nowhere do they contain a phrase directly borrowed from *Li Regret Guillaume*. But taken as a whole, they echo sentiments scattered throughout the various paeans of praise dedicated to Guillaume. (See especially lines 561-75; 630-32; 638-9; 672-80; 714-16; 1879-80; 2462-5; 3281-89 *Li Regret Guillaume*.)

The two poems are not sufficiently similar for me to make any positive pronouncement of Chaucer's indebtedness to Jehan de la Mote. But these facts appeal to me as worthy of consideration:

1. A personal elegy which utilized the dream mechanism was written in 1339 by a poet of some renown.

2. It celebrated the grandfather of John of Gaunt, and was dedicated to Philippa, his mother.

3. Thirty years later the plague which had carried off Guillaume de Hainault in 1339, caused the death of Guillaume's daughter and her daughter-in-law, Blanche.

4. Chaucer wrote an elegy to Blanche following the same form as the previous elegy, and not unlike it in certain descriptive passages.

I can deal only in probabilities. And it seems highly probable to me that Chaucer might have come upon *Li Regret de Guillaume* in the King's household of which he was a member. There is but one known manuscript of the poem. It is now in the Belgian Bibliothèque Nationale and has been traced back through the libraries of Lord Ashburton, Roi Louis-Philippe, and the Comte de Toulouse. Could it, or a copy since lost, have been among the volumes in the king's library to which Chaucer had access?

But if Chaucer was working from a pattern, this demands to be said concerning his craftsmanship. He has exercised the power of selection. The dream mechanism is skillfully handled. It is not a mere device as with his predecessor, but lends a dreamy, plaintive quality to the work, fusing the form with the spirit. The Old French poem is wooden and artificial, interminable in its repetitions; Chaucer's robust naturalness could not be stifled. Any comparison between the two must increase our respect for the genius of Chaucer. In any case, whether Chaucer knew *Li Regret de Guillaume* or not, it is certain that the dream vision had been used before as the vehicle for a personal elegy.

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CHAUCER'S 'BOOK OF THE TWENTY-FIVE LADIES'

While engaged upon the revision and completion of my 1908 Bibliographical Manual of Chaucer, I have, of course, spent much time in examining the superb rotograph collection possessed by the University of Chicago.

The poem which we now term the 'Legend of Good Women' was mentioned by Chaucer himself, in the Recantation at the close of the Centerbury Tales, under the above title. The Recantation

is present, as we know, in all complete MSS of all types of tale-arrangement, and forms a conclusion to the Parson's Tale. It is my own opinion that the Parson's Tale was from the first intended by Chaucer as a closing narrative; also, that Chaucer may well have written his final apology, and placed it, quite early in his work. The Recantation seems to me neither a final nor a death-bed production, but a deliberately-planned conclusion, written while the Canterbury Tales was in process of arrangement, possibly even before some of the Tales which 'sounen into synne' had taken form.

One passage of the Recantation is of more than textual interest. In the list of his works which Chaucer there enumerates, for which he asks Divine forgiveness, appears the 'boke of the nynetene ladyes'; i. e. the Legend of Good Women. But 'nynetene' which Skeat (and Pollard) print, is not the reading of most manuscripts: that reading is, very generally, *twenty-five*, expressed in words, in Roman or in Arabic numerals. Harley 7334, misread 29 for the Chaucer Society, is in reality a badly-written '25'; and eighteen other of these texts read to the same effect. The Chicago rotograph of Ms Lansdowne 851 reads at this point, according to the Chaucer Society print, 'xv'; but the surface of the rotograph shows something like a fold, so that I referred the matter to my London copyist and learned that the original had indeed a wrinkle at that point. Museum officials kindly made further tests, and under re-agent a second X appeared plainly in the numeral, so that the Chaucer Society print is again in error, as are all texts based thereon. Skeat may have altered the XXV usual in the Ellesmere-group manuscripts because of the content of the Legend's prologue and its mention of nineteen ladies in line 283. Whence the reading XXV was derived we do not know, but we must recollect that the allusion to the poem in the prologue to the fifteenth-century Master of Game mentions the legend by the same title as that used in the Recantation. Of the eleven copies of this hunting treatise in the British Museum, seven read 'xxv' and four, including John Shirley's copy Add. 16165, read 'xv'—or "fyfftene" in Shirley. Could this latter have been derived from such a mechanical error as is seen in Lansdowne?

We come thus to the 'more than textual interest' of this *MS* reading: For if "twenty-five ladies" was Chaucer's reading in an

earlier-composed version of the Recantation, and if 'nineteen ladies' was that of his revision as preserved in Ellesmere-group manuscripts, we have a fact of Chaucer's artistic development before us rather than a scribal vagary. In either case, we have a fact which no modern editor should pass unnoted.

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THE OWL AND THE NIGHTINGALE AND MS. COTTON

The absence of conclusive information regarding the dates of the considerable pieces of Southern English literature in the manuscripts written between 1150 and 1250, makes uncertain much of the judgments of students regarding the chronology of the literary and the linguistic features of the South in that period. Recent studies of the *Ancren Riwle*, Layamon's *Brut*, the *Proverbs of Alfred*, and the *Owl and the Nightingale*, have strengthened the feeling of myself and other students that the traditional dating of the Southern monuments is too late. But no decisive evidence fixing the dates has been forthcoming. In this situation all ascertainable details regarding any of the pieces should be accumulated.

The *Owl and the Nightingale* is preserved in two MSS., Cotton Caligula A IX (C), in the British Museum, and Jesus College, Oxford 29 (J), in the Bodleian. The earlier MS. Cotton affords the manuscript evidence more immediately helpful toward the dating of the poem. This manuscript consists of two parts originally separate—first, Layamon's *Brut*, ff. 3-194; and a second, ff. 195 to end, containing French and English pieces. It is with the second part that we are concerned.

Experts have formerly assigned the handwriting of MS. Cotton after f. 194 to the first half of the thirteenth century. The Keeper of the Manuscripts informs me that the present opinion of the Museum authorities "inclines to c. 1250" for this portion of the manuscript.

My analysis (edn. of *Owl and Nightingale*, 1907, introd.) of the features of MSS. C and J shows that the only reliable evidence other than the handwriting for dating C is the fact that the French chronicle next preceding the *Owl* stops with the death of John

(1216) and the words "Après la mort cestu rei Johan si regna sun fiz Henri," the rest of the page (f. 232 v) being left blank. Koch suggested in his edition of Chardri's poems from these manuscripts, and I repeated the suggestion, that the blank space here was left for a later continuation of the chronicle into the reign of Henry III. Thence followed the possible inference that the chronicle was written in C at about, or a little after, Henry's accession (1216). This questionable inference receives some support from the fact that elsewhere after f. 194 the pieces, French and English, overlap from folio to folio, and no blanks are left.

But the blank at the end of the chronicle may actually be due not to a desire to leave room for a continuation, but to conditions of the copying of the miscellany of which the manuscript ff. 195 to end consists. All of the French pieces (Chardri's *La Vie de S. Josaphaz*, ff. 195-216 v; his *La Vie des set Dormanz*, ff. 216 v-229; the French chronicle, ff. 229 v-232 v; and Chardri's *Le Petit Plet*, ff. 249 v-261) are in one hand. All of the English pieces (*Owl and Nightingale*, ff. 233 r top-246 r col. 1; and minor pieces, ff. 246 r-249) are in one hand, not the hand of the French.

The Keeper of the Manuscripts informs me that the manuscript is so tightly bound that it is difficult to be absolutely sure in all instances where the quires begin and end. But the following appear to be facts. The blank space at the end of the chronicle is on the reverse of the last leaf (f. 232) of a quire. The *Owl* begins on the front of the first leaf (f. 233) of a new quire. The quire in which the *Owl* ends and which contains the other English pieces begins with f. 245; the center of this quire is between f. 252 and f. 253; and the quire ends with f. 260. The French *Le Petit Plet* begins on f. 249 r col. 2 in the midst of this quire.

The occurrence of the blank on f. 232 v at the end of the chronicle may, then, be explained as follows. The scribe of the French worked his way through the *Josaphaz* and the *Sept Dormanz*. When he came to the end of the latter he had unoccupied the reverse of a leaf (f. 229) and three more leaves (ff. 230-32) of a quire. This was not enough to hold *Le Petit Plet*. The scribe copied the French chronicle in the space, filling the quire with the exception of a part of the reverse of the last leaf (f. 232v)—a pretty close calculation. The scribe copying the English worked his way through the *Owl*

from the beginning to the end of a quire (ff. 233 r-244 v) and finished the *Owl* and the following English pieces in the midst of a quire (f. 249 r col. 1). The scribe of the French took this quire and proceeded to copy *Le Petit Plet* on it after the English pieces.

The explanation offered accounts for the fact that *Le Petit Plet* is in this manuscript separated from its two French fellows by Chardri. The three French poems follow each other in MS. J, though the order of the first two in J is reversed from that in C.

If accepted, the explanation would dispose of the idea that the blank after the chronicle was left for the specific end of a possible continuation of the chronicle into the reign of Henry III, and consequently also dispose of the inferences based on that idea that the chronicle was finished as it stands, and the copy in C made, at or about the beginning of the reign of Henry III.

Moreover, we cannot be at all sure that the chronicle was in the manuscript or the group of manuscripts from which the *Owl* and the other English and the French pieces were taken. The proposed explanation would allow for the insertion of the chronicle from a separate source to fill the space. The chronicle is not in J. The chronicle now opening the volume (ff. 1-216) known as Jesus College 29 is not a part of the manuscript making up the rest of the volume; it is later, covering the years 900-1445.

The facts about the chronicle, therefore, afford merely this—that C was copied after 1216. If, as the experts judge, the handwritings are of c. 1250, the copying may have been done at any time between 1216 and 1250, preferably later in this period.

I have shown (edn., introd.) that the manuscript from which the *Owl* in C was copied is the one from which the *Owl* in J was copied, and that it was itself a copy, not the author's copy. Koch showed that the Chardri poems in C are copied there from a copy, not an author's copy. We must, then, in calculating for the date of the original manuscripts of the *Owl* and the Chardri poems assume an extreme latest limit of c. 1250, and from this must subtract such time as we wish to allow for the author's originals to be copied not under the authors' own eyes, and to be recopied as C and J. How long we allow depends on our personal choice. There seems to be no sign that the manuscripts of the *Owl*, C and J and their predecessors, got out of the Southern district, the evident home of the author's original. The *Thrush and the Nightingale* (before 1272),

assumed to have been influenced by the *Owl*, is Southern. Moreover, there seems to be no indication that any copy intervened between the author's original and the manuscript from which the *Owl* in C and J was copied. The general excellence of the text of the *Owl* in C, and the comparative consistency shown there even within the sections exhibiting the shift of spelling, oppose much recopying. Consequently, one may be inclined to shorten the time allowed for the copying of the several manuscripts.

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‘SCRIBAL PREFERENCE’ IN THE OLD ENGLISH
GLOSS TO THE LINDISFARNE GOSPELS

In modern philology much use is made of statistical methods. There is a certain habit of scribes, tending to distort the statistics and thus leading to false conclusions, which does not appear to have been sufficiently noticed. It may be well explained and illustrated by some examples from the Old English gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*.¹

A scribe sometimes has a preference for an abnormal form of a word. The most obvious case is the following: he makes use of an abnormal form in one part of the text and, still under the influence of this action, he uses it again in the immediately succeeding parts of the text. Examples from the *Lindisfarne Gospels* are:—

1). The spelling *æ* for the sound [e:] is abnormal in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*; ^{2a} in J 8, 6 this abnormal spelling is used in the form 3rd. sg. pres. ind. *ghænas* and this is closely followed by inf. *ghæne* in J 8, 10.

2). The normal form of the acc. sg. of weak masculine and feminine nouns in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* ends in *-a*; forms in *-o* are also found and *-u* can occur as an archaism ² for this *-o*. The

¹ Quotations are from the edition in W. W. Skeat, *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian and Old Mercian Versions*, corrected by a fresh collation of the manuscript.

^{2a} In the whole text it is recorded less than half a dozen times.

² In the *Lindisfarne Gospels* archaisms occur in c. 1.5% of the total number of forms.

abnormal accusative singular *sidu* occurs J 19, 34, also twice in J 20, 20 and once in J 20, 25. Similarly the acc. sg. *folo* occurs in Mt 19, 32, twice in Mt 19, 33 and once in Mt 19, 35.

In such cases the reason for the 'scribal preference' is obvious. But in others all that we can say is that the scribe has a preference for an abnormal form for no apparent reason. It may be noted that this preference is not usually for an erroneous form but only for one which is otherwise abnormal, very frequently for an archaism. Examples from the *Lindisfarne Gospels* are:—

1). In most of the very early Old English texts the spelling *b* for normal O. E. *f* representing the sound [b] is found.³ In the *Lindisfarne Gospels* the occurrence of this archaism is virtually limited to the words⁴ *ebolsiga*, *ebolsung*⁵ and here there is a marked preference for it (21 *b* : 4 *f*).

2). The spelling *ui* for normal *y* occurs sporadically in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*,⁶ e. g. sg. pret. ind. *tocnuicte* Mt. Preface p. 8, line 15; sg. pret. ind. *gefulgide* Mt. Preface p. 3, line 3. But in the words *bær-synnig*⁷ (4 *ui* : 17 *y*) and *syndrig* (13 *ui* : 7 *y*) it is disproportionately frequent.

3). The spelling *o* for normal *w* occurs very occasionally in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* but in the word *ðwā* it is disproportionately frequent.⁸

³ See E. Sievers, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 11, 542.

⁴ In the word *feber* the spelling with *b* is due to the direct influence of the Latin; cf. the spelling *caesar* beside *cāser*, the normal form in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*.

⁵ The first element of O. E. *eofolsian* is the same as that in Gothic *ibdalja*, *ibuks* and the second is the verb O. E. *hālsian*; see J. Pokorny and A. Walde, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 1, 123.

⁶ See further M. Forster, *Englische Studien*, 56, 220 ff.

⁷ In *Rushworth*² the form *bær-swinig* occurs six times; the scribe of this text admittedly had access to the glossed text of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* (see U. Lindelöf, *Die südnorthumbrische Mundart des 10. Jahrhunderts*, p. 3) and it is probable that this form is ultimately due to a misunderstanding of the form *bær-suinnig* in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*; the scribe has interpreted the ambiguous spelling *ui* as representing a consonant plus a vowel instead of a single vowel. Lindelöf (*op. cit.*, Par. 72, Note 1) suggests that the word has been associated with the word 'swine' by folk-etymology.

⁸ See K. Bulbring, *Anglia Beiblatt*, 10, 368.

4). The spelling *u* occurs as an archaism for *o* in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*;² in the words *eorðo* (22 *u* : 67 *o*), *hwelc-*, *hwot-hwoego* (7 *u* : 10 *o*) and *heono* (60 *u* : 96 *o*) it is disproportionately frequent.

5). The spelling *o* occurs as an archaism for *a* in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*;² in the gen. pl. of the word *monn* (6 *o* : 25 *a*) it is disproportionately frequent.

6). The spelling *i* occurs as an archaism for *e* in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*;² in the 2nd. and 3rd. sg. pres. ind. of the verb *habba* (32 *i* : 71 *e*) it is disproportionately frequent.

7). In the *Lindisfarne Gospels* there is a variation between *a* and *e* in the spelling of the vowels of flexional syllables with normal O. E. *a*,⁹ the spelling with *e* is disproportionately frequent in the nom. acc. pl. of the word *diowl* (14 *-es* : 20 *-as*) and in the inf. of the word *ondrēda* (15 *e* : 1 *a*).

8). Final *n* has in general been lost in the weak declension of nouns and adjectives in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*; its occurrence as an archaism is virtually limited to one word, *ðirda* and here no less than 5 forms with *n* occur as against 17 without.

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THE NED: WORDS OF DIVINATION AND ONOMATOPOEIC TERMS

At the beginning of the nineteenth chapter of his *Magastromancer* (1652), John Gaule presents a veritable dictionary of divination. It is his purpose, shrowded "in some kind of twilight" from the Magastromancer's sun, to light his own candle and expose the awful tribe; and though it is his intention not to "flourish in a wild circuit of words, but [come] close to the matter at hand," he gives stupendous lists, of which this is one: fifty-five words ending in *-mancy*.

One might suppose his list complete; but the *New English Dictionary* shows how Lydgate and others were before and after Gaule in their interest in almost 100 kinds of divination going back,

⁹ The forms in *e* constitute about 7% of the total number showing a variation *a/e*.

often, to ancient times. An amazing variety of authors and reviews were interested—Chaucer, Gower, Langland, Lydgate; Holinshed, Greene, Jonson; Purchas, More, Browne, Hobbes; Smedley, Southey, Scott, Taylor; writers in the *Philosophical Transactions* and *Edinburgh Review* and numerous nineteenth century journals—, but it is perhaps significant (a little “index to the times”) that ministers and writers of the Restoration Era (and somewhat before and after) especially took these words seriously, whereas the nineteenth century attitude seems antiquarian.

Likewise the lexicographers, Cotgrave and Cockeram, Bailey, (Johnson noticeably missing), Ash, Chambers (encyclopedia), Roget (thesaurus), and most of all Blount (1656), were assiduous; but second only to Gaule, and not second to him in the matter of artistic treatment, was, of course, Sir Thomas Urquhart in his translation (bk. iii, ch. 25, 1693) of Rabelais.

About one-third of the *-mancy* words are marked “*Obs.*” in the Oxford Dictionary. At least a few—*collimancy*, *frontimancy*, &c.—are mere inventions; others seem unreal, and, except for *necromancy* and two or three more, the suffix is today quite remote and isolated. A few words or forms with *-mancy* escaped readers for the *NED* or got lost in the Scriptorium. They are those italicized in a list which may possibly interest some readers. Two are clearly misprints; so seemingly *antinopomancy* for *anthropomancy* also; the writer can only put a query as to *choiramancy*, or *choiromancy*, and *roadomancy*. W. F. Smith has footnotes in his translation of Rabelais (1893). *Nagomancy* appears to be Gaule’s variant for *necromancy*. Books on Spirits by Balthazar Bekker (1695), Meric Casaubon (1672), and others contain further interesting details. Indeed, the subject is large.

| | |
|---|---|
| adryomancy (under suffix in <i>NED</i>) | axinomancy, balanced hatchet |
| aeromancy, appearances in air; see <i>chaomancy</i> | belomancy, arrows, rods |
| alectoromancy, alectryomancy, cock picking up grains | bibliomancy, verses in book (Bible) |
| aleuromancy, meal | botanomancy, herbs |
| alphitomancy, barley-meal | <i>caseinomancy</i> , sieves (Gaule) |
| anthropomancy, entrails | catoptromancy, mirrors |
| <i>antinopomancy</i> (misprint?) | cattabomancy, vessels of brass |
| arithmancy, numbers | cephaleonomancy, braying of ass’s head (improper form) |
| astragalomancy, dice; see <i>cleromancy</i> | capnomancy, smoke from altar |
| austromancy, winds | ceromancy, wax and water |

- chaomancy, appearances in air
 chartomancy, writing
cheromancy, bean in cake
 (Urquhart—misprint)
 chiromancy, palmistry
choiramancy, hogs—bladders
 (Urquhart; *choiromancy*?)
 cleidomancy, keys
 cleromancy, dice
 collimancy (under suffix)
 coscinomancy, balanced sieve
 cristallomantia, spirits in a magic
 lens, glasses
 crithomancy, dough or cakes
 dactyliomancy, suspended ring
 dæmonomancy, demons' help
 daphnomancy, laurel tree
 enoptromancy, mirrors
 frontimancy (under suffix)
 fysenancy (under suffix)
 gastromancy, ventriloquism
 geomancy, lots at random
 graptomancy, handwriting
 gyromancy, walking in circles
 halomancy, salt
 hieromancy, entrails of animals
 hydromancy, water
 ichthyomancy, entrails of fishes
 idolomancy, idols, figures
 lampadomancy, candles, lamps
 lecanomancy, basin of water
 libanomancy, burning of incense
 lithomancy, precious stones
 livanomancy (err. for *libanomancy*)
 logarithmancy, logarithmes
 machæromancy, knives, swords
 magastromancy (Gaul's invention)
 meteoromancy, meteors
 metopomancy, forehead or face
 myomancy, movements of mice
nagomancy, necromancy
 natimancy (under suffix in *NED*)
 necromancy
 nomancy, onomancy, oino-, ceno-,
 letters forming name of person
 omphelomancy, navel
 oneiromancy, dreams
 onomatomancy, onomancy (Gaul,
 Urquhart)
 onychomancy, nails reflecting sun's
 rays
 onymancy (shortened form of *ony-*
chromancy), oil and wax
 ophiomancy, fishes, serpents
 ornithomancy, augury, birds
 oromancy, faeces
 osteomancy, bones
 pædomancy, feet (err. for *pedo-*
mancy)
 (pantomancers—Gaul)
 pegomancy, fountains
 pessomancy, pebbles
 pseudomancy, false divination
 psychomancy, souls
 pyromancy, fire
 rhabdomancy, wand
 rhapsodomancy, passages of a poet
 at hazard; cp. *bibliomancy*, *sticho-*
mancy
roadomancy, "by starres" (Gaul)
 scatomancy, faeces
 schematomancy, forms
 sciomancy, shadows, manes
 sideromancy, (1) red-hot iron, (2)
 stars
 spasmatomancy, twitchings of limbs
 spatalamancy, skins, bones, excre-
 ments (note on Gaul)
 stareomancy, elements
 sternomancy, breast to belly
 stichomancy, passages in books
 sycomancy, figs, fig-leaves
 tephromancy, writings in ashes
 theomancy, oracles
 theriomancy, movement of animals
 thumomancy, soul; see *psychomancy*
 tuphramancy (see *tephromancy*)
 tyromancy, cheese
 ur(in)omancy, urin

As John Willcock points out in his life of Urquhart (1899, p.

203), the translator amplifies Rabelais almost in an 8 : 1 proportion in a passage (bk. iii, ch. 13, 1693) amazing for its onomatopoeic terms. In view of remarks by H. B. Wheatley in his Dictionary of Reduplicated Words (1865), H. Wedgwood in a Philological Society article (1845), Louise Pound (Nebraska Studies, 1913), and elsewhere, this passage in Urquhart may be taken as an interesting test-passage, and a few notes submitted.

Rabelais had 9 animals and their cries or calls; his translator increased to 71. Six of these apparently are not in the *NED*, but of those that are, 12 are marked "*Obs.*" and 2, "*nonce*"—Urquhart's own; 14 or 15 are "imitative," 14 are "echoic," 5 are "frequentatives," 1 is "from the sound," 1 is "reduplicative," 1 is "diminutive," and practically all the others are doubtfully onomatopoeic. Oldest in our vocabulary (from this list) are *neigh* (8th century) and *roar* (1000); 4 date from the 13th century, 13 from the 14th, 10 from the 15th, 12 from the 16th, and 11 from the 17th.

Especially interesting are the sounds and sound-combinations: [b] 5, [bl] 1, [br] 1, [k] 8 (*curkling* of Quails, *curring* of Pigeons, *kekling* of Hens), [tʃ] 7 (*charming* of Beagles, *chirming* of Linets), [s] 5 (including consonant combinations), [kl] 3, [kr] 8 (*crickling* of Ferrets, *crouting* of Cormorants), [dr] 1 (*drinkling* of Turkeys), [fr] 1 (*franlling* of Peacocks, *nonce-word*), [g]? 4 (*girling* of Boars—metathesis of *r*, *guerieting* of Apes, *gushing* of Hogs), [gr] 2 (*grumbling* of Cushet-doves), [h] 3 (*hissing*, *howling*, *humming*), [m] 4 (especially *mumbling* of Rabets, *mioling* ["miauling"] of Tygers), [n] 2 (*neighing* and *nuzzing*—Camels), [p] 2, [pr] 1, [km] 2, [r] 3, [sn] 2, [sk] 2, [w] 3, [m] 2, and [j] 2—initial sounds only.

It seems that Urquhart wrote "crying of Elephants," whereas a later ed. (1737) imitates the French "*barrient les elephants*"—"barring of Elephants"; our word (so W. F. Smith, 1893) is *trumpeting*. Where Rabelais has "*abayent*," Urquhart has "barking of Currs"; so "*siflent les serpens*"—"hissing," "*hannissent*"—"neighing," "*lamentent les tourterelles*"—"wailing," "*vllent [sic] les lousps*"—"yelling." Two terms Urquhart overlooked, "*braisient les asnes*" and "*sonnent les cigales*." These comparisons gain in interest if one looks at a note under *cackling* in the

NED or recalls Mr. Wedgwood's statement about not finding similar onomatopoeic words in cognate languages.

Notwithstanding the ingeniousness of Urquhart, most of his terms are common. He could not have used Cotgrave extensively here, although in addition to Rabelais' 9 words there is "cigaler" for the cicada, "Locusts"; his transferred use of *coniating* for storks is likewise engaging. His imagination was more than sufficient. But see Sir William Craigie: two articles in *Sat. Rev. of Lit.* 4.792 and in *Eng. Jrnal.* May 1929.

Apparently the *NED* does not have *clamring* ("clamring of Scarfes"), *drintling*, *guarring* (mispr. for *gnarring*, obs. in sense of "growling," with dates 1592 and 1600 only in *NED*?), *guerieting* (Apes), *pioling* (Pelicans), and *rammage* (Hawks). 1816 is the earliest date for *boo*—"boing of Buffalos" writes Urquhart. The *NED* of course has *gush*, *gushing*, but seemingly not the knight's sense (above).

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NEW EVIDENCE FOR MIDDLE ENGLISH *þef*

In a Latin life of St. Wallevus or Waltheof or Waltheof there is a curious bit of evidence for the substantive *þef*, which, as far as I know, has hitherto been noted only in *Genesis and Exodus*,¹ an uninspired work assigned to the southern border of the East Midland district and dated about 1250. The meaning of the word thus recorded is "taste," as is clear from the context:

To dust he it grunden and maden bread,
ðat huni and olies ðef he bead.

Bradley connected it with O. N. *þefr*, which is glossed as "smell"² though we should note that taste and smell are not clearly differentiated sensations, as is shown by the history of "savor."

Waltheof or Waltheof was a son of Matilda, a grand-niece of William I, and Simon, Earl of Huntingdon in his wife's right. Matilda made a second marriage with David I of Scotland, to whom she brought the English earldom. Her son Waltheof, named

¹ V. 3340. MS. Corp. Chr. Coll., Camb., 444. Ed. R. Morris, EETS 7.

² See Vigfusson-Cleasby for this form and the related verb *þefja*, *þefa*, "to smell."

for his maternal grandfather, became a monk and after various preferments died as Abbot of Melrose in 1160. His *vita* was written by a monk of Furness, named Joscelin or Jordan, about whom I have no information. The *vita* has been found in two MSS.: (1) that one "in Coenobio Bodecensi Canonicorum Regularium" in the diocese of Paderborn, which the Bollandists printed in A. SS. 3 Aug. I, 249, and (2) MS. Gale, Trin. Coll., Camb., O. x. 25.³ Since the work was dedicated to William, King of Scotland, who died in 1214, it was clearly written not later than the early years of the thirteenth century. According to the fashion of the period, the name of the saint is played with etymologically: "Nomen vero istud Anglice dissyllabum est cuius syllaba secunda si correpto accentu proferatur *Electus Sapor*; si producto, *Blectus Latro* interpretatur."⁴ "Electus Latro" was understood by the Bollandists, but of "Electus Sapor" they could give no explanation.

The first syllable of the name is connected by Joscelin with M. E. *wālen*, *wēlen*, "to choose," equivalent to O. N. *velja*, O. H. G. *wellen*, N. H. G. *wählen*, Gothic *waljan*. The word is not recorded in O. E., though Björkman listed it, quite properly, among those that may well have been in use before the Scandinavian invasions. "Electus" is a fair equivalent. Now, if the vowel of the second syllable of Waltheof or Walthef be taken as long—"producto accentu"—we have *þēof* or *þēf*. Joscelin had merely to use a little ingenuity in showing that the sainted abbot was a chosen thief of heaven by means of his activities on earth. If the second syllable of his name, on the other hand, be short—"correpto accentu"—we get *þef*, a precise equivalent of *sapor*, "taste, savor," as is shown by the passage in *Genesis and Exodus*, and evidence for the use of the word considerably earlier than has hitherto been supposed. Since Abbot Walthef's reputation was made in the North, where he passed most of his life, it is reasonable to believe that the man who wrote his *vita* was accustomed to Northern forms of English. *þef* is thus attested as a word in general circulation. Since John of

³ See T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials*, II, 285.

⁴ I quote from the A. SS. 3 Aug. I, 251-252. Though I have not seen the text of the Camb. MS., I cannot believe that it differs, since the play on words survives in John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium Angliæ* of the 14th century.

Tynemouth rewrote the passage of Latin in the fourteenth century, retaining "sapor" without explanation, and since his text was printed without further alteration in the *Nova Legenda Angliae*⁵ as late as 1516, I think we are safe in assuming that *pef* continued in use along with taste and savor throughout the Middle English period. Since O. N. *pefr* means "smell" rather than "taste," may it not also be assumed that *pef* was known in O. E.? We cannot be sure of this, since the two words would be close to one another in meaning, but we may, I think, regard it as a probability. At all events, the root appears before the Norman Conquest, since it must be noted that *pefian*, "to pant, to be agitated," and *of-pefian*, "to be exceedingly heated," are found in O. E. prose. I confess that I do not now see the connection in meaning of these verbs with *pef*, but unquestionably they rest on the same foundation.

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AS GOOD CHEPE

The phrase "as good chepe" which occurs in *Troilus and Criseyde*, III, 641, is not altogether clear:

She thoughte, as good chepe may I dwellen here,
And graunte it gladly with a frendes chere,
And have a thonk, as grucche and thanne abide;
For hom to gon, it may not wel bitide.

Root makes no comment on this particular passage nor does Skeat (who reads "chep"). The latter gives the meaning "as cheaply" in his glossary (cf. Oxford Chaucer, VI, 45) but though this was undoubtedly the most usual meaning in Middle English, it makes but little sense in the present context.

OE *cēap* commonly meant "bargain, buying, selling, purchase, price," and the word was also used in this sense in Middle English, this in fact being its almost exclusive meaning. In this specific case, however, the word is not to be understood in the usual commercial sense (numerous examples of which are to be found in the NED) but rather in a figurative way. The NED supports this

⁵ Ed. C. Horstmann, II, 406.

suggestion, for under "cheap" the sixth usage is explained as the "state of the market, qualified from the buyer's point of view as *good*, *dear*, etc. *Good cheap*: a state of the market *good* for the purchaser. . . ." The explanation is continued under 8: "*good cheap* was used for: that is a good bargain, that can be purchased on advantageous terms"; and finally under 9 b: "on good terms, with little effort; cheaply, easily."

In this light the passage in the *Troilus* may very properly be rendered: "as much to my advantage may I remain here . . . as complain and then stay" or "I can as easily," "I may as well," etc. The figurative meaning seems the more desirable and the phrase may be glossed "as easily," "as well." With this interpretation the line at least makes sense; the Skeat gloss, if not entirely incorrect in this instance, is certainly unnecessarily misleading. Incidentally this figurative use of "as good chepe" antedates by nearly two centuries the earliest example (1567-9) noted in the NED.

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AN. *Mainpast*

An unusual example of AN. *mainpast*, which is generally a substantive and which commonly refers only to human beings, occurs in Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C. 459, fo. 216 r, in a *Curia Baronis* of the reign of Edward III (1327-1377), where it appears as an adjective qualifying dogs. Its use implies that these dogs are a part of their owner's household, and that he is legally responsible for their acts as he is for those of his children and servants (to whom the word is usually applied).

Ceo vous moustre T qi cy est etc. de R qiloeques est qatort ses .ij. chiens mainpast viendrent . . . et en sa faude entrerent et ses bestes illoeques trouez morderent . . . (T. who is here etc. shows you of R. who is there, that wrongly his two dogs mainpast came and entered his fold and bit his animals [sheep] which were there.)

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SOME BLANK VERSE WRITTEN BY THOMAS NORTON
BEFORE "GORBODUC"

There have hitherto been recognized some dozen appearances of blank verse before Marlowe adopted this meter in *Tamburlaine*. Of these, only two antedate *Gorboduc*: Surrey's *Æneid*, Books II and IV; Nicholas Grimald, *The Death of Zoroas* (115 lines) and *Marcus Tullius Ciceroes Death* (88 lines) in Tottel's *Songes and Sonnettes*, 1557.¹

After *Gorboduc* (1562) blank verse was used again, in 1566, by Gascoigne and Kinwelmershe in *Jocasta*, and seems here to have had *Gorboduc* as a direct influence. The connections, however, between the verse of *Gorboduc* and earlier blank verse have been much more vague.

It is of some interest, then, to find that Thomas Norton, in translating Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, decided to use blank verse as a means of rendering into English the portions of Virgil which had been quoted by Calvin. Norton's translation of Calvin's work was first published on May 6, 1561; *Gorboduc* was presented for the first time at Christmas in 1561. It is fairly certain that Norton had completed his translation before *Gorboduc* was written: this is commonly accepted as a fact on the basis of the difference between the above dates; and since *Gorboduc* was composed to provide "furniture of part of the grand Christ-masse in the Inner Temple,"² it seems that Sackville and Norton must have written the play fairly late in 1561.

In the fifth chapter of Book I of the *Institutes* Calvin quotes from Virgil's *Æneid*, Book VI, lines 724-731. Norton translates this passage as follows:

Fyrst heauen, and earth, and flovyng fieldes of seas,
The shynng globe of Moone, and Titans starres,
Sprite fedes vvithin, and throughout all the lymmes
Infused mynde the vvhole huge masse dooth moue,
And vvith the large bigge body mixe it selfe.
Thense come the kyndes of men and eke of beastes,

¹ Cf. C. F. Tucker Brooke, "Marlowe's Versification and Style," *S.P.*, XIX, 186. Professor Brooke's article contains a list of the early examples of blank verse.

² "The Printer to the Reader," John Day's edition of *Gorboduc*, 1570.

And lyues of fliyg foules, and monsters straunge,
 That vvater beares vvithin the marble sea.
 A fyry lyuelynesse and heauenly race there is
 VVithin those seedes. &c.³

And Calvin quotes immediately after this from the *Georgics*, Book IV, lines 219-227, which are translated by Norton:

Some say that bees haue part of mynde diuine,
 And heauenly draughtes. For eke they say, that God
 Gothe through the coastes of lande, and creakes of sea,
 And through depe skye. And hense the flockes and heardes:
 And men, and all the kyndes of sauage beastes,
 Eche at their byrthe receyue theyr suttle lyues.
 And therto are they rendred all at laste,
 And all resolved are retournde agayne.
 Ne place there is for deathe: but lyuely they
 Flye into nombre of the Starres aboue,
 And take their place vvithin the lofty skye.³

These lines are decidedly good examples of early blank verse. They follow Virgil closely. The plural form in "Titans starres" is apparently a misprint, for the reference is obviously to the sun. But if the lines are close translation they are formed into solid pentameter units, and the accents are under perfect control. Probably the remarkable thing about them is the number of run-on lines, for lines containing pure *enjambement* are rare in early blank verse. The rather strange run-on principle doubtless explains the misplacing of the extra foot in the next to the last line of the passage from the *Aeneid*.

The real interest in these passages is, of course, the indication that Norton knew and esteemed Surrey's version of the *Aeneid*, Books II and IV. These twenty-one lines may be regarded as the missing link between Surrey's blank verse and the blank verse of *Gorboduc*.

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³ These passages are reproduced from the first edition of Norton's translation, the copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

REVISION IN MUNDAY'S *JOHN A KENT AND
JOHN A CUMBER*

Anthony Munday's play of *John a Kent and John a Cumber* exists in a single manuscript in Munday's autograph with his signature at the end. There is no known edition of the play before that prepared in 1851 by J. P. Collier for the Old Shakespeare Society. His work was scarcely satisfactory, however, for he barely touched on the background and misread the text at many points.¹ In 1912 Farmer prepared a facsimile in his series of Tudor Facsimile Texts, and in 1923 the Malone Society issued a print of it prepared by Miss Muriel St. Clare Byrne, who gives in her introduction a complete description of the manuscript. There has not, however, been a detailed study of the state of the text, and the evidence that it gives for revision. Careful analysis convinces us that this play, like many another one of the Elizabethan period, shows distinct signs of revision, particularly in the excision of certain themes.

The text is a fair copy, used or prepared for use in the playhouse. There are a few corrections of no particular importance except as they show us the play developing in Munday's hands. There is a brief marginal addition at line 151, a passage obviously and awkwardly put in to serve as preparation for the advent of Llewelyn; and there are several minor deletions, perhaps designed to speed up the play: one of Cumber's taunts to his rival is cut out (958-9); Kent's meditation is cut short (1009-11); a whole speech of Cumber's is marked for omission, with a consequent gap before Hugh's speech which follows (1060-68); and Powesse loses a speech (1340-44).²

¹ The extent of his misreadings can be seen from the notes to Miss Byrne's edition for the Malone Society, 1923.

² There are also cancellations of words or phrases within lines: 159, 160, 394, 471, 483, 896, 931, 932, 1000, 1010, 1052, 1108, 1186, 1226, 1447, 1476, which show that Munday was copying rapidly from another manuscript and caught himself now and then making a mistake, or that he revised chance errors as he composed. Much the same type of error is apparent in his confusion of Powesse and Pembroke in the speech headings at lines 598 and 659; and of Morton and Griffith at 943 and 1243. The omission of the exit speeches of Powesse, Griffith, and Kent at 1570-76 and of the Countess, Sidanen, and Marian, 1597-1602, prevents an anticlimax after the long

A second group of corrections, however, is of far greater significance, and is indicative of much fuller excision, the exact nature of which can only be surmised. In the stage directions at lines 470 and 1295 Evan's name is deleted. As the play now stands Evan has no real function in it. He appears in the first scene as a companion to Denvyll and offers his forces to Powys and Merri-dock:

And I threescore as strong, with hookes and billes
that to three hundred will not turn their backs. (92-93.)

Thereafter he makes only five speeches in the play, the most extensive of them eight lines long and none of them of any importance in the development of the action.³ In the first scene of the fourth act he is present at the abduction of the ladies, but plays no part in that action other than to remark,

Listen my Lordes, me thinkes I hear the chyme,
which Iohn did promise, ere you should presume;
to venture for recouerie of the ladyes (1139-41.)

and is left without any companion as the others pair off with the ladies and "turn" off the stage. In two instances his name was included in scene headings but was then cancelled. In the latter of these, however (at l. 1295), he still has a speech in the course of the scene:

Into the Castell then, and frollique there.
I know that Iohn will not stay long behinde,
since your successe dooth answere thus his mynde. (1326-8.)

Finally, at line 1447 he enters mute. He is neither in nor out of the play.

That revision was not confined to simplifying the rôle of Evan but was much more extensive is indicated by the presence of Sir Gosselin Denvyll and by his relations with Kent. Denvyll, too, is an unimportant figure. He speaks more frequently than Evan,⁴ it is true, and his castle serves as a place of refuge for the runaway

speech of Kent in the one instance and of Cumber in the other. At 608-610 the speech of the First Servant has been deleted evidently to avoid an extra speaking part.

³ Ll. 747-54, 833-4, 849-55, 1139-41, 1326-28.

⁴ Lines 64-6, 87, 90-91, 102-7, 124, 510-15, 741-6, 767-72, 995-8, 1132-4, 1142-4, 1156-7, 1297-1301, 1528-31, 1550-52 or 54.

lovers and hence as a scene for much of the play, but his speeches are trivial dramatically, and the lovers could as plausibly have escaped to either Griffin's or Powys' castle. The really noteworthy problem, however, is that of Denvyll's relations with Kent. Although throughout the play the magician appears as a free agent, yet on several occasions he refers to Denvyll as his master.⁵

Associated with this puzzle is the way in which Kent, Denvyll, and Evan are introduced to us. John appears, accompanied by the other two, as a thief:

welcom[e] Gentlemen, you seeme no lesse,
be not offended at my salutations,
that bid ye stand, before I say God speed.
ffor in playne tearmes, speed what your speed may be,
Such coyne you haue, bothe must and shall with me. (68-71.)

Again, at lines 303 ff. Griffin and Powesse exclaim about his disguise:

S. Griffin. See Powesse, heers Iohn a Kent, dect in
a Pilgrimes weede
Powesse. why how now Iohn? turnd greene to ffryers
grey?

Is it implied that Kent was accustomed to appear in the "Lincoln green" associated with the costumes of outlaws like Robin Hood and his men? That that is the implication is indicated by the subsequent dialog.

Iohn what madness makes ye come so farre this way?
The town's beset, our purpose is deseryde
and now I see your cōming made all spyde.
S. Griffin. help vs to scape vnto thy maisters caue.

It might well be an echo from "Adam Bell" or some other outlaw ballad. Are John and his master then gentlemanly outlaws with a cave as their home? If that be true, why is it that everywhere else in the play we hear of Denvyll's castle, and see it in the succeeding scenes? Obviously there is a real inconsistency here. Couple this with the erratic appearance of Evan, who, it will be recalled, is associated with these two, and we have evidence that the story has not always been the simple one that it is as the play now stands.

There are two possible explanations. (1) It is possible that we

⁵ Lines 82, 85, 308, 885, 999, 1093, 1253.

have echoes of old ballads, traditional features that Munday incorporated simply because they were a part of the tradition and he neglected to eliminate them. (2) Or it is possible that these features are shreds of an older form of the play, perhaps a more elaborate form, with Kent appearing in the double rôle of apprentice or journeyman outlaw and master magician and with Denvyll and Evan playing a much more important part than they do in the present form of the play? Which of these is the most probable explanation it is impossible to say with certainty, except that the virtual excision of Evan as a character and the brevity of the play (it contains only 1705 lines) point toward revision.

In either case the material in the earlier part of the play embodies certain conventions of outlaw stories. First, on occasion outlaws were represented as aiding true lovers and using disguise to outwit the rival lovers. In "Robin Hood and Allen a Dale,"⁶ for instance, the situation is much like that implied in *Kent*. Allen, held up by "Brave Little John and Nick the miller's son," is brought to Robin, to whom he tells his tale of woe: his lady is to be married to an old knight. When the lad promises to be Robin's servant, the latter undertakes to get the bride for him. Here there is no delay or indirection as in *Kent*. Robin goes straight to the church, where he poses to the bishop as a harper, very brusquely takes the "finikin lass" from the old knight, and bestows her on Allen. Disguise in a romantic story of this type is found again in "Robin Hood and the Prince of Aragon," where Robin, Little John, and Scadlock, having put on "mothly gray," take long staves and scrip and bottle as if they were, not hermits, but palmers, and eventually save the princess from a loathsome marriage with the Prince of Aragon.⁷

⁶ F. J. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. Boston, 1882-98. No 138

⁷ *Ibid*, No. 129. Disguise, though without the romantic motive, appears frequently in the stories of Eustace the Monk (summarized in Thomas Wright's *Essays Connected with the Literature, Popular Superstitions, and History of England in the Middle Ages*, London, 1846, II, 121-46. Francisque Michel's edition of the *Roman d'Eustache le Moine, pirate fameux du XIII^e siècle, publié pour la première fois d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque royale*, Paris, 1834, was not accessible to me) of Fulke Fitz Warin (Wright, II, 147-63 and in Joseph Stevenson's "Legend of Fulk Fitz-Warin" in his edition of *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon*

Secondly, outlaws were commonly represented as being beset in a town by their enemies, a situation implied in ll. 303 ff. The case of Adam Bell and his two companions has already been mentioned.⁸ Robin Hood and his cronies are continually running their heads into nooses,⁹ and Johnie Armstrong's last valiant stand¹⁰ and Gamelyn's visit to his hostile brother's court¹¹ show much the same convention.

Thirdly, it may be only a coincidence or it may represent a convention that we have three figures associated in the play: Kent, Denvyll, and Evan, and that frequently the outlaws appear in trios in the ballads and traditional tales: Robin, Little John, and Nick; Robin, Little John and Scadlock; Adam Bell, Clim of the Clough, and William of Cloudesly; Hereward and the two Siwards.

When we add to these conventional outlaw features which appear in the play: Kent's half jocular "stand and deliver,"¹² the employment of the bows and bills as well as the wits of Denvyll and Evans,¹³ Kent's disguise, with the accompanying reference to his customary dress of green¹⁴ and the implied danger of the three in enemy territory,¹⁵ when we add to these the fact that, as Collier pointed out,¹⁶ there is in Captain Johnson's *Lives of the High-*

Anglicanum in the Rolls Series, London, 1875, pp. 275-415) and of Hereward (Wright, II, 91-120 and T. D. Hardy and C. T. Martin, *Lestorie des Engles solum la Translacion Maistre Geffrei Gaimar*, Rolls Series, London, 1888, I, pp. 339-404.). In all these cases the disguise is used either to help the outlaw to escape from his enemies or to enable him to play some trick upon them. Hence it is often associated with a situation in which he finds himself caught or nearly caught in the midst of his adversaries, such a situation as is implied in Kent's rebuke of Griffin and Powesse.

⁸ Child, No. 116.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 117 (The Fyfh Fytte), 119, 133 (with Robin disguised as a beggar), 140 (with Robin disguised as a palmer).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 169.

¹¹ W. W. Skeat, *The Tale of Gamelyn*, ed. 2. Oxford, 1893, lines 711-726.

¹² Ll. 68-71. Reminiscent of Robin Hood's willingness to fight with every comer is Kent's subsequent statement,

"Mr. These are the guests you looke for, whom had I not well
gest at,

They had for welcome got a cudgelling." (85-6.)

¹³ Ll. 90-93.

¹⁴ Ll. 302-9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Old Shakespeare Society Publications*, No. 47, pp. xx-xxi.

waymen a life of Sir Gosselen Denville, "who was accustomed to rob travellers, and who is said to have flourished in the reign of Edward II,"¹⁷ it becomes reasonably certain that one stratum of the play, almost hidden by Munday, rests on outlaw material, gained either from ballads and folk tales or from an earlier form of the play—or both.

That the present text of the play is one prepared for production is indicated by two facts: the presence of hypermetrical lines resulting from the addition of a word or words (often a vocative) to make the dialog more like natural speech or to run the speeches together more rapidly; and the presence of anticipatory stage directions inserted in the left hand margin of the sheets by a hand which has been identified as that of the "playhouse scribe" of *Sir Thomas More*.¹⁸

The additions are usually quite simple. For instance, it is probable that lines 13 and 14, which now read

Powesse. yea, so Pembroke hath their graunte for Marian:
But.

S. Griffin. But what? Euen while we thus stand wasting
idle woordes,

originally read

Powesse. so Pembroke hath their graunt for Marian
S. Griffin. Euen while we thus stand wasting idle woordes

But to give greater rapidity and vigor to the dialog, Munday made the change. Similar examples occur at lines 100, 249, 303, 389, 454, 659, 730, 755, 983, 1014, 1189, 1232, 1391, 1440. One more

¹⁷ Captain Charles Johnson, *A General History of the Lives and Adventures of the most Famous Highwaymen, Murderers, Street-Robbers &c. . .* London, 1734, pp 15-18. Johnson says Denville came of an ancient and respectable family at Northallerton, North Riding of Yorkshire. It seems to me likely that he is a popular development or recreation of Joscelyn Dayvill, who was a figure of some importance in the North Riding during the reign of Edward II, but lost his lands for rebellion. One of his chief opponents was the Earl of Pembroke. See the *Victoria County History, Yorkshire, North Riding*, I, 419, 424. All this adds to the complexity of the problem of the historical-legendary background of *John a Kent*, one of the most interesting aspects of the play, but one which is not yet clearly worked out.

¹⁸ W. W. Greg, in *Shakespeare's Hand in Sir Thomas More*. Cambridge, 1923, p. 56.

striking case occurs at lines 331-3. Line 332 may originally have been

Content ye Lordes, Ile tell ye on the way

rhyming with 331, or it may have been

Ile tell ye on the way, come let vs goe

rhyming with 333. Or it is conceivable that 333 is a late addition supplied, with the "come let vs goe" of the preceding line, to give John, Powesse, and Griffin a graceful exit.

The additional stage directions are scanty but indicative of at least an intention of staging the play. There is a command for John a Kent to enter after line 212, one line earlier than his entry has been provided for by Munday; there is a command for "Musique" at lines 776 and 916; at 1047 we have "Enter Iohn a Kent" anticipating Munday's direction "En[ter] Iohn a K[en]t listning" by two lines; another order for "Musique Chime" occurs at 1138, and finally there is an "Enter" (1436) as preparation for Cumber's angry return after he has been "nick knocked" instead of John a Kent. Of the actual performance of the play, however, we have no known record.

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THE HOE-HUNTINGTON FOLIO OF JONSON

Mr. H. L. Ford's useful *Collation of the Ben Jonson Folios 1616-31-1640* (Oxford: The University Press, 1932), based upon "the British Museum copies, others in provincial libraries, and some sixteen of Volume I and ten of Volume II" in his own possession, presents, on pages 14-15, from *Epicoene or The Silent Woman*, pages 531-540 of the 1616 folio, a number of readings that are said to occur only in G, which is the Grenville copy in the British Museum, and in part in A, which is Mr. Ford's own premier copy. I quote: "The (G) reading may be identified by the following:

- p. 531. No marginal note 'Horses o' the time' (G, A).
- p. 532. Last line of song 'They strike mine eyes' (G, A), all others 'Thy strike mine eyes.' Corrected in the 1640 and 1692. The page ends on 'painted and' (G, A).

- p. 533. ends on 'head made a most' (G).
 p. 534. 'going to his prize' (G), continued 1640 and 1692. All others 'marching.'
 p. 535. 'Do's hee *teach*, that would marry' (G). All others omit '*teuch*.'
 p. 536. 'Sis Amorous' (G), instead of 'Sir Amorous.'
 p. 537. 'should keepe' (G, A). All others 'should but keepe.' The 1640, 1692 as (G, A).
 p. 538. 'We doe beare our coat' (G, A). All others, 'Wee doe beare *for* our coate.' The 1640, 1692 as (G, A).
 p. 539. ends on 'impudence?' with catch-word 'Tru.' (G).
 p. 540. 'puritan parleis' (G), continued 1640, 1692, instead of 'puritane preachings.'"

The Huntington Library has four of the 1616 Jonson folios. Of these, the Hoe-Huntington, Volume I, with accession number H. 62101, has all the distinctive readings cited above, except that on page 535 it omits 'teach.' On page 540 there is a difference in spelling, the Hoe-Huntington reading 'puritane parlee's' instead of 'puritan parleis.' Moreover, it is important to note that this copy incorporates the corrected readings. My collation of this folio with the textual variants recorded in *Ben Jonson*, edited by Herford and Simpson, Volume IV, shows that H. 62101 in all cases, except on page 415 of *Sejanus*, includes Jonson's corrections. It may be worth adding that this handsome volume, measuring 12 11/16 x 8 5/16 inches, nearly equals in size the Grenville copy, which measures 12 3/4 x 8 2/5, and which Mr. Ford designates as the "largest known" (p. 6).

GEORGE W. WHITING

The Rice Institute

REVIEWS

English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century. Edited by CARLETON BROWN. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1932. Pp. xlv + 312.

This important and engaging book is the latest member of an impressive series which began with Professor Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse* (2 vols., 1916, 1920), and was continued in his *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*

(1924). Those two works are now classics of English literary scholarship, and the new volume before us will easily achieve a similar assured position.¹

The general editorial plan of the new collection would have been abundantly satisfactory if it had merely conformed to that of its immediate predecessor in the series. As a matter of fact, however, the book now at hand not only maintains the editor's established standard of textual precision and rewarding commentary, but it also aids the reader through generous additional conveniences. We are given indices of persons and places, and of first lines; the glossary is more fully provided with cross-references; and the notes indicate more explicitly the poems which appear in print for the first time. For his patient attention to such helpful matters the editor deserves added praise.

In its content the new volume will seem agreeably familiar to most readers through the presence of such pieces as *Sumer is i-cumen in*, *Alysoun*, *Lenten is come with love to town*, *On hire is al mi lif ylong*, *Vbi sount qui ante nos fuerount*, and *De Clerico et Puella*. It is fair to say, indeed, that the collection is more striking through the presence of recognized favorites than through the addition of a large number of poems hitherto unprinted. It was not to be expected, indeed, that from the thirteenth century Professor Brown could contribute any such substantial and unified additions to the canon as appeared for the first time in his fourteenth-century volume: the lyrics collected by Bishop Sheppey, for example, or the group of a score or so of pieces from the commonplace book of John Grimestone.

Let it not be inferred, however, that the sheaf of poems newly brought to light from the thirteenth century is small or unimportant. At least thirteen now appear in print for the first time,² and a number of others, previously known after a fashion, are freshened or modified through the use of additional manuscripts. The one secular novelty is this entertaining skit (No. 21):

Say me, viit in þe brom,
Teche me wou i sule don
Pat min hosebonde
me louien wolde.

Hold þine tunke stille
& hawe al þine wille.

Of the new religious pieces, *A Light is Come to the World* (No. 24) and *Aspice, mittissime Conditor* (No. 33) are sufficiently representative. The first of these describes the Crucifixion in vivid detail of the kind shown in these lines:

¹ The series is to be continued by Professor Brown's edition of the English lyrics of the fifteenth century.

² The editor leaves me in doubt, momentarily, as to five or six others.

His bodi þat wes feir & gent
 & his neb suo scene
 Wes bi-spit & al to-rend,
 His rude wes worþen grene.

Hasse he biheuld þe rode,
 Þe modir þat was of miste
 & þer I-sei al ablode
 Hir sone þat her wes briste,
 Hisse tuo suete honden
 Wid nailes al to-ronden,
 Is fehit iþurlid bo,
 Is suete softe side
 I-þurlit depe & wyde—
 Wey, þat hire was wo!

In versifying a short Latin text ascribed to St. Bernard, the poem *Aspice, mitissime Conditor* achieves at least one line that clings to remembrance:

Mine lonke armes, stiue & sterke,
 Min heyin arrin dim & derke,
Min þeyis honket so marbre-ston in werke.

The most remarkable aspect of Professor Brown's new volume, however, is not the novelty of its content, but the diligence and precision of his editing.³ Through fresh manuscripts brought into play, numerous poems long familiar in print now appear in clarified or enlarged versions; and through added erudition a number of pieces become for the first time fully intelligible. The kind of result obtained from the use of additional manuscripts is shown in *A Spring Song of Love to Jesus* (No. 63). To the text previously known from a single manuscript a second source adds not only numerous interesting variants, but also the following by no means negligible stanza:

Of iesu crist hi synge,
 Þat is so fayr and fre,
 swetest of alle þynge;
 hys oþwe hic oþe wel boe,
 wl fer he me soþte,
 myd hard he me boþte
 wyþ wnde to and þree,
 wel sore he was yswnge
 and for me myd spere istunge,
 ynayled to þe tree.

A particularly striking instance of a text made intelligible through erudite commentary is *An Antiphon of St. Thomas of Canterbury* (No. 42). As printed without elucidation in Morris's *Old English*

³ This precision very appropriately includes the recording of deletions indicated in the MSS by points, or dots. In recording such instances could brevity not be achieved through using the verb *expunge*? Thus *pointed for deletion* (p. 1) and *dotted for deletion* (p. 45) would become simply *expunged*.

Miscellany, this short piece could be regarded only as an unintelligible curiosity,—with its closing *Evovae* entered in the glossary without gloss! Through the diligence of the new editor,—and his collaborator,—we are now made aware of the legend of St. Thomas recounting the supernatural origin of this antiphon,—and we are given a gloss for *Evovae*.⁴

In welcoming Professor Brown's latest contribution the reviewer wishes to express, finally, his gratitude for its satisfying completeness. The book is no mere *anthology* of favorite pieces, or a selection from the several approved types, but an industrious *collection* of all the lyrics now recoverable from the great thirteenth century. Thus, for the first time, the reader is adequately equipped for comfortable enjoyment, for scholarly inquiry, and for comprehensive judgment.

KARL YOUNG

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Ballad Books and Ballad Men. By SIGURD BERNHARD HUSTVEDT.
Harvard University Press, 1930. \$4.00.

It is through no fault of the editors or of the reviewer that this notice of Professor Hustvedt's valuable study appears so long after the publication of the book. Perhaps the delay does not really matter, since, like its predecessor from the same pen, *Ballad Criticism in Scandinavia and Great Britain during the Eighteenth Century*, 1916, this work must eventually be read by everyone who wishes to inform himself about the collection and study of ballads. The present volume covers the nineteenth century, professing to do no more than to review the stages by which ballad-editing came to its flower at the hands of Grundtvig and Child. Incidentally, however, an introductory and a concluding chapter contain valuable suggestions as to the nature of ballads, their relationship to other forms, and the directions in which further studies should go.

Throughout the book, it seems to me, Mr. Hustvedt has preserved an admirably judicial tone, stating his judgments vigorously but with caution and good temper. The chapter on Scott is an instance in point. No better brief account of what Scott did and did not do as an editor could be asked. Equally good are the discussions of Scott's collaborators and immediate successors north of the Border, of Grundtvig's battle for the editorial method that he used so triumphantly, and of the steps by which Child developed his magnificent collection. In view of the close relationship between British

⁴ I should be inclined to modify slightly Professor Brown's explanation of *Evovae* as a "symbol in medieval music for the cadence with which the Gloria concludes." In the choir-books it is hardly a "symbol" of anything, but rather the last six vowels of the *Gloria Patri* serving as a support for the musical cadence written above them.

and Scandinavian ballads—though I think that that between the English and French has been too little stressed—and of the importance of Grundtvig's influence on Child, there is no incongruity in treating them in the same volume. It would be impossible, indeed, to tell the story adequately without bringing the two together. Not the least interesting part of the book is an appendix (pp. 241-304), which contains the letters that Child and Grundtvig wrote to one another between 1872 and 1883. Rightly read, they do honor to both men, for the one was as genuinely eager to help as the other was open to suggestion. How much Child owed to Grundtvig is amply shown by this correspondence and by the ballad index compiled by the latter, which is printed as another appendix (pp. 305-335).

It was probably inevitable that the chapters dealing with publications by Scots and Englishmen after Sir Walter's time should be relatively thin, although one is inclined to regret that Professor Hustvedt did not take the space to develop more at length some of the things he discusses. These chapters are too much like ordered notes, valuable in themselves but not wholly revealing the pattern that the author's studies have certainly enabled him to see. I think that he would have done better, too, to separate the matter of ballad imitation and ballad influence on the poets from the discussion of collecting and criticism. It is not adequately treated as it stands, and tends to confuse the reader. The case of Coleridge and Wordsworth (pp. 97-102) will serve as an example. I hope that Mr. Hustvedt will excuse me if I say that I believe he has not rightly understood the nature of their respective indebtedness to ballads. Yet it is far from my wish to end this notice with complaint. The book is well done, and was well worth doing.

GORDON HALL GEROULD

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Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations. By ANDREW RUNNI ANDERSON. Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America, No. 5, Cambridge Mass., 1932. Pp. viii + 117.

In a paper published in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* LIX, pp. 130-163, Prof. Anderson attempted to determine the site of the legendary gate supposed to have been built by Alexander, and concluded that the earliest tradition placed it at the pass of Dariel in the Caucasus Mountains. In the book now under review he explains how the legend of the Gate became connected with the doctrine of Gog and Magog in Jewish and Chris-

tian eschatology. The syllogism¹ on p. 19, taken together with certain remarks on the identification of Gog and Magog with historical tribes (pp. 8-14), forms the key to the whole book. Various chapters deal with the Alexander legend in Mohammedan literature; the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel as inclosed behind the Gate and as associated or identified with Gog and Magog; the defense of the Gate; and the shifting of the site of the Gate, during the later Middle Ages, to remote regions in northern Europe and eastern Asia.

The book is well organized and contains a great abundance of passages quoted to support the statements of the author. My own extremely limited knowledge of the history of the Alexander legend makes it impossible for me to give a fair criticism of the author's use of sources, and indeed many of these sources are not accessible to me. But the book is principally a collection and examination of various traditions, and the amount of controversial matter is relatively slight. In general the author's views appear very reasonable.

The principal defect is that the book contains, unfortunately, more verbal errors than we should expect. On page 8, in the passage quoted from Josephus, *ἐν' αὐτοῦ* is an error for *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ*. On page 25, line 7, read *variously* for *various*; on page 28, in the middle of the quoted passage, read *thou* for *thous*; on page 44, line 16, *whether* begins a new sentence and should be capitalized. In the Bibliography under Gerland the page reference should read 330-373 instead of 330-272; and in the title of Paul Meyer's book, *Littérature Française* should stand in place of *Littérature*.

The passages quoted by the author are given in translation if the source is oriental (or Russian), but in the original if it is Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, or German. In a few cases Greek passages are translated, and the translations are thoroughly accurate.

JAMES W. POULTNEY

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Todd Memorial Volumes. Philological Studies. Edited by JOHN D. FITZGERALD and PAULINE TAYLOR. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. 2 vols. xiv + 226 + 264 pp. \$10.00.

Professor Todd "left behind him nearly seventy Doctors of Philosophy." This is one of a variety of tributes set down without

¹ The syllogism is as follows:

1. Alexander built the gate in the Caucasus to exclude the barbarians of the north, called by the general name Scythians.

2. As early as Josephus, (Gog and) Magog were identified with the Scythians and placed north of the Caucasus.

3. Therefore Alexander built the gate of the Caucasus to exclude Gog and Magog.

stint in thirty-four pages of Introduction. It is manifest, from a purely objective reading of the record, that here was a distinguished gentleman, active, wise, possessed of a fine pioneer spirit. There are vivid glimpses of the conditions of the profession in the United States a half-century ago, and a glance much further back is provided in quotations from an address before the MLA in 1889 by James Russell Lowell, who presently summed up progress in these words: "Remembering what I remember, it seems to me a wonderful thing that I should have lived to see a poem in Old French edited by a young American scholar . . . and printed in the Journal of this Society, a journal in every way creditable to the scholarship of the country." The young scholar was H. A. Todd. The Introduction gives a sense of the problems that faced early Romance scholars in this country, suggests the nature of the subsequent achievements, and, whatever the intention, causes one to reflect that the same energy and vigilance are needed now.

There are forty articles, on subjects exceedingly varied but all related somehow to modern languages. The editors speak of rejecting articles "too far afield," yet they were not inhospitable. To read both volumes from cover to cover suggests the experience (purely imaginary) of attending *all* the sessions of a given national assembly of the MLA.

For especially honorable mention one might pick out among the less highly technical articles: *La Doctrine Grammaticale et Poétique du "Gai Savoir"* (Joseph Anglade); *Lo Bello Stilo* (C. H. Grandgent); *Alexandre Hardy and Shakespeare* (H. C. Lancaster); *Ricciardetto e Fiordispina* (Pio Rajna). Other articles are provocative if not altogether convincing. I am tempted to suggest to Professor Kurz (*Manon Lescaut, a Study in Unchanging Critics*) that a not to be neglected exception to "the unindulgent unanimity of opinion about the conduct of Manon and Des Grieux" is Anatole France (*Le Génie Latin*, in *Œuvres Complètes*, xxi, 200). Professor Menut is surprised that Hugo should have named the Spanish Princess in *La Rose de l'Infante*, Marie, "since Philip II had no daughter of that name," and he continues: "This is a striking anachronism indeed, and can be explained only as the result of a strong inner urge within the recesses of the poet's mind." The discrepancy would not strike, or distress, any notable proportion of Hugo's readers, Hugo did not wait for special stimulus in order to try manipulating material, the process here is hardly recondite, and anyhow Philip II *did* have a daughter Marie (although the dates were not right for V.H.; cf. Levailant, *L'Œuvre de Victor Hugo*, p. 589, note 33). Professor Segall's ambition (*Sovereign and Vassal in Corneille's Plays*) to "link together the great dramatist's plays . . . into one logical, consistent whole," leads him into an unreal unity, and it is singularly inappropriate to speak of Corneille in terms of "velleities" (what

word is less Cornelian?). But until the millenium each reader of such studies will come upon points close to his own special interests that will seem to him debatable.

Any young American scholar in Romance would read these volumes through with profit. He would sense the ramifications of his subject, he would find some examples of what not to investigate and of how not to present material, he would also find evidence that scholarship can be graceful and that erudition need not exclude a sense of form; it might even be brought home to him that above all others a student of languages and literatures should not be insensitive to fine writing nor utterly unaffected by good models. He might remark that some of the best articles show a capacity for "vues d'ensemble" which the others lack, and if he also observed that the European contributors were especially successful here he might well accept this as a challenge.

HORATIO SMITH

Brown University

Notes Inédites de Sainte-Beuve. Avec une Introduction et Commentaire par CHARLY GUYOT. Recueil de Travaux publiés par la Faculté des Lettres, Université de Neuchâtel. 1931. 147 pp.

In the Collection Lovenjoul at Chantilly are two packages of manuscript notes by SB. The first is labelled *Vieilles Notes Utiles* and contains about 900 items; Professor Guyot now prints the full text of about 500 of these and lists the others, many of them merely quotations, with brief comment. The second package, which SB. had prudently marked *Vieilles Notes. Quelques-unes de bonnes*, is reserved for publication in *RHL*.

None of the notes here reproduced are dated, but G. cautiously and intelligently has established from the internal evidence reliable *points de repère*; we have before us the intimate reactions of SB. to his readings between twenty and twenty-five (1824 to 1829). In the case of a youth destined to such eminence the material is precious, and in some ways prophetic. There is significant confirmation of the influence of Bacon and of the Ideologists, and in particular support of Professor F. M. Warren's point about the importance to SB. of Cabanis (*Todd Memorial Volumes*, Columbia University, 1930, II, 252). Already SB. is distrustful of pure metaphysics and more and more committed to belles-lettres. Already, as he looks at certain characters of history, he discovers the feet of clay,—discovers them with relish in the opinion of G. "Il aime à . . . ramener ainsi à la commune humanité ces personnages que nous imaginons presque dégagés des contingences misérables." This is certainly the same SB. who will say at sixty: "J'écoute, et je ne suis pas ému"; whether here is merely a grudge against pedestals

(not altogether to leave the figure above) or a more pure perspicacity, this is not the moment to debate. There is anticipation of SB.'s caution about amalgamating nature and human nature (cf. the point he will later make about "une citadelle irréductible," NL, VIII, 88), and evidence of his faith, subsequently less strong, in perfectibility. As to SB. the man, G. thinks that the present evidence shows him sensual and having "une certaine sécheresse de cœur." On the first point the evidence, not to be reproduced here, is incontrovertible; as to the desiccation, G. seems harsh. He writes, ingeniously: "par une sorte de mimétisme génial, l'intelligence arrive chez lui à reproduire, à éprouver presque, les sentiments les plus délicats, mais sa propre vie sentimentale demeure pauvre, médiocre." This is a common charge against SB. and not to be denied simply because one esteems his intelligence, but, without urge to admire or detest, the recent account by Jean Bonnerot of *Un Rêve d'Amour en 1845: Sainte-Beuve et Ondine Valmore* (*Mercury de France*, 15 sept. 1932) points in a far different direction.¹

For the not highly specialized reader the 75 pages of actual text lack the piquancy and larger significance of SB.'s posthumous *Mes Poisons* (1926). Occasionally there is sharp comment such as (259): "Marivaux est un de ces écrivains auxquels il suffirait de retrancher pour ajouter ce qui leur manque." His refusal (118) to see any magic in Milton's "darkness visible" may seem unenlightened and not promising in a would-be poet. Much of the material is indispensable for those who come anywhere near to accepting Emile Henriot's tribute to SB. (in an article on the present volume, *Le Temps*, 29 février 1932): "toute la littérature est en lui, à l'état de somme."

HORATIO SMITH

Brown University

L'Expression figurée et symbolique dans l'Œuvre de Gustave Flaubert. By D. L. DEMOREST. Paris: Conard, 1931. Pp. xiii + 701.

This bulky octavo on Flaubert's metaphorical faculty and its utilisation might be called a cinematographic portrait of the great stylist who never wearied of repeating that style is the very flesh of thought, and its soul no less than its flesh.

Il y a en moi littérairement parlant deux bonshommes distincts, un qui est épris de gueulades, le lyrisme, de grands vols d'aigle, et toutes les sonorités de la phrase et des sommets de l'idée; un autre qui creuse et fouille le vrai tant qu'il peut, qui aime à accuser le petit fait aussi puissamment

¹ Cf. p. 541: "il est venu, toujours bon, fidèle, plein de dévouement, — celui que la légende s'obstine à vouloir montrer égoïste et mesquin, et qui au fond était un grand timide."

que le grand, qui voudrait vous faire sentir presque matériellement les choses qu'il produit,

wrote Flaubert in 1852. After proving the truth of this confession by Flaubert's letters, his works, and the testimony of his friends, Demorest traces the development of Flaubert's ideas on figurative language, as an introduction to his exhaustive chronological study of this aspect of the novelist. Then we follow the evolution of Flaubert's metaphors and metaphorical sense through the *Œuvres de Jeunesse*, the first *Éducation sentimentale*, *Par les champs et par les grèves*, the travel notes, the great novels and *contes*.

There are in all over 10,000 "images" in Flaubert; they increase in number and originality when the author is in love or enjoying his travel; they decline in his later works, as the superiority of the first version of the *Tentation* has long showed. But space fails us for a further summary, were it possible to summarize a book whose "Conclusion" takes 21,000 words. The volume ends with a series of numerical tables showing the proportion of various categories of metaphor as they occur in each work, from the first "Vision" upon Mount Athos to the dry and ironic pages of *Bouvard et Pécuchet*.

A valuable though too discursive study, which would be a monument to American scholarship if it had an index of metaphors noted by key-words. But why relate again the plots of the *Juvenilia*, or bring in needless biographers' disputes? Every Flaubertist knows, for instance, that it was not M. Gérard-Gailly but Professor Coleman who first proved that the Trouville episode must be dated 1836 (*Flaubert's Literary Development*, Baltimore, 1914, p. 2, n. 2).

L. PIAGET SHANKS

The Reception of English Literature in Germany. By LAWRENCE MARSDEN PRICE. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1932. 596 Seiten.

Was 1919 "nur" eine Bibliographie war, hat sich jetzt zu einem wirklichen und zwar ganz ausgezeichneten, grundlegenden Buch entwickelt. Man konnte freilich schon bei Erscheinen von Prices "Survey" 1920 die positive und ergebnisreiche Seite seiner Bibliographie ersehen; und wenn es so etwas wie eine schöpferische Bibliographie gibt, dann hat dieser überaus sorgfältige und gewissenhafte Forscher sie gewiss geschrieben. Aber seine neue Schrift ist doch mehr als ein blosses "work of reference"; es ist eine bis Dezember 1931 abschliessende wissenschaftlich zusammenfassende und kritische Studie über die Aufnahme der englischen Literatur in Deutschland. Jeder, der sich als Germanist oder Anglist mit diesem ganzen "Grenzgebiet" beschäftigt, muss Prices Werk einfach unentbehrlich finden.

Was das Buch neben der Sachlichkeit und Zuverlässigkeit noch auszeichnet, das sind sein Stil und seine Gesinnung. Ein Kunstwerk werde wohl nicht erwartet, sagt die Einführung bescheiden, aber alles, was Price schreibt, ist ebenso klar wie überzeugend, eben der Stil eines Mannes, der etwas zu sagen hat. Und weiter gilt mir als grosse Auszeichnung, dass das Buch keine "These" hat, dass es nichts "beweisen" will, als was sich aus den Tatsachen der Geschichte ergibt. Mit Recht wendet sich der Verfasser gegen das Verallgemeinern gerade auf dem Gebiet der zwischen England und Deutschland spielenden Beziehungen, Einflüsse und Gegeneinflüsse, und in diesem seinem freien Blick und seiner klugen Weitherzigkeit liegt mir auch die tiefste Berechtigung dazu, in der Widmung für Alexander Rudolf Hohlfeld das vorliegende Werk "ein Goethe-Buch im Goethe-Jahr" zu nennen. Mit Goethes Flagge sind zahllose Schriften erschienen, aber Goethes Unbefangtheit und vor allem sein Sinn für das Andersartige und zugleich Menschlich-allgemeine—man denke nur an die schönen Worte um Carlyles Schillerbuch—lassen sie in den meisten Fällen vermissen. Price gehört innerhalb der Grenzen seines Forschungsgebiets zu den seltenen Ausnahmen. Dabei möge hier ununtersucht bleiben, wie weit wir heute im Goetheschen Sinn "Weltliteratur" haben, oder ob die wahre Gegenseitigkeit der Beziehungen einfach schon im 19. Jahrhundert die einwandfreien "Einflüsse" des vorhergehenden Jahrhunderts abgelöst hat (vgl. Price, S. 361). Dass sich die Literatur der Goetheschen Hoffnung diametral entgegengesetzt entwickelt haben soll, ist wohl in J. G. Robertsons *Goethe and the Twentieth Century* (1912) zu lesen, aber heute nicht mehr aufrechtzuhalten. Price dürfte das nebenbei (bes. im 25. Kap.) nachgewiesen haben!

Prices Werk gliedert sich in 3 Hauptteile: Part One. The Eighteenth Century and Earlier. Part Two. Shakespeare in Germany. Part Three. The Nineteenth Century and Thereafter. Die nachfolgende Bibliographie hat an die 1200 Nummern, deren kritische Durcharbeitung allein schon eine Herkules-Arbeit darstellt. Eine detaillierte Kontrolle ist deshalb auch in einer einzigen Besprechung unmöglich. Aber wenn auch, was ich nach meinen zahlreichen Stichproben nicht glaube, viele Einzelfehler gefunden werden sollten, so würde das niemals der grossen, wahrhaft fruchtbaren, wissenschaftlichen Synthese als Leistung Abbruch tun. Prices ergebnisvolles Werk ist eben schlechthin einzigartig; denn eine ähnliche Beherrschung von zwei der wichtigsten Weltliteraturen findet sich so leicht nicht.

Einige Ergänzungen seien hier angefügt. Im Kapitel über Shaftesbury findet sich ein Ausdruck (S. 99), dass Fritz Jacobi Lessing "angeklagt" habe, ein Schüler Spinozas gewesen zu sein. Es heisst wörtlich: "and the dialog he published in evidence of the

fact, if authentic, would prove his assertion." Über dieses ganze Problem, d. h. über Lessings Spinozismus und Lessings Verhältnis zu Moses Mendelssohn, vgl. jetzt Hans Leisegang, *Lessings Weltanschauung*, Leipzig 1931, besonders S. 56 ff. und 159 ff.

Nachzutragen, z. B. nach Kürnberger und Ruppius (Price, S. 431 f.) ist noch ein sehr interessanter Roman von Reinhold Solger, nämlich *Anton in Amerika. Seitenstück zu Freitags 'Soll und Haben.'* Aus dem deutsch-amerikanischen Leben. In zwei Abteilungen. Bromberg 1862 (C. M. Roskowski). Eine freie Neubearbeitung dieses Romans von Erich Ebermayer erschien 1928 im J. M. Späth Verlag, Berlin. Zum Thema: Walt Whitman in Deutschland gehört unbedingt noch die zweibändige Übersetzungsauswahl von Hans Reisiger *Walt Whitmans Werk*, Berlin 1922. Die Interpretation Whitmans ist so bezeichnend kosmopolitisch, wie die Übersetzung gut ist.

Zuletzt möchte ich noch einige Anmerkungen zum 24. Kap. (The American Novel) machen. Zum grossen Teil ist der geringe Einfluss des amerikanischen Romans auf Deutschland (Price S. 426, 432 f.) durch eigene amerikanische Interesslosigkeit zu erklären. Die erste wissenschaftlich ernstzunehmende Geschichte des amerikanischen Romans ist bekanntlich erst vor einigen Jahren erschienen, und überhaupt ist das wissenschaftliche Interesse Amerikas für seine eigene Literatur noch recht jungen Ursprungs. Das hat ein Eindringen des höheren, des geistigen Amerikanertums in das deutsche Schrifttum so gut wie verhindert, wie es andererseits ein unbekümmertes Geniessen und Nachahmen des stofflichen Amerikanismus von Cooper bis Bret Harte nicht hat aufhalten können. Die Lücke zwischen unserm grossen Interesse für Mark Twain und der kritiklosen Begeisterung für den amerikanischen Nachkriegs-Roman wirklich zu erklären, z. B. zu erklären, warum Wm. Dean Howells und Winston Churchill völlig unbekannt geblieben sind, muss genauerer Untersuchung vorbehalten bleiben.

Der gröbere Amerikanismus hatte aber bis vor kurzem noch grosse Gelegenheiten bei uns, wie man an unserer Begeisterung für Jack London, Zane Grey oder—vorgestern noch—für Tarzan sehen konnte. Der ungeheure Erfolg von Upton Sinclair andererseits erklärte sich aus seinem Charakter als Propagandist und Exhibitionist. Seine internationalistische Botschaft klang den Ohren aller deutschen Salonradikalen, Sozialisten und Kommunisten, aber auch vieler deutschen Intellektuellen gleich süss, die sich aus irgend einem Grund vor der "Amerikanisierung" Europas fürchteten. In dieselbe Kerbe mit Upton Sinclair hauten, wenn auch mit andersgeformten Äxten, Romanschriftsteller wie Sinclair Lewis, Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson. . . . Für Willa Cather besteht heute ein kleines Publikum; es wäre grösser, wenn sich die Verfasserin nicht durch *One of Ours* bei national empfindlichen Deutschen verdächtig gemacht

hatte. Dagegen wächst das Interesse für Edna Ferber, aber sie ist wie Hergesheimer oder Wilder auf bestimmte Kreise beschränkt, im grossen und ganzen die Gemeinde der Tauchnitz-Leser oder der sonst literarisch Amerika-Interessierten. Im allgemeinen aber wird heute das Erscheinen amerikanischer Literaturwerke nicht durch ihren Eigenwert bestimmt, sondern durch die Neigungen deutscher Verleger, die sich ihre Leute aus *Publisher's Weekly* herausuchen, und die Anstrengungen der zahlreichen Literaturagenten. Ein wesentlicher Teil unserer amerikanischen Übersetzungsliteratur hat daher mit literarischen Interessen nicht viel zu schaffen, abgesehen davon, dass wir nur erstaunlich wenige geeignete Übersetzer haben.

Arpad Steiner, in seinem Artikel 'Sinclair Lewis in Germany,' *Cume Volume of Linguistic Studies*, Northwestern University Publication 1930, S. 140, zitiert auch ein Wort von mir über die deutsche Babbitt-Übersetzung mit dem Zusatz: "German reviewers do not appear to have paid much attention to the value of the translations." Aber was konnte ein einzelner Kritiker gegenüber dem ganzen beklagenswerten "Übersetzungsbetrieb" von heute überhaupt tun? Als Vertreter der Amerikanischen Literaturgeschichte muss ich mich über jedes deutsche Interesse am amerikanischen Buch freuen und werde ich mich daher in einer Besprechung der Verdeutschung am besten mit dem Urteil lesbar oder nicht begnügen. Eine sprachlich-literarische Untersuchung über den Übersetzungsstil und besonders die Übersetzungstreue, etwa in der Art von Arpad Steiners verdienstlicher Arbeit, ist dabei wenigstens in Zeitschriften wie der *Literatur* gar nicht angebracht. Ausserdem ist eine nachträgliche Beanstandung einer Übersetzung praktisch zwecklos; denn der Verkauf richtet sich nicht nach solchem "Wert," sondern nach anderen Gesetzen. Ich habe deshalb gelegentlich den umgekehrten Weg versucht, nämlich durch die amerikanischen Autoren auf ihre deutschen Verleger einzuwirken, aber völlig vergeblich. Diese literarische Angelegenheit hat natürlich auch eine finanzielle Seite.

Selbst Price gegenüber muss ich mich noch meiner Haut wehren, wenn er nämlich meinen allerersten vergleichenden Aufsatz über "Deutsche und amerikanische Romane" in dem alten *Germanistic Society Quarterly* (New York, 1916) gar zu endgültig auffasst (Price, S. 433 f). Ich habe tatsächlich seitdem viel dazu gelernt und meine, in der Erkenntnis des Amerikanischen im Roman ein gut Stück weitergekommen zu sein. Eine Art Alibi hoffe ich mit meinem zweibändigen Werk: *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (I. Von Kolonie zum Weltreich, II. Die amerikanische Demokratie von heute), Stuttgart 1932 erschienen, geliefert zu haben. Aber trotzdem natürlich: Be merciful to me, a fool!

Goethe, Leben und Werk. Von PHILIPP WITKOP. Stuttgart und Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1931. x, 496 pp. (9.- RM.)

Witkops Werk ist die einzige Biographie größeren Stiles geblieben, die uns das Goethejahr beschert hat (wenn wir das Ende des Vorjahres mit in dieses einbeziehen dürfen). Drei Jahre zuvor hatte Walther Linden mit feinem Takt und künstlerischer Einsicht das zweibändige Werk Bielschowskys erneuert, das im Jahre 1896 mit dem ersten Bande begonnen und erst nach des Verfassers Tode (1902) von anderer Hand zu Ende geführt worden war. Gab uns Bielschowsky die ausführliche Darstellung des Goethischen Lebens und Wirkens, suchte Chamberlain das Gesetz seiner Entwicklung zu erfassen und besonders Goethe als Naturforscher tiefer zu würdigen, Simmel dagegen den Geistigen Kern des Denkers herauszustellen, das Urphänomen Goethe, sozusagen, so beschränkte sich Gundolf mit großem und eigenwilligen Wurf auf das Werk (1916), wie es den einzigen und gewaltigen Bildner spiegelt. Ludwigs Verdienst bestand darin (1920), starker auf die dämonischen und tragischen Spannungen des problematischen Menschen Goethe hinzuweisen. Von Bielschowsky, Ludwig und Gundolf, deren Biographien bis zu tausend Seiten und mehr umfassen, unterscheidet sich das Witkopsche Werk durch eine für den amerikanischen Leser nicht zu unterschätzende Knappheit und Prägnanz, die zugleich die Weitschweifigkeit der beiden ersteren und die z. T. unüberwindliche Schwierigkeit des letzteren vermeidet, ohne dabei an Fülle und Tiefe zu verlieren.

Freilich bietet er in seiner Problemstellung nichts eigentlich Neues, erfreut indessen durch hohe künstlerische Vollendung der Darstellung, überrascht durch manche eigene Formulierung und vertieft durch glückliche Deutung in neugewählten Citaten. Klare Gegenüberstellungen wie die Behrisch's im ersten und Langers wie im zweiten Kapitel kontrastieren die Leipziger und Frankfurter Entwicklung. Sehr lebendig wird die Straßburger Entfaltung durch Nebeneinanderstellung Hamans, Lessings und Herders, dessen Einfluß auf die Lyrik des jungen Liebenden an Beispielen erhellt wird. Nietzsches Ausspruch: "Trachte ich denn nach meinem Glücke? Ich trachte nach meinem Werke" beleuchtet blitzartig das Dilemma der tragischen Flucht aus der Straßburger Liebe.

Ein Hegelzitat ("Zärtlichkeit des Gemüts, welches weiß, daß im Bestimmten es sich mit der Endlichkeit einläßt, sich eine Schranke setzt und die Unendlichkeit aufgibt: es will aber nicht der Totalität entsagen, die es beabsichtigt" p. 102) klärt das Wertherproblem, vor dem noch R. M. Meyer ratlos stand und das selbst bei Gundolf im Gedanklichen stecken bleibt. Glanzend ist die Schilderung des Besuches in Pempelfort und bedeutend der endliche Durchbruch zur dämonischen Lebensgewißheit der Egmontstimmung gegeben.

Auf kurzestem Raume doch höchst gegenständlich wird die Weimarer Umgebung dargestellt mit ihrer Entwicklung Goethes zu Einschränkung, Bodenständigkeit und innerer Ausweitung; auch das Glück dieser Epoche wird nicht unterschätzt (166), wie andererseits Witkop dem Wesen Christianes ohne Uebertreibung gerecht wird, während noch Hefele in seinem Faust den Gewinn dieser Liebe gänzlich verneint. Am schönsten zeigt das Kapitel *Trilogie der Leidenschaft* die Kompositionskunst Witkops, die hier mit dem Tode Christianes einsetzt, die Vereinsamung Goethes an der Hundekomödie und dem Zerwürfnis mit dem Herzog aufzeigt, dann über die politischen Wirren zu Goethes Byronerlebnis fortschreitet, um nunmehr den Gipfelpunkt in der Tragik der Marienbader Liebe und Elegie zu erreichen. Trost der Musik (Mme Szymanowska) führt zu Zelter und zum Prolog der *Trilogie*, und als Epilog stehen die Worte über Byron: "Es ist eben ein Unglück, daß so ideenreiche Geister ihr Ideal durchaus verwirklichen, ins Leben einführen wollen. Das geht nun einmal nicht, das Ideal und die gemeine Wirklichkeit müssen streng geschieden bleiben."

Die folgenden beiden Kapitel umfassen die *Wanderjahre* und den *Faust*, das letzte den ergreifenden Ausklang. Eine knappe Bibliographie und ein ausreichendes Register schließen sich an.

Witkops Werk ist kein populäres Buch. Eine Kenntnis der Hauptwerke Goethes ist erforderlich zu seinem Verständnis, eine Fähigkeit intelligenten Mitarbeitens unerläß zu seiner Würdigung. Aber auch der Goetheforscher wird es dankbar für Anregung, Klärung und Vertiefung aus der Hand legen.

ERNST FEISE

Johan ûz dem Virgiere. Eine spätmhd. Ritterdichtung nach flämischer Quelle nebst dem Facsimileabdruck des flämischen Volksbuches Joncker Jan wt den Vergiere. Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Dr. ROBERT PRIEBSCH. Heidelberg: Winter, 1931. Pp. vii + 144 (incl. pp. 65-144 text). Facsimile of the Volksbuch pp. 29 (Modern numbering).

The sole manuscript, once the property of the Bibliotheca Philippica at Cheltenham, was copied by the editor in 1894. It is now the property of the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin and was not accessible to the editor for a revision in England. The Introduction treats in chapter I the 'Stoffgeschichte', offering in parallel columns a synopsis of *Richars li Biaus* and the related *Johan*, which however has claims to be regarded as an independent work. The author of the German text states explicitly that his work is a translation from the Flemish. The editor then treats of the *Volksbuch*, a print of about 1590, and attempts to reconstruct from this and the *Johan* the general character of the Flemish original, which is

by an unknown author. It is preserved perfectly neither by the *Volksbuch* nor the *Johan*. The dependance of the Flemish original on the older redaction of the *Richars li Biaus* is further touched upon, likewise possible Flemish influences. The summary judgment of the editor is that the original work was a biographical *Roman* of an ideal knight, the narrative possessing a distinct touch of realism. The German adapter is assumed to have been a *Fahrender*, a wandering reciter, of no high order but avoiding the lowest depths of a mechanical translation.

In chapter II, after a few words on the manuscript, the editor offers a treatment of the language and orthography with the customary emphasis on the forms of the translator as established by the rhymes. He thus determines as home of the poet a West Middle German section, preferably one enclosed by the line Oppenheim, Alzey, Worms, three towns of Rheinhessen, in which section the scribe would also be located. The time suggested for the poem is the 14th century; the manuscript is dated about 1450. The editor has not hesitated to normalize the manuscript on these assumptions, although with some misgivings as to his proceeding. This seems to the reviewer a regrettable decision where only one manuscript is preserved. It very much hampers the student of language and orthography, who must constantly have an eye on the notes for the editor's emendations. The reviewer cannot conceal his conviction that sound tests frequently seem to show that the forms of the original have been arbitrarily changed in favor of preconceived ideas of correctness. A number of remarks on syntax, style and metrics follow, where the latter is established as belonging to the loose practice of the epigones like Ulrich von Eschenbach. Two pages at the end are devoted to the *Volksbuch*.

The reviewer is impressed by the unflagging interest and general competence with which the editor has followed up all phases of his subject. In publishing a MHG manuscript he has also enriched Flemish literature with an otherwise lost work.

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The Goethe Centenary at the University of Wisconsin. A Memorial Volume of Addresses and Some Other Contributions. Edited by A. R. HOHLFELD. (University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature No. 34.) Published by the University. Madison, 1932. 120 pp.

This collection mirrors one of the most impressive celebrations of the Goethe Centenary, the factual details of which are reported in B. Q. Morgan's prefatory account. A stately poem by William Ellery Leonard, *Greetings from the State* by Governor Philip La

Follette and a *Salutation to the Goethe Spirit* by President Glen Frank open the symposium of addresses, among which the German Ambassador Friedrich von Prittwitz und Gaffron in his lucid and precise manner outlines the leadership of Goethe and other German thinkers toward the goal of an international mind.

Camillo von Klenze in his address *America and Goethe* traces the development of the poet through Rationalism and Emotionalism to the idea of service in practical activity. This service is inspired by an optimistic outlook upon the world, but it rises above the narrowly practical on one hand, the barrenly esthetic on the other to a realization of the fact that imperfection is productive. This spirit is necessary for the America of today. With undiminished fervor Eugen Kühnemann plunges into the problem of *Goethe and the Modern World*. Since to him Goethe represents the highest type of man from antiquity to our times, his address contains an epitome of Goethe and the development of humanity in general. Eyes closed he draws the stops of his powerful organola and plays all keys at once. With remarkable clearness and discernment George Wagner reviews the achievements and failures of *Goethe as a Scientist* and succeeds in enlightening scholar and layman without indulging in vague generalities, a danger that has not always been avoided in similar attempts. Philo M. Buck, Jr. compares *Goethe and Shelley* and, clarifying their attitude toward evolution sheds new light on the problem as a whole as well as upon individual parts of their two works, *Prometheus Unbound* and *Faust*.

True egoism and true altruism as found in Goethe's whole life and development are the polar opposites from which A. R. Hohlfeld develops *The Meaning of Goethe for the Present Age*. Our individualism in social and economic life, our intolerance of individuality in the sphere of thought and culture need a complete reversal, and Goethe's formula "polarity and ascending growth" would seem to furnish the medicine for our sick age, for "only where there are rich, free, and creative personalities can there be a rich, free, and creative life of the spirit."

This strong and vibrant address, closing a rich and dignified celebration of the greatest genius Germany has produced, is in retrospect overcast with a tragic hue. For if one of the great messages of the Goethe year was—as Hohlfeld expresses it—"his valiant insistence on the truth and kindness and honest exertion as the essentials in the relations of men with each other in their social and economic life, and last not least his gospel of understanding and cooperation among nations the world over," his message threatens to be drowned out now in a "hostile atmosphere of so much selfishness and dishonesty, intolerance and violence, vulgarity and hypocrisy, selfcomplacency and irreverence."

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